A NEW AND IMPROVED

ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE

FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF ROME,

TO ITS FINAL

DISSOLUTION AS THE SEAT OF EMPIRE,

IN THE YEAR OF CHRIST 476,

AND

INCLUDING A PERIOD OF ABOUT 1228 YEARS

FROM ITS

COMMENCEMENT UNDER ROMULUS.

BEING a more copious, authentic, and valuable HISTORY OF ROME than any extant, collected from the very beſt Sources; wherein all doubtful Occurrences are impartially examined, and the Miſtakes or Miſrepreſentations of partial Hiſtorians corrected and demonſtrated.

CONTAINING

A greater Variety of important Facts, and inſtructive and entertaining Inferences, than in any Hiſtory yet offered to the Public, though of three or even five Times the Price.

Deſigned for the Uſe of Schools.

BY CHARLES ALLEN, A.M.

AUTHOR of the New and Improved HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

AND

EDITOR of the POLITE, POETICAL, and HISTORICAL PRECEPTORS, and other valuable WORKS for YOUNG PERSONS.

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ADVERTISEMENT

FROM THE

PROPRIETOR.

AMONG the various and intereſting Works which were preparing for the Preſs by the late Mr. CHARLES ALLEN, and interrupted by his bad State of Health, the preſent was advanced as far as the Reign of TIBERIUS. The Gentleman who completed his NEW and IMPROVED HISTORY OF ENGLAND, lately offered to the Public, has alſo chearfully finiſhed this Work; in which he has been influenced by the ſame Motives and Reaſons as were there given for his engaging in that intereſting Hiſtory. He has heretofore experienced many Inſtances of public Favour, and flatters himſelf that he may, without Preſumption, at this Time, anticipate their Candour and Approbation; truſting that the Work now communicated to the World, for the Benefit and Advantage of the riſing Generation, will have a peculiar Claim and Recommendation, as an obvious and valuable Auxiliary in the great Buſineſs of Inſtruction.

PREFACE.

THE very diſtinguiſhed Place which a competent Knowledge of the ROMAN HISTORY poſſeſſes in a polite and learned Education, renders a Work of the Nature here preſented of peculiar Importance. From the Mode of proſecuting this Hiſtory, the Author's Deſign appears manifeſt; to ſteer in a middle Courſe, between a tedious Prolixity and a conciſe and obſcure Brevity. For to one or the other of theſe Objections moſt of the Works of this Deſcription have been liable; ſo as either to have rendered them too expenſive for general Benefit, or, if that Diſadvantage has been conſidered, an extreme Deficiency in the neceſſary Variety of hiſtorical Facts and Occurrences has been ſtrikingly obvious.

HAPPILY as the Author may have ſucceeded in accompliſhing ſuch Object in the earlier Parts of this Hiſtory; the buſy Scenes of the remaining Part, which have fallen to the Lot of the Editor, required the greateſt Attention to render the Continuation equally grateful and ſatisfactory. But his utmoſt Endeavours have been exerted for that Purpoſe; and the great Quantity of Matter, which the Proprietor's liberal and copious Plan has enabled him to crowd into the ſubſequent Sheets, has conſiderably leſſened the Difficulty which at firſt occurred, of doing Juſtice to the Deſign, and at the ſame Time to reduce it within a limited Compaſs. As the Reſult of theſe Endeavours, he now ſubmits the whole to the Candour and Judgment of the Public; and, by that Submiſſion, he hopes their indulgent Approbation will be obtained, and a Patronage proportionably generous ſecured.

CONTENTS.

		Page
CHAP. I.	*OF the Origin of the Romans*	1
II.	*Romulus, the Firſt King of Rome*	5
III.	*Numa Pompilius, the Second King of Rome* - - -	11
IV.	*Tullus Hoſtilius, the Third King of Rome* - - -	14
V.	*Ancus Martius, the Fourth King of Rome* - - -	17
VI.	*Tarquinius Priſcus, the Fifth King of Rome* - -	19
VII.	*Servius Tullius, the Sixth King of Rome* - - -	24
VIII.	*Tarquinius Superbus, the Seventh King of Rome* - -	29
IX.	*The Commonwealth. From the Baniſhment of Tarquin to the Creation of the Firſt Dictator*	34

CHAP. X. *From the Creation of the Firſt Dictator to the Election of the Tribunes* - - 41

XI. *From the Creation of the Tribunes to the Appointment of the Decemviri* - - 47

XII. *From the Appointment of the Decemviri to the Abolition of their Office* - - 61

XIII. *From the Abolition of the Decemvirate to the Burning of Rome by the Gauls* - - - 68

XIV. *From the Burning of Rome by the Gauls to the Beginning of the Firſt Punic War* - 88

XV. *From the Beginning of the Firſt Punic War to the Beginning of the Second* - - 115

XVI. *From the Beginning of the Second Punic War to the End of it* 125

XVII. *From the End of the Second Punic War to the Deſtruction of Carthage* - - 145

XVIII. *From the Deſtruction of Carthage to the Beginning of the Jugurthine War* - - 154

XIX. *From the Beginning of the Jugurthine War to the Perpetual Dictatorſhip of Sylla* 164

CHAP. XX. *From the Perpetual Dictatorſhip of Sylla to the Triumvirate of Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus* - 180
XXI. *From the Beginning of the Firſt Triumvirate to the Death of Pompey* - - - 202
XXII. *From the Death of Pompey to the Death of Cæſar* - - 226
XXIII. *From the Death of Cæſar to the Eſtabliſhment of the Imperial Power under Auguſtus* 250
XXIV. *From the Eſtabliſhment of Auguſtus in the Imperial Power to his Death* - - 297
XXV. *Tiberius, the Second Roman Emperor* - - - 305
XXVI. *Caius Caligula, the Third Roman Emperor* - - 319
XXVII. *Claudius, the Fourth Roman Emperor* - - - 329
XXVIII. *Nero, the Fifth Roman Emperor* 338
XXIX. *Galba, the Sixth Roman Emperor* 347
XXX. *Otho, the Seventh Roman Emperor* 352
XXXI. *Vitellius the Eighth Roman Emperor* - - - 356
XXXII. *Veſpaſian, the Ninth Roman Emperor* - - - 365
XXXIII. *Titus, the Tenth Roman Emperor* - - 375

CHAP. XXXIV. *Domitian, the Eleventh Roman Emperor* - - 381
XXXV. *Nerva, the Twelfth Roman Emperor* - - - 391
XXXVI. *Trajan, the Thirteenth Roman Emperor* - - - 395
XXXVII. *Adrian, the Fourteenth Roman Emperor* - - - 404
XXXVIII. *Antoninus Pius, the Fifteenth Roman Emperor* - - 410
XXXIX. *Antoninus Philoſophus, the Sixteenth Roman Emperor* - 413
XL. *From the Death of the Antonines to the Death of Severus* - 423
XLI. *From the Death of Severus to the Dioclefian Æra* - 433
XLII. *From the Dioclefian Æra to the Removal of the Seat of Empire to Conſtantinople* - - 453
XLIII. *From the Foundation of Conſtantinople to the Fall of the Weſtern Empire.* - - - 466

ERRATUM.

CHAP. IX. Page 34, read——From the BANISHMENT of TARQUIN to the CREATION of the FIRST DICTATOR.

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMANS.

THE early part of the Roman Hiſtory, like that of almoſt all other hiſtories, eſpecially of all ancient hiſtories, is involved in fable and obſcurity. And, indeed, it is hardly poſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe. For, while men were totally unacquainted with the art of printing, and but very imperfectly ſkilled in that of writing, and conſequently were obliged to depend upon memory, and oral tradition, for the preſervation of facts, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe facts could be tranſmitted to poſterity in their true, genuine, and proper colours. Ignorance in ſome, credulity in others, the love of the marvellous in a third ſet, the force of prejudice in a fourth; theſe, and a variety of ſimilar cauſes, muſt naturally have tended to diſfigure the truth, and to repreſent things in general as more grand and magnificent, more ſtrange and wonderful than they really were. The Romans, though they afterwards became one of the moſt enlightened people in the world, yet being originally as ignorant and barbarous as their neighbours, naturally fell into this vulgar error; and not content with calling in the aſſiſtance of ſuperior powers to the eſtabliſhment of their ſtate, were even deſirous of being thought deſcended from the gods themſelves.

ÆNEAS, according to the popular tradition, who was ſuppoſed to be the ſon of Venus and Anchiſes, eſcaping from the flames of Troy, ſet ſail with a ſmall party of his countrymen; and after meeting with a variety of adventures, which

are beautifully ſung by Virgil in the firſt ſix books of the Æneid, arrived in Italy, where he was hoſpitably received by Latinus, king of the country, who even gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. This drew upon him the reſentment of Turnus, king of the Rutuli, (a neighbouring people) to whom Lavinia had been promiſed before the arrival of the Trojan hero. A war, therefore, enſued between the two nations, in which both Turnus and Latinus were ſlain; and Æneas ſucceeding his father-in-law on the throne, built a city, which he called Lavinium in honour of his wife. His good fortune, however, was not of any long continuance; for entering, ſoon after, into another war with Mezentius, one of the petty kings of the country, and coming to an engagement, he indeed gained the victory, but at the ſame time loſt his life, after a reign of four years. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Aſcanius, whom, according to ſome, he had by his laſt wife Lavinia, but according to others, by his firſt wife Creuſa, before he left Troy. This prince was likewiſe called Julus; and from him the Julian family pretended to derive both their name and pedigree. Of Aſcanius we know little more than that, leaving Lavinium to his mother or ſtep-mother, he built Alba Longa, which he made the capital of his kingdom, and where his poſterity continued to reign for the ſpace of four hundred and thirty years; for ſo long a time intervened between the building of that city and the foundation of Rome.

THE reigns of the ſucceeding kings of Alba, amounting in number to fourteen, were all of them equally barren with that of Aſcanius: we know nothing of them but their names, which it is therefore needleſs to mention, until we come to the reign of Numitor, the laſt king, who was dethroned by Amulius, his younger brother; and in order to ſecure himſelf in his ill-got power, the uſurper put to death his brother's ſon, Ægeſtus, and deprived his only daughter, Ilia, or Rhea Silvia, of all hopes of having poſterity by appointing her one of the veſtal virgins; an office, which obliged her to obſerve a perpetual virginity, or, in caſe of violating it, to undergo a cruel and ignominious death, no leſs than that of being buried alive. His barbarous policy, however, failed of its effect. Rhea Silvia proved with child, by the god Mars, as ſhe gave out, whom ſhe met, ſhe ſaid, in the ſacred grove, as ſhe was going to fetch water for one of the ſacred offices of her religion, and who there forced her; though the general opinion was, that it was ſome young lover of her own, whom ſhe met there by appointment; and there were not even wanting ſome who alledged, that Amulius himſelf had been guilty

of

of this double crime, of violating a veſtal, and deflowering his own niece; a ſuppoſition, which his vicious life in other reſpects rendered the leſs improbable.

WHOEVER was the father, certain it is, that in due time Rhea Silvia was delivered of twins, who were afterwards known by the names of Romulus and Remus. Her own life was ſaved at the interceſſion of her couſin, the daughter of Amulius; but ſhe was put in chains, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment. As to the infants themſelves, they were ordered to be thrown into the Tyber. It happened, however, at that time, that the river had overflowed its banks more than uſual, and had converted the adjacent fields into a kind of pond, which made it impoſſible to approach the main ſtream; and the ſtagnant water, into which the children were thrown, was too ſhallow to drown them. Others ſay, that they were expoſed in a cradle, and that, upon the water's retiring, they were left upon dry land; that a wolf, deſcending from the neighbouring mountains to drink, ran at their cry, and gave them ſuck; careſſing and licking them as if they had been her own young; the infants hanging on her dugs as if ſhe had been their mother; and that Fauſtulus, the king's ſhepherd, ſtruck with this ſurpriſing ſight, went and took them up, and carrying them home, delivered them to his wife Laurentia to nurſe; who brought them up as her own. Some, however, imagine, that this is a mere fable, ſuggeſted by the circumſtance of Laurentia's having acquired the name of wolf, or proſtitute, on account of the diſſolute life ſhe had formerly led.

THE twins, however, thus born and thus preſerved, diſtinguiſhed themſelves early by their enterpriſing ſpirit. At firſt, indeed, they confined themſelves to the ſhepherd's life, working for their livelihood like others, and building their huts with their own hands. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, that one of theſe huts, called Romulus, ſtill remained in his time, that is above 700 years after it was built. The indolence of the paſtoral life, however, by no means ſuited the ardent ſpirit of the brothers. They ſoon betook themſelves to hunting; and having, by this manly exerciſe, acquired at once both ſtrength of body and vigour of mind, they turned their arms againſt the robbers of their country, whom they frequently ſtript of their plunder, and divided it among the ſhepherds. This naturally drew about them a crowd of all the moſt bold and daring ſpirits of the country, which ſoon increaſed to ſuch a degree, as to enable them to hold aſſemblies and celebrate games. It was at the celebration of one of theſe games, that they were ſurprized by a party of

robbers, who had long watched for an opportunity of being revenged upon thoſe who had ſo often interrupted them in their predatory excurſions. Romulus eſcaped, but Remus was taken priſoner; and being carried before Amulius, was there accuſed of having committed depredations on the lands of Numitor. To Numitor, therefore, he was ſent to undergo ſuch puniſhment as that prince might think proper to inflict upon him.

FAUSTULUS had long ſuſpected, that the twins under his care were the very ſame that had been expoſed by Amulius on the river. He therefore imparted his ſuſpicion to Romulus, who very readily embraced an opinion, that was ſo well calculated to flatter his pride and gratify his ambition. In the mean time Numitor made the ſame diſcovery to Remus; and from comparing all circumſtances, the age of the youths, (now about eighteen) the time of their being expoſed, the manner of their being found, and a variety of other particulars, no doubt was entertained but they were the grandſons of Numitor. A plan therefore was immediately laid for dethroning Amulius and reſtoring Numitor; and both theſe ſchemes were happily accompliſhed by the death of the uſurper, who was killed at the firſt aſſault in his own palace.

THE ambition of the brothers, however, was too great to be ſatisfied with the diſtant proſpect of ſucceeding their grandfather when he ſhould die. They, therefore, reſolved to build a new city on the very ſpot on which they had been expoſed; and as, from the circumſtance of their being twins, neither of them could claim any right of precedence before the other, they agreed, by the advice of Numitor, to determine that point by conſulting the will of heaven from obſerving the flight of birds. For this purpoſe, each of them attended by their reſpective partizans, (for their followers were now ſplit into parties) took poſſeſſion of a different hill; Romulus of the Palatine, and Remus of the Aventine. Remus ſaw birds firſt; he diſcovered ſix vultures: but the very next moment Romulus ſaw twelve. Each of them claimed the victory; Remus, as having ſeen the birds firſt; Romulus, as having ſeen the greateſt number. This produced a quarrel between them: from words they ſoon came to blows, and Remus was killed in the ſcuffle. Some give a different account of the manner of his death. They ſay, that Remus having, in contempt of his brother, leaped over the city wall, in order to ſhew how inſufficient it was for the defence of the place, was ſtruck dead upon the ſpot by Romulus, with this expreſſion—"So periſh every one that ſhall dare for the future to overleap my walls!"

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

ROMULUS, *the Firſt King of* ROME.

ROMULUS, being now left without a rival, applied himſelf to the building of the city with equal diligence and ſucceſs. According to the moſt probable account (for authors differ on this ſubject) it was begun in the year of the world 3252, and 752 years before Chriſt. It was called Rome in honour of its founder, and was ſituated on the Palatine hill on which he had taken his ſucceſsful omen. It contained at firſt about a thouſand houſes, was nearly a mile in circumference, and poſſeſſed a ſmall territory round it, of about five or ſix miles in diameter. Small however as it was, it was ſtill worſe inhabited; and Romulus therefore took a very effectual method to furniſh it with people. He opened an aſylum for ſlaves and outlaws, and ſuch as were fond of novelty; and theſe flocked in from all quarters in ſuch numbers as ſoon repleniſhed the city with inhabitants. Romulus's next care was to introduce ſome ſort of civil government among his new coloniſts; and in doing this, as he was willing to acquire the praiſe of moderation, he very wiſely left them to their own choice, and they, in return for this mark of diſintereſtedneſs, unanimouſly choſe him for their firſt king. He was accordingly acknowledged as head of their religion, firſt magiſtrate of the city, and general of their armies. Of the religion of the ancient Romans we know little but that it conſiſted in ſome vain attempts to diſcover the will of heaven and the deſtinies of men by obſerving the flight of birds, or inſpecting the entrails of beaſts; and that theſe ceremonies were performed by the prieſts, who were called Augurs or Aruſpices. Ridiculous as theſe ceremonies might appear, Romulus now ordained, that no election ſhould be made, nor any enterprize of importance undertaken, without firſt performing them.

IN order to enable him to know the better in what manner to arrange his ſubjects, he began firſt by aſcertaining their number, and found they amounted to three thouſand foot, and about as many hundred horſemen, capable of bearing arms. Theſe he divided into three tribes (anſwering in ſome meaſure to our wards), and to each he aſſigned a different part of the city to inhabit. Each tribe was afterwards ſubdivided into ten *curiæ* (correſponding in ſome degree to our

pariſhes), conſiſting of an hundred men each, with a centurion to command it; a prieſt, called *curio*, to perform the ſacrifices; and two of the principal inhabitants, called *duumviri*, to adminiſter juſtice.

HAVING thus provided for the external defence of the city, he next began to take ſuch ſteps as he judged to be moſt proper for ſecuring its internal tranquillity; and as he found it impoſſible to diſcharge properly, in perſon, the various duties of his office, he propoſed to devolve part of them upon the oldeſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt reſpectable of his ſubjects. It was with this view that he eſtabliſhed the ſenate. He contented himſelf, indeed, with naming the firſt ſenator, whom, at the ſame time, he appointed to be governor of the city, in caſe of his own abſence: the choice of the reſt he left entirely to the people. Accordingly, the three tribes choſe each of them three ſenators, and each of the thirty *curiæ* did the ſame. Theſe, joined to the one named by the king, made the whole number amount to a hundred, which was the preciſe number they conſiſted of at firſt. They were called ſenators on account of their age, and *patres*, or fathers, from the fatherly care they were ſuppoſed to take of the people. Their deſcendants were ſtiled patricians, and this was the firſt origin of nobility among the Romans. All the reſt of the people, that were not included in the rank of patricians, were denominated plebeians.

BETWEEN theſe two, indeed, there was a kind of middle order, but approaching much nearer to the latter than the former. This was the order of knights, the inſtitution of which was as follows—Each of the thirty curiæ, by the direction of Romulus, choſe ten young men, who being furniſhed with horſes, were formed into a body, that ſerved ever after as a guard to the king's perſon, and particularly fought around him in time of action. From the name of their firſt commander, which was Celer, or from the ſwiftneſs and rapidity of their motions, they were ſtiled Celeres; and from the horſe, with which they were provided by the public, they were called *Equites*, and their order the equeſtrian order. Beſides this guard, the king was attended by another, compoſed of twelve men, called lictors, each of them carrying a battle-axe, tied up in a bundle of rods. Theſe walked conſtantly before him, and were always ready to execute his orders, particularly in puniſhing malefactors.

THE ſenate was poſſeſſed of very great power. All the important affairs of ſtate were tranſacted in it; and though the king preſided, he had no more than a ſingle vote like any private ſenator: every thing was determined by a majority of voices.

voices. The privileges of the patricians were likewiſe very conſiderable. They alone were capable of being elected to any office, whether civil or military, or of being advanced to the prieſthood; ſo that upon all vacancies of this kind, the plebeians had no other choice left than to fix upon ſome patrician to whom they might give their vote, for upon one or other of that order they muſt neceſſarily fix at laſt. But though the people might thus ſeem to have diveſted themſelves of all power in the ſtate, they had yet retained in their own hands the ſupreme authority; for no law, that was made by the king or the ſenate, was of any validity until it had been confirmed in their aſſemblies. In their aſſemblies were likewiſe ratified every thing relating to peace or war, the election of magiſtrates, and even the choice of a king. Their power, however, in theſe reſpects, was by no means unlimited. As they had a negative upon the other branches of the legiſlature, the others had the ſame upon them, ſo that nothing which they did could have the force of a law until it had been ſanctioned by the ſenate. Such was the nature of the Roman government, which, ſomewhat like our own, conſiſted of three diſtinct orders, the king, the ſenate, and the people, each of them intended as a check upon the other, and to prevent any one of them from abuſing the power with which they were inveſted.

OF Romulus's civil laws there are ſtill ſome fragments to be found in hiſtory. One of them relates to married women. It decrees, that they ſhall not leave their huſbands upon any pretence whatever: at the ſame time it permits the huſband to repudiate his wife, and even to put her to death, with the conſent of her relations, if ſhe was convicted of adultery, of poiſoning, of making falſe keys, or only of drinking wine. His laws with regard to parents and children were ſtill more ſevere. The father had an abſolute power over his offſpring, both of life and fortune. He could impriſon them or even put them to death: he could ſell them for ſlaves three times over, whatever age they had attained, or whatever dignities they had poſſeſſed. If they were born with any deformity, he could expoſe them upon giving previous notice of his intention to five of his next neighbours; but if he neglected this ceremony, half his effects were confiſcated into the public treaſury. Romulus's laws with regard to enemies were much more humane. It was forbidden to kill them after they had ſurrendered, or even to ſell them; his view in making war upon the neighbouring nations being not to extirpate them, but only to convert them from inveterate foes into faithful ſubjects.

IN order to prevent the envy that might naturally have ariſen in the breaſts of the plebeians on account of the ſuperior privileges poſſeſſed by the patricians, Romulus introduced a moſt excellent cuſtom. He permitted every plebeian to chuſe a patron from among the ſenators, and the ties that bound theſe claſſes of men together were of the ſtrongeſt kind. The patron was obliged to aſſiſt the client (ſo the other was called) with his counſel and advice; to explain to him the laws; to plead his cauſe before the judges; to protect him from all kind of injury; in a word, to conſult and promote his intereſt with as much zeal and aſſiduity as if he had been his own child. The client, on his part, was equally bound to attach himſelf to the intereſt of his patron; to help him, if poor, to portion his daughters, to pay his debts, or his ranſom, if taken priſoner in war; to follow him on every ſervice of danger; whenever he ſtood candidate for an office, he was obliged to give him his vote; and neither patron nor client could appear as evidence againſt each other in a court of juſtice. Theſe reciprocal duties were eſteemed ſo ſacred, that whoever violated them, was looked upon as infamous; nay, it was even thought lawful to kill him as a perſon guilty of ſacrilege.

BUT though Romulus had made ſo great a difference in point of honour between the two claſſes of his ſubjects (for originally there were but two) he made very little in point of fortune. All the lands of the ſtate he divided into thirty equal parts according to the number of the curiæ; and after reſerving a ſufficient portion for public uſes and the ſervice of religion, he gave one of theſe parts to each curiæ, ſo that when the ground came to be ſubdivided, little more than two acres fell to the lot of any ſingle man.

ROMULUS having now taken every ſtep he could think of for regulating the preſent government of his ſubjects, began to caſt his eyes towards futurity; and he plainly perceived, that, unleſs he could procure a ſupply of women, the Roman ſtate muſt terminate with the lives of its preſent members. By the advice, therefore, of the ſenate, he ſent ambaſſadors to the Sabines, his neareſt neighbours, entreating a matrimonial alliance with them, and upon theſe terms offering to enter into the ſtricteſt bonds of friendſhip with them. The Sabines were then conſidered as the moſt warlike people in Italy; and whether it was that they diſdained to give their daughters in marriage to men of ſuch obſcure origin as the Romans, or that they already began to look upon Rome as a growing ſtate that might ſoon become dangerous to her neighbours, they rejected the propoſal in the moſt peremptory

tory manner. Some of them even added raillery to their refuſal; aſking the ambaſſadors why, when their maſter opened an aſylum for fugitive ſlaves, he did not likewiſe open one for proſtitute women? for that that would have furniſhed them with ſuitable matches, in which neither party could upbraid the other.

ROMULUS was not of a ſpirit patiently to put up with ſuch a ſtudied indignity. He reſolved to take a ſignal vengeance, and at the ſame time to obtain that by force which he ſaw he could not procure by gentle methods. Meanwhile he concealed his reſentment, and only gave out, that he intended to celebrate a feſtival in honour of Neptune. Theſe feſtivals were generally preceded by ſacrifices, and always ended in ſhows of wreſtlers, gladiators, and chariot races. Romulus expected that moſt of the neighbouring people would come to the feaſt. Nor was he diſappointed. The Sabines were the firſt that made their appearance, accompanied by their wives and daughters; and their example was followed by the Ceninenſes, Antemnates, Cruſtuminians, and other petty ſtates. They were all of them received by the Romans with the greateſt marks of friendſhip, and after being entertained in their houſes, were placed in the moſt convenient ſituation for ſeeing the ſports.

IN the mean time the games began; and while the eyes of the ſtrangers were fixed upon the ſhow, a number of Roman youth ruſhed into the aſſembly ſword in hand, ſeized the youngeſt and moſt beautiful women, and inſtantly carried them off. In vain did the parents proteſt againſt this breach of hoſpitality; in vain did the virgins themſelves oppoſe the attempts of their raviſhers. Romulus went about among them, ſoothing and conſoling them. He ſaid, that he intended them no violence; that they had nobody to blame but their fathers, who had ſcornfully and cruelly rejected his propoſals; he therefore intreated them to be pacified, and to ſurrender their hearts to thoſe whom fortune had put in poſſeſſion of their perſons; and in order the more effectually to reconcile them to their fate, he cauſed them to be immediately married to thoſe who had carried them off, and who thus from cruel raviſhers, became their lawful, and in a little time their beloved huſbands.

BUT however ſoon the virgins might have been ſatisfied, their parents were by no means ſo eaſily appeaſed: theſe breathed nothing but war and vengeance. The Ceninenſes were the firſt that took up arms; but Romulus marching againſt them, overthrew their forces, ſlew their king Acron in ſingle combat, and entering Rome with the royal ſpoils upon his

ſhoulders, which was the origin of the Roman triumph, made an offering of them to Jupiter Feretrius on the ſpot where the capitol was afterwards built. The Antemnates and Cruſtuminians were equally unſucceſsful: Romulus defeated their armies, and took their towns; but inſtead of deſtroying them, he only placed Roman colonies in them, to protect his dominions againſt the incurſions of more diſtant enemies.

THE Sabines were the laſt, though not the leaſt powerful people that undertook to revenge the affront offered to their daughters. They entered the Roman territories to the number of twenty-five thouſand men; and Tatius, their king, added ſtratagem to ſtrength: for having got into his hands Tarpeia, daughter to the commander of the Capitoline hill, who had come without the walls to draw water, he prevailed upon her, by means of large promiſes, to open one of the gates to his army. The reward ſhe engaged for, was what the ſoldiers wore on their left arms, by which ſhe meant their bracelets. But they, either miſtaking her meaning, or deteſting her treachery, and willing to have it believed that they had taken the place by force and not by fraud, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered, and cruſhed her to death.

THE Sabines, however, being now maſters of the Capitoline hill, there was an abſolute neceſſity for driving them from it, or yielding up the city to them entirely. A general engagement, accordingly, very ſoon took place, and dreadful havoc was made on both ſides; when the women, who had been carried off by the Romans, forgetting the natural timidity of their ſex, and with their garments rent and their hair diſhevelled, ruſhed in amidſt a ſhower of darts between the two armies, and endeavoured to part them. "You are all, (cried they, addreſſing themſelves firſt to one ſide and then to the other) you are all united by the ſacred names of ſons-in-law and fathers-in-law; pollute not yourſelves with blood that cannot be ſhed without guilt. Brand not your wretched children, ſons of the one, and grandſons of the other, with the indelible ſtain of being deſcended from a race of parricides. If the alliance, contracted between you by our marriage, be ſo grievous to you, turn your arms againſt us, ſince we only are the cauſe of the quarrel. It will be much better for us to periſh by your hands, than to ſurvive either of you, as in that caſe we muſt either be widows or orphans." With this pathetic ſpeech, and this tender ſpectacle, both ſides were ſo deeply affected, that they inſtantly let fall their arms; and a truce firſt, and ſoon after a treaty was concluded between them, by which it was agreed, that Romulus and Tatius ſhould reign jointly in Rome with the ſame power and the

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ſame marks of diſtinction; that an hundred Sabines ſhould be admitted into the ſenate; that the city ſhould ſtill retain its former name, but that the people in general ſhould be called Quirites, from Cures, the capital of the Sabines; and that the two nations being thus united, as many of the Sabines as choſe it, ſhould be permitted to ſettle at Rome, and ſhould to all intents and purpoſes become Roman citizens. By this treaty Rome doubled the number of her inhabitants and the extent of her territory; and Tatius being killed about five years after in a tumult at Lavinium, all the powers of royalty reverted to Romulus.

TOWARDS the latter end of his reign Romulus is ſaid to have grown arbitrary and tyrannical. This drew upon him the reſentment of the people, and particularly of the ſenate, whoſe authority he had endeavoured to depreſs. The manner of his death is not exactly known. Some ſay, that he was murdered in the ſenate-houſe; and in order the better to conceal the deed, that each of the ſenators carried away a piece of the body under his robe. Others pretend, that he ſuddenly diſappeared in the midſt of a tempeſt while he was reviewing his army, and from that time forward was never ſeen more. This ſeems to have been a ſtory invented by the ſenators, to conceal the ſhare they had in his death, and furniſhed them with an opportunity of perſuading the people, that he was taken up into heaven; in conſequence of which a temple was built to him under the name of Quirinus: and thus him whom they could not endure as a king, they were contented to worſhip as a God. Romulus died in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fifth of his age.

CHAP. III.

NUMA POMPILIUS.

[ANN. ROM. 38.]

ROMULUS left no children behind him, if, indeed, he ever had any; and as his death was altogether unexpected, no ſteps had been taken to provide him a ſucceſſor from another family. To prevent things, therefore, from falling into confuſion, the ſenators undertook to manage the affairs of the public, each in his turn, for the ſpace of five days, and during that time were to enjoy all the powers and prerogatives of royalty. This interregnum continued for a

twelvemonth, at the end of which the people being tired of obeying ſo many maſters inſtead of one, inſiſted upon the ſenate's proceeding to the election of a new ſovereign.

To do this, however, to the ſatisfaction of all parties, was no eaſy matter. The Romans were deſirous of having the king choſen from among them: the Sabines, on the other hand, were no leſs eager for the ſovereign's being elected out of their nation. To end the diſpute it was at laſt agreed to determine by lot which of them ſhould exerciſe the right of election, but with this proviſo, that whichever of them exerciſed it, they ſhould be obliged to make their choice from the other party; and the right at length falling to the Romans, they pitched upon a Sabine, called Numa Pompilius, for king. And indeed they could not have fixed upon a more proper perſon. From Romulus they had learned the art of war; they were now to learn the arts of peace from Numa; and no man in that rude age, and hardly indeed in any other, ſeems to have been better qualified for inſtructing the people in all the duties of ſocial and civilized life. He had long been celebrated over the whole neighbouring country for his probity, his piety, his moderation, and juſtice, and almoſt every other mild and amiable virtue; and it was merely his high character in theſe reſpects that now procured him the offer of a crown, which, however, for ſome time, he refuſed to accept, as being altogether inconſiſtent with that quiet and peaceable life he had hitherto led and ſtill wiſhed to continue; nor could any thing overcome his reluctance but the earneſt entreaties of his friends, and the importunity of the Roman ambaſſadors, who came to make him a tender of the ſovereignty.

AT laſt, however, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded; and removing from Cures, where he then dwelt, to Rome, he entered upon the exerciſe of his royal functions. The firſt ſtep he took was to diſband the guard of 300 celeres, or light horſe, which Romulus had eſtabliſhed to attend upon his perſon; obſerving, at the ſame time, that he would have nothing about him that betrayed the leaſt jealouſy of the people he governed. Being as fond of peace as Romulus was of war, he did every thing in his power to reconcile the Romans to the diſuſe of arms. With this view he built the temple of Janus, which was to be open in time of war, and ſhut in peace, as it was during his whole reign; a circumſtance that never happened but twice from this period to the reign of Auguſtus.

CONVINCED that religion is the beſt ſupport of morality, he endeavoured to inſpire his ſubjects with a ſtrong love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. It was for this purpoſe that he built a number of other temples, inſtituted a variety

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of ſacred feaſts and feſtivals, and eſtabliſhed an order of prieſts to ſuperintend the celebration of religious rites. He likewiſe regulated the order of veſtals, which had been eſtabliſhed before, as appears from the caſe of Rhea Sylvia, the mother of Romulus. He now raiſed their number to four, which was afterwards encreaſed to ſix; and at that number they continued ever after. Their buſineſs was to watch the holy fire, that was for ever kept burning in the temple of Veſta: if it went out, it could only be rekindled at the rays of the ſun; and the veſtal, through whoſe negligence ſuch an accident had happened, was ſcourged like a ſlave. The veſtals were to ſerve in the temple for the ſpace of thirty years, during which they were obliged to obſerve the moſt inviolate chaſtity, to which they had previouſly bound themſelves by a vow, and if they were found to have broken that vow, they were condemned to ſuffer the moſt dreadful puniſhment: they were buried alive. To reward them for theſe hardſhips, or acts of ſelf-denial, they were entitled to very great honours and privileges. They had a right to make a will in their father's life-time. They were exempted from the neceſſity of taking an oath, and were believed in courts of juſtice on their ſimple affirmation. When they appeared in public, they were attended by a lictor, with the faſces, or enſigns of royalty. If, in their walks, they happened to meet a criminal leading to execution, that ſingle circumſtance procured the culprit a pardon, upon their declaring that the meeting was the effect of chance, and not of deſign. They were admitted into the order ſome time between the age of ſix and ten; and after the expiration of their thirty years ſervice, they were at liberty to marry, though few of them availed themſelves of that indulgence.

BESIDES the Flamines and Pontifices, which he had already eſtabliſhed, he inſtituted two other orders of prieſts, called Salii and Feciales, the one to take care of the ſacred ſhields or Ancilia, which he pretended had dropped down from heaven, and which, while they remained in Rome, would ſerve as a perpetual ſafeguard to the city; the other to judge of the equity of war, and to proclaim it with due ſolemnity. Knowing that induſtry is the beſt preſervative of peace, as it leads men to live upon the produce of their own labour, inſtead of ſeizing upon that of others, as warriors in general are wont to do, he divided the lands, that had been conquered by Romulus, among the poorer citizens, and by his precepts and example encouraged a taſte for agriculture. To deſtroy the diſtinction between the Romans and the Sabines, and to incorporate them thoroughly into one people, he divided them according

according to their ſeveral trades and occupations, making every trade a particular company. He ſoftened the rigour of the laws with regard to parents and children, making it unlawful for a father to ſell his ſon after marriage, becauſe he thought it unjuſt that a woman, who had married a freeman, ſhould be compelled to live with a ſlave. He reformed the kalendar, which was very much out of order in his time, the year then conſiſting only of ten months. Numa added two months more, viz. January and February, and made the whole number amount to twelve. To give the greater force to his various inſtitutions, and make the people look upon them as ſomething more than human, he ſaid they were ſuggeſted to him by the goddeſs Egeria, with whom he pretended to have a particular correſpondence; and as the Romans were then very ignorant, and conſequently very ſuperſtitious, he eaſily gained credit to this pious fraud. Having thus reigned forty-three years, during which he had rendered his ſubjects much more humane and civilized than he found them, he died at the age of eighty; ordering his body, inſtead of being burned according to the cuſtom of the times, to be buried in a ſtone coffin, and his books of ceremonies, which conſiſted of twelve in Latin, and as many in Greek, to be buried, by his ſide, in another. Theſe books were taken up about four hundred years after, and becauſe it was thought impious to reveal to the vulgar the myſteries they contained, they were burned by an order of the ſenate.

CHAP. IV.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS, *the Third King of* ROME.

[ANN. ROM. 82.]

NUMA is ſaid to have had three ſons, from whom three of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome are ſuppoſed to have deſcended; and hence it is, that Horace calls the Piſo's the progeny of Numa: but as the crown was then elective and not hereditary, the people choſe Tullus Hoſtilius as his ſucceſſor. This man was the ſon of a noble Roman, named Hoſtus Hoſtilius, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf remarkably in the war againſt the Sabines, while they were poſſeſſed of the capitol; and as he was of as martial a diſpoſition as his father, and even more enterpriſing than Romulus himſelf, he was only, on that account, the more acceptable to the Romans, who

who began to grow tired of the peaceable life they had led under Numa. Nor was it long before he had an opportunity of gratifying at once his own propenſity and that of his ſubjects, by engaging in a war with the Albans.

THE pretence for this war was the mutual depredations committed upon each other's territories; but the real cauſe ſeems to have been the ambition of the two ſtates, each of which aſpired at a ſuperiority over its neighbour. The hoſtile armies met about five miles from Rome, and were juſt upon the point of engaging, when Metius Suffetius, general of the Albans, ſtepped forward, and propoſed terminating the diſpute by ſingle combat, upon this condition, that whichever of the champions ſhould be overcome, their nation ſhould be obliged to obey the other. The propoſal was readily accepted by Tullus; and the deciſion of the conteſt was left to three twin-brothers on either ſide. Thoſe on the ſide of the Romans were called Horatii; thoſe on the ſide of the Albans, Curiatii. They are ſaid to have been couſin-germans, being the ſons of two ſiſters. When the previous ſteps were properly adjuſted, the combatants met; and remembering that not their own ſafety only, but the fate of their country, depended upon their proweſs, they fought with a courage and reſolution becoming the importance of the prize that was now at ſtake. At the firſt ſhock two of the Horatii fell breathleſs to the ground, and the three Curiatii were all of them wounded. The ſurviving Horatius was ſtill unhurt; but finding himſelf unable to contend with his three antagoniſts in a body, he endeavoured to ſeparate them by pretending to fly, thinking they would follow him with greater or leſs rapidity as their wounds would permit. Nor was he diſappointed; for ſoon looking behind, he ſaw them purſuing him at very unequal diſtances: when turning upon the firſt, he laid him dead at his feet; then advancing to the ſecond, he made him ſhare the ſame fate; and at laſt coming up to the third, "two of you," ſaid he, "I have already ſacrificed to the manes of my brothers; I will now ſacrifice you to the glory of my country, and, by putting an end to this war, will acquire for Rome a ſuperiority over Alba." So ſaying he plunged his dagger in his breaſt, and ſeized upon his ſpoils. Returning triumphant at the head of the Roman army, he met his ſiſter at one of the city gates. She, it ſeems, had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii, to whom ſhe had made a preſent of a military robe, which ſhe now ſaw upon her brother's ſhoulder, among the other trophies of his victory. Struck with this melancholy ſight, and more deeply afflicted with her own private loſs, than overjoyed at the proſperity

ſperity of her country, ſhe broke out into loud lamentations for the death of her lover, and the moſt bitter execrations againſt her brother, as the cauſe of that misfortune. Horatius was but ill able to bear ſuch an unſeaſonable interruption to the general joy. Provoked at his ſiſter's unmerited reproaches, and hardly yet reſtored to his uſual compoſure, he inſtantly ſtabbed her, exclaiming at the ſame time, "Thus periſh every one that ſhall dare for the future to lament the death of an enemy to Rome?" All men were ſhocked at this barbarous deed. Even the glory of his late victory could hardly ſcreen him from the odium attending it, and ſtill leſs from the rigour of the laws. He was immediately ſummoned before the criminal judges, who condemned him to death; nor was it without an appeal to the people, and at the earneſt entreaty of his father, who juſtified the action, and beſought his countrymen not to make entirely childleſs, that he was able to obtain a pardon.

THE only other incident in Tullus's reign that is worthy of notice, is the puniſhment he inflicted on Metius Suffetius, the Alban general, who had incurred the diſpleaſure of his countrymen, by committing the fate of the nation to the iſſue of a ſingle combat. In order to remedy this miſtake, and recover his loſt popularity, Metius contrived to involve the Romans in a freſh war with the Veientes and Fidenates, hoping it would furniſh him with ſome plauſible pretext for delivering his country from that yoke to which it had ſubmitted. When the hoſtile armies met, and were upon the point of engaging, Metius, who, by the late treaty, was bound to aſſiſt the Romans, and had actually joined them with his forces, withdrew his troops to a neighbouring hill, there intending to wait the iſſue of the battle, and then declare for the ſtrongeſt party. Tullus immediately perceived his deſign, and in order to prevent him from carrying it into execution, called out aloud, that it was by his command that Metius had retired to the hill, with a view of falling upon the enemy in their rear. This naturally filled them with ſuch dread and terror, that they betook themſelves to flight, and were purſued by the Romans with conſiderable ſlaughter. After the battle, Tullus aſſembled his army, conſiſting both of Romans and Albans; and having clearly explained to them the nature of Metius's deſign, and the treacherous view with which it was concerted, he cauſed him to be tied by the legs and arms to two chariots, each of them drawn by four horſes; and theſe being driven different ways tore his body in pieces. This, ſay the hiſtorians, was the firſt and laſt time that ſuch a puniſhment was

was inflicted by the Romans, and the only one in which they ſeem to have forgot the laws of humanity.

IMMEDIATELY after the puniſhment of Metius, Tullus cauſed the city of Alba to be demoliſhed, and its inhabitants tranſplanted to Rome, where the principal of them were admitted into the ſenate, and the inferior ſort diſtributed into the different tribes, and thus were, to all intents and purpoſes, rendered Roman citizens. This was the laſt war of any conſequence in which Tullus was engaged. He died after a reign of thirty-two years, according to ſome by lightning, but according to others by private aſſaſſination.

CHAP. V.

ANCUS MARTIUS, *the Fourth King of* ROME.

[ANN. ROM. 115.]

THE death of Tullus Hoſtilius was ſucceeded by an interregnum in the ſame manner as that of his predeceſſor. After ſome time, however, the people choſe for king Ancus Martius, the grandſon of Numa; and this they did not ſo much in compliment to the memory of that great prince, as on account of the perſonal merit of Ancus himſelf; for the Romans ſeem to have had no idea of hereditary right, but always beſtowed the ſupreme power upon him whom they thought to be beſt qualified for diſcharging the duties belonging to it. Nor were they diſappointed in their preſent choice; for as they now ſtood in need of a prince that could inſpire them with habits of induſtry, and check their immoderate propenſity to war, which was certainly their ruling paſſion, they could not have pitched upon a man that was more capable of effecting theſe ſalutary purpoſes than Ancus. In imitation of his grandfather, he applied himſelf at firſt entirely to the arts of peace He rebuilt in a more magnificent manner the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which Romulus had originally erected. He fortified the hill Janiculum, and united it to the city, by throwing a wooden bridge over the Tyber. He incloſed the Aventine hill with a wall, and ſettled on it thoſe nations that had lately been ſubdued. And as the people were now become very numerous, and conſequently very licentious, in order the better to overawe malefactors, he built a large priſon in the middle of the city, and within ſight of Forum. He likewiſe built a town at the mouth of the Tyber, which, on account of its ſituation, he called Oſtia; and in the

the neighbourhood of it he dug ſome ſalt-pits, which enabled him to ſupply the city with a ſufficient quantity of that article.

FINDING, however, that the neighbouring ſtates, and particularly the Latins, the Sabines, and the Volſci, looked upon theſe occupations rather as marks of fear than indications of wiſdom, and that they were thereby tempted to make incurſions into the Roman territories, Ancus began, however reluctantly, to aſſemble an army. Previous, however, to his marching againſt the enemy, he thought it but conſiſtent with the character he had hitherto maintained of a peaceable prince, to declare war in form againſt them. A herald, therefore, proceeding to their borders, cried out with a loud voice—"Hear, O Jupiter, and thou Juno; hear, Quirinus; hear, ye celeſtial, terreſtrial, and infernal gods; I call you all to witneſs, that the Latins are unjuſt; and as they have injured the Roman people, and refuſe to make reparation, I and the Romans, with the conſent of the ſenate, declare war againſt them." This was the form of words uſed in declaring war; it is particularly deſcribed by Livy; and it is evident from it, that no mention is made of the king, but that every thing was done in the name, and by the authority of the people, that is, of the whole body of the nation.

HAVING taken this neceſſary ſtep, as he conſidered it, Ancus advanced againſt the enemy, and ſoon convinced them, that, notwithſtanding the tranquil life he had hitherto led, he was as well qualified for conducting the operations of war, as for ſuperintending the leſs ſplendid indeed, but, at the ſame time, the more uſeful works of peace. He defeated the Latins in ſeveral engagements; he took and demoliſhed their cities, and by removing the inhabitants to Rome, he at once increaſed the number of his own ſubjects, and diminiſhed that of the enemy. He repreſſed the inroads of the Volſcians, the Fidenates and Veientes; and over the Sabines he obtained a complete victory. Having thus ſecured the tranquillity of his dominions, he paſſed the reſt of his days in quiet, and died after a reign of twenty-four years, leaving two ſons behind him under the care of Lucius Tarquinius, who afterwards ſucceeded him on the throne by the name of Tarquinius Priſcus.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, *the Fifth King of* ROME.

[ANN. ROM. 138.]

TARQUINIUS Priſcus was originally named Lucumo. He was the ſon of Damaratus, a rich merchant of Corinth, who being obliged to leave his country on account of ſome diſturbances there, came and ſettled at Tarquinia, where he married a woman of family, and had by her two ſons, Aruns, and this Lucumo. Aruns dying in his father's lifetime, Lucumo ſucceeded to the whole fortune, and eſpouſed Tanaquil, a Tarquinian lady of high rank, who being diſſatisfied at the little reſpect ſhewn to her huſband on account of his foreign extraction and his mercantile profeſſion, adviſed him to remove to Rome, where merit alone paved the way to nobility. He very readily took her advice, and immediately ſet out with his wife and whole family. Hiſtorians tell us, that upon his approaching the city, an eagle, ſtooping from above, took off his hat, and after flying round his chariot for ſome time with a loud noiſe, put it on again. His wife Tanaquil, who is ſaid to have been well ſkilled in augury, conſidered this as a happy omen, and embracing her huſband with great tenderneſs, aſſured him that it plainly portended he ſhould one day wear the crown. His great wealth procured him a favourable reception at Rome; and the more ſo, as he generouſly offered to depoſit the whole of it in the public treaſury for the uſe of the nation. He now changed his name to that of Tarquinius, in alluſion to the city of Tarquinia, where he was born. The name of Priſcus was afterwards added, to diſtinguiſh him from Tarquin the Proud.

HIS affability, generoſity, and politeneſs, every day gained him new friends, and in a little time he became the moſt popular man in Rome. The king at length was informed of his character, and expreſſed a deſire to ſee him; and after converſing with him for ſome time, he frankly acknowledged, that his merit was ſtill greater than his fame. He entruſted him with the management of ſeveral public affairs, and always found, that he diſcharged his duty in ſuch a manner, as to ſhew he had abilities for a much higher ſtation than what he then filled. At laſt, as the ſtrongeſt proof he could give of his entire confidence in him, he committed to him the guardianſhip of his two ſons. This it probably was, that firſt inſpired Tarquin with

with the thoughts of procuring the crown for himſelf. He has been accuſed of ambition in preſuming to aſpire to the crown at all, and of ingratitude in endeavouring to ſupplant the ſons of his benefactor. But both theſe charges appear to be groundleſs. Two foreigners, Tatius and Numa, had already wore the crown, and as the eldeſt ſon of Ancus was only fourteen years of age, he was conſequently incapable of being elected, or of wielding the reins of government. To prevent, however, any factious perſons making uſe of this circumſtance to raiſe a commotion, he took care to have the two youths ſent out of the way on the day of election; and when that arrived, he had hardly any-thing elſe to do than to explain his pretenſions to the people, who being fully convinced that there was not in Rome a more deſerving man than him, readily gave him their votes, and raiſed him to the royalty.

HIS firſt care after his election was to reward his friends, and increaſe his popularity by admitting a hundred of the moſt eminent of the plebeians into the rank of knights, and even into the number of ſenators, who now amounted to three hundred inſtead of two, which was their former complement. He likewiſe increaſed the number of veſtals, by adding two to the four that were formerly appointed. But his peaceful occupations were ſoon interrupted by the reſtleſs diſpoſition of his neighbours, particularly the Latins, the Tuſcans, and Sabines, who became every day more and more jealous of the growing power and proſperity of Rome, and who probably foreſaw their own ſubjection as the inevitable conſequence of her acquiring more ſtrength. To give a check, therefore, to her riſing greatneſs, they eagerly watched for ſome favourable opportunity of declaring war againſt her. Tarquin eaſily dived into their deſign, and reſolved to be before-hand with them. He marched out againſt them, defeated them in ſeveral engagements, took and deſtroyed many of their towns, and having thus reduced them all to ſubmiſſion, he was again at leiſure to apply himſelf to works of peace, which were much more agreeable to his inclination. He built a number of ſhops and other houſes round the forum, the place where juſtice was adminiſtered, where the markets were kept, and where the aſſemblies of the people were held. He rebuilt with large ſtones, and in a regular ſtile, the walls of Rome, which had formerly been huddled up in a very clumſy manner. He conſtructed a number of aqueducts for ſupplying the people with water.

BUT the greateſt of all his undertakings was the common ſewers, which he formed for draining off the filth of the city, and

and conveying it into the Tyber. Theſe, indeed, were ſo magnificent, that a waggon, loaded with hay, might paſs under the vaults; and eight hundred years after they were conſtructed, Pliny obſerves that they were ſtill objects worthy of admiration. We may likewiſe form ſome judgment of them from what is related by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, viz. that theſe ſewers having in time become obſtructed by rubbiſh, ſo as to deny a free paſſage to the water, the ſum of a thouſand talents, or 75,000 pounds, was allowed to the cenſors who undertook to cleanſe them. We further learn from hiſtory, that the cleanſing of them a ſecond time was one of the greateſt works of the emperor Auguſtus. They are ſtill in being, and viſible at ſome caſual opening; but Rome, however rich, is not ſufficiently wealthy either to put them into repair, or to keep them in it. Dr. Ferguſon, in his hiſtory of the Roman republic, ſays, that it is extremely unlikely they ſhould have been built by a prince, whoſe dominions did not extend above eighteen miles from Rome in any direction. He thinks it is more natural to ſuppoſe that they were built by a people more ancient than the Romans, ſo very ancient as to be beyond the reach of hiſtory, and who happened to have their metropolis upon the very ſame ſpot where Rome was afterwards founded: and, in order to render this opinion the more probable, he adds, that we have ſomething of a ſimilar nature now under our eye; for that the wild Arabs, without knowing what is beneath them, frequently build their huts upon the very ground where formerly ſtood the famous city of Palmyra.

IN order to render the people more religious, or to ſpeak with greater propriety, more ſuperſtitious, and conſequently, as he thought, more ſubmiſſive, he fell upon the following contrivance; for it deſerves no other name. He one day deſired Attius Nævius, the moſt celebrated augur of his time, to conſult the auſpices, whether what he was revolving in his mind was poſſible. Nævius did ſo, and returned for anſwer, that it certainly was. "Then," replied Tarquin, "I was thinking whether you could cut this whetſtone with a razor: there they are; go and perform what your auſpices declare to be poſſible." Upon which, we are told, Nævius took the whetſtone, and immediately cut it through with the razor. Tarquin was filled, or pretended to be filled, with the higheſt admiration at this wonderful circumſtance; and, in order to preſerve the memory of it, he cauſed a ſtatue of braſs, with the head veiled, to be erected to Nævius, upon the very ſpot where the miracle was performed. This had a ſurpriſing effect in increaſing the veneration that was paid to the augurs,

without

without whoſe advice nothing for the future of any conſequence was undertaken at Rome.

TARQUIN had now attained to the eightieth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign, when he was ſuddenly cut off by two aſſaſſins; and his murder ſeems to have been owing to the following circumſtance. At the taking of Corniculum, a city of Latium, which Tarquin reduced, Ocriſia, ſpouſe to the prince of that place, was made priſoner among others. Tarquin delivered her to his wife, Tanaquil, who not only reſtored her to her liberty, but gave her an apartment in the palace, where ſhe was ſoon after brought to bed of a ſon. This ſon was called Tullius after his father, who was killed at the ſiege of Corniculum, and Servius, in memory of his mother's bondage; for all priſoners of war were, in that age, ſlaves. Ancient facts of a ſingular nature are generally attended with miracles, and the frequency of theſe is a ſufficient reaſon why we ſhould give credit to none of them. It is related of this child, that while he was yet an infant, and was one day ſleeping in the cradle, a flame of fire was ſeen to encircle his head without doing him any hurt. Tanaquil, whoſe prediction with regard to her huſband's obtaining the crown had been ſo fully verified, now took upon her to interpret this prodigy. She ſaid it was a certain ſign, that Servius would one day be the ſupport and ornament of the royal family. She therefore adviſed her huſband to give him an education ſuitable to the high expectations they had reaſon to entertain of him. He did ſo, and the rapid progreſs which Servius made in every noble and manly accompliſhment correſponded to the pains that were beſtowed upon him. When Tarquin began to advance in years, he devolved upon Tullius the whole care of the government; he even gave him his daughter in marriage, and was paving the way for making him his ſucceſſor. This enraged the two ſons of Ancus Martius, who were ſtill alive. They thought it very hard, that, after having been excluded from the throne in favour of Tarquin himſelf, they ſhould now be excluded from it a ſecond time in favour of his ſon-in-law, who was ſprung from a bond woman. They therefore determined to make away both with Tarquin and Servius, and to begin with the former as the moſt powerful of the two, and the moſt capable of defeating their views upon the throne by perhaps chooſing another ſon-in-law, and making him his ſucceſſor. The better to execute their bloody purpoſe, they diſguiſed two of their attendants in the habit of peaſants. Theſe coming near the palace-gate with hatchets on their ſhoulders, pretended to quarrel, and not being able to ſettle the matter between them-

themſelves, they demanded to be carried into the royal preſence, in order to obtain juſtice. Kings were then very eaſy of acceſs, and decided moſt cauſes, and even petty diſputes, in perſon. When brought before the king, they ſtill continued, agreeable to their aſſumed character, to bawl and make a noiſe, and it was with much difficulty they were prevailed on to ſpeak by turns. One of them at laſt began to explain the cauſe of his complaint; and while the king was attentively liſtening to him, the other ſtruck his hatchet into his head, and leaving it in the wound, they both endeavoured to fly. They were ſeized, however, and immediately put to death. The king's attendants had juſt time to remove him into another apartment before he expired.

TANAQUIL, who was no leſs remarkable for her political addreſs than for her ſkill in augury, reſolved that the conſpirators ſhould not profit by their barbarous deed. She ſtill determined to ſecure the crown for Servius. With this view, ſhe cauſed the gates of the palace to be ſhut, ſo as to prevent any one from either going out or coming in until ſhe had got every thing ready for her purpoſe. Then looking out at one of the windows, ſhe told the crowd below, "that the king had indeed been ſtunned by the violence of the blow he had received, but the wound was not mortal; he had now recovered his ſenſes, was in a fair way of recovery, and ſhe hoped would be able in a few days to appear again in public. In the mean time, ſhe added, it was her pleaſure, that the people ſhould obey Servius, who would adminiſter juſtice, and diſcharge all the other duties of royalty." Upon this Servius, as had been previouſly concerted, iſſued from the palace in the robes of ſtate, and attended by the lictors, and ſeating himſelf on the throne, decided ſome cauſes immediately, and upon others pretended he would conſult the king. At length, having ſecured a ſufficient party in the ſenate, if not openly to ſupport, at leaſt tacitly to connive at, his uſurpation, he boldly publiſhed an account both of the king's death and his own appointment to the government, or, as he called it, to the regency of the kingdom, as guardian to the two grandſons of Tarquin; for that prince left two grandſons behind him, viz. Lucius Tarquinius, and Aruns Tarquinius, though ſome ſay they were his ſons.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS, *the Sixth King of* ROME.

[ANN. ROM. 176.]

AS Servius had taken poſſeſſion of the throne merely by the authority, or rather, indeed, by the permiſſion of the ſenate, and without conſulting the ſentiments of the people, in whom, however, the ſole right of election lay, he plainly ſaw, that he could never expect to enjoy it in tranquillity, unleſs he could fall upon ſome method of reconciling theſe laſt to his intereſt. In order, if poſſible, to do this, he paid the debts of ſuch of them as were moſt involved in difficulties; upon others he beſtowed the lands that had been lately conquered from the enemy, and which the rich, as uſual, had contrived to get into their hands; and having thus, as he thought, effectually ſecured the good-will of the people, he called them together, and repreſented to them the imminent danger to which he as well as his wards, the grandſons of the late king, were expoſed from the machinations of ſome of the ſenators, who having formed, as he alledged, a deſign upon the crown, were going to ſacrifice both them and him to the gratification of their ambition. He therefore intended, he ſaid, to deliver up the two princes into the hands of the Roman people, who alone were capable of affording them protection; and as to himſelf, he declared, he was ready to reſign all pretenſions to the throne, if they thought it would be conducive to the public intereſt. The people, upon hearing this, immediately cried out, that he ſhould be their king; and an aſſembly by curiæ being accordingly convened, they elected him into that high office with as much unanimity as had ever appeared in the election of any former ſovereign.

THIS decree of the people, however, was not ratified by the ſenate, ſo that Servius's title to the crown ſtill wanted the ſanction of one branch of the legiſlature. It was probably in order to procure this, by flattering the pride of the ſenators, that he now introduced a very material change in the form of the Roman government. It is proper to obſerve, that an aſſembly of the people comprehended, not only the plebeians, or people ſtrictly ſo called, but likewiſe the knights and ſenators, that is, the whole body of Roman citizens. In theſe aſſemblies, which were called aſſemblies by curiæ, in alluſion to the thirty curiæ or wards into which the city was divided,

every

very individual had a right to vote; and as the votes were ounted by tale, or by the head, the vote of the pooreſt citi- en was of as much importance as that of the richeſt. The onſequence was, that as the poor were at Rome (as indeed hey muſt be in every ſociety) far more numerous than the ich, they eaſily carried it in every queſtion that came before he aſſembly.

In order to remedy this defect in the Roman conſtitu- ion, as Servius thought, or at leaſt affected to think it, he ow divided the people into ſix different claſſes, according o their property. Theſe claſſes he again ſubdivided into o many centuries, by a century probably meaning not the preciſe number of a hundred men, but an indefinite number, n proportion to their wealth; ſo that a ſmall number of very ich men were as capable of forming a century, as a large umber of poorer ones. Into the firſt claſs none were ad- mitted, whoſe fortunes did not amount to 100,000 aſſes, that s about 322l. 18s. 4d. a ſum which, however inconſiderable t preſent, was by no means a contemptible eſtate in thoſe ſimple and early times, when money was ſo ſcarce. This claſs was made to conſiſt of ninety-eight centuries. The next four claſſes were likewiſe divided into centuries, according to their property, and made in all ninety-four centuries. The ſixth claſs was compoſed of the poor, and though the moſt numerous, it formed only one century. Its members were called *Proletarii*, becauſe they were of no farther ſervice to the public than in rearing children for the ſtate; they were likewiſe called *Exempti*, becauſe they were excuſed from pay- ing taxes and from going to war. The whole number of cen- turies amounted to one hundred and ninety-three, of which ninety-eight, the number contained in the firſt claſs, formed more than a majority. Servius's view in making this diviſion of the people, was to transfer the legiſlative power from the hands of the plebeians, where it had hitherto been lodged, into thoſe of the patricians, where he imagined it might be more ſafely placed. For, from this time forward, he ordained, that, in all public deliberations, the votes ſhould be counted, not ſingly or by the head, as formerly, but collectively or by centuries, that is, that each century ſhould have but one vote; and as the firſt claſs contained more centuries than all the others put together, if they were unanimous, the matter was decided; there was no neceſſity for proceeding any farther: but if any of them chanced to differ from the others, the ſe- cond claſs was called upon to vote, and a few centuries from that body very eaſily made up the deficiency. It rarely hap- pened, that there was any occaſion for having recourſe to the

third, fourth, or fifth claſs, and ſtill leſs to the ſixth, ſo that though the common people ſtill retained their right of voting, they had no more influence in the ſtate than if they had had no ſuch right at all.

IN order, however, to conſole them for this loſs of power, Servius made another regulation; for the people had previouſly veſted him with authority to ſettle every thing in whatever way he pleaſed. At the original formation of the Roman government, every man was obliged to contribute an equal ſum to the public expences; and as the fortunes of all men were then nearly upon a par, this was looked upon as a very equitable law. But as time, and a variety of other circumſtances, had produced a great difference between the fortunes of different men, it was now thought hard, that a poor man ſhould be obliged to contribute as much to the exigencies of the ſtate as one that was rich. Servius, therefore, ordered, that as the votes of the citizens were to be collected by centuries, the taxes ſhould be impoſed in the ſame manner, that is, that every century ſhould pay an equal ſum into the public treaſury; and as the number of perſons contained in one of the centuries of the higher claſſes was but a mere handful in compariſon of that contained in one of the lower, the weight of the taxes fell upon each in an inverſe proportion: in other words, the taxes upon the former were greatly increaſed, and thoſe upon the latter were in the ſame degree leſſened; and as the people are always pleaſed with any expedient for ſaving their money, they readily put up with the loſs of their power in conſideration of the pecuniary indulgence ſhewn them. Servius has been highly praiſed for the firſt of theſe regulations, by which he transferred the whole ſovereign power from the plebeians to the patricians; as if the eſtabliſhing a pure ariſtocracy, which he ſeems to have done, were conferring a benefit upon any nation, and as if that kind of government were really the beſt, which the experience of all ages has ſhewn to be the worſt. But it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the ſcience of politics was ſo well underſtood in thoſe early times as it is at preſent.

As the fortunes of men are ſubject to perpetual changes, and many of thoſe who now occupied a lower claſs, might in time come to have an eſtate that entitled them to a higher, and, on the other hand, as many who were now enrolled in a higher claſs, might, by extravagance or otherwiſe, have their fortunes ſo impaired as to be qualified only for a lower, Servius inſtituted the Cenſus, by which all the citizens were obliged to appear in the Campus Martius, each in his proper claſs, and in complete armour, to give an account of their family and fortune,

ortune, and, if neceſſary, to be transferred into that claſs which was ſuited to their preſent circumſtances. This ceremony was preceded by a kind of expiatory ſacrifice, called Luſtrum, that is, luſtration or purification; and as it was performed every five years, the word luſtrum came at length to ſignify the ſpace of five years indifferently, without any particular alluſion to this ſolemnity. At the time of holding the firſt luſtrum, the whole number of Roman citizens amounted to eighty-four thouſand.

SERVIUS was engaged in very few wars, but thoſe he undertook, proved all of them ſucceſsful; he gained three victories over the Hetrurians. It was he that took in the Viminal, Quirinal, and Eſquiline hills, and ſurrounded all the ſeven with a wall. He was the firſt king of Rome that coined money, impreſſing upon it the image of a ſheep, in Latin *Pecus*, whence it was called *Pecunia*. Before that, the people uſed it only in a rude and ſhapeleſs maſs, and paid it away by weight. It commonly conſiſted of lead, braſs, or copper. It was he likewiſe that introduced the cuſtom of making ſlaves free, and admitting them into the number of Roman citizens, by which he added greatly to the ſtrength of the ſtate.

TOWARDS the latter end of his reign, Servius is ſaid to have entertained ſome thoughts of abdicating the throne, and forming the government into a pure republic; but this generous purpoſe he was prevented from executing by his premature and unexpected death; for ſuch it may be truly called, notwithſtanding his great age. He had two daughters by his queen Tarquinia, daughter of Tarquinius Priſcus. When they grew up, he determined to give them in marriage to their two couſin-germans, grandſons of the ſame prince, and afterwards his own wards. But as he knew, that the women were of oppoſite diſpoſitions, as well as their intended huſbands, he reſolved to croſs their tempers, by giving each to him of a different character from her own; her that was meek and gentle, to him that was hot and impetuous; her that was proud and haughty, to him that was quiet and peaceable; hoping by this means that each would correct the failings of the other, and that he himſelf ſhould avoid the danger to be apprehended from the union of the two furious tempers together.

THE event, however, diſappointed his expectations. The elder brother (named Lucius) and the younger ſiſter (called Tullia) who anſwered the above deſcription, ſoon grew tired of their reſpective conſorts, and reſolved to make away with them, in order to furniſh an opening for a marriage between themſelves. They did ſo, and were ſoon after joined

in the bands of wedlock. Seeing now no other obſtacle to the gratification of their wiſhes than the life of Servius, they were even ſo unnatural as to form a deſign againſt that. They began firſt by raiſing factions againſt him; and as Servius, by the innovations he had introduced into the government, had drawn upon himſelf the hatred of a great number of perſons, Lucius found the leſs difficulty in forming a ſtrong party in his own favour. When all things were ready for the execution of his ſcheme, he ſuddenly entered the ſenate-houſe, clad in the robes of royalty, and placing himſelf on the throne, he began to harangue the ſenators upon the obſcurity of Servius's birth, and the illegality of his title. While he was yet ſpeaking, Servius entered, attended by a few followers, and ſeeing his throne thus rudely ſeized upon, he cried out with a loud voice, "What, Tarquin, dare you, while I am alive, preſume to aſſemble the ſenate, and ſit on my throne," at the ſame time endeavouring to puſh him from his ſeat. But Tarquin, being young and vigorous, took the old king by the waiſt, and carrying him out of the aſſembly, threw him into the ſtreet; and while Servius, all bruiſed and battered, was attempting to return to his palace, he was ſuddenly overtaken and murdered by ſome aſſaſſins, whom Tarquin had ſent after him.

IT is ſaid, that this murder was committed with the conſent, and even at the inſtigation of Tullia. Certain it is, that upon her hearing what had paſſed in the ſenate-houſe, ſhe immediately drove thither, and was the firſt that ſaluted her huſband as king; and when upon her return home, her coachman came to the ſpot where her father's body lay, all covered with blood and wounds, and being ſtruck with horror at the ſhocking ſight, was endeavouring to turn the horſes out of the way, ſo as to avoid the body, Tullia fell into a furious paſſion, and commanded him to drive directly over it, crying out at the ſame time, that the road which led to the throne could never be too ſhort. The ſtreet, where this happened, was afterwards called *Vicus Sceleratus*, or the accurſed ſtreet; and well it might, as hiſtory perhaps does not furniſh another inſtance of a daughter's being ſo loſt to all the ſentiments of humanity, as to beſprinkle herſelf with her own father's blood. Such was the end of Servius Tullius, after a reign of forty-four years, during which he had conducted himſelf with ſuch prudence, equity, and moderation, as would have rendered it difficult for any prince to rival his character, much more for a monſter of tyranny and cruelty, as his ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor, Tarquin.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, *the Seventh and Laſt King of* ROME.

[ANN. ROM. 220.]

IT could hardly be expected, that a prince who had made his way to the throne through ſuch a ſcene of barbarity and bloodſhed, ſhould rule the people with a gentle hand. On the contrary, there was every reaſon to fear, that he would rule them with a rod of iron, and in fact he did ſo. He firſt ſeized upon the throne as his own hereditary and unalienable right, without regarding the ſentiments either of the ſenate or the people. He refuſed the rites of burial to his father-in-law, upon pretence, that he was an uſurper. He put to death all ſuch of the Romans, as he ſuſpected to diſapprove of his conduct; and dreading the natural conſequences of his tyranny, he increaſed the guard round his own perſon. To prevent the people from plotting againſt him, he took care to keep them conſtantly employed either in wars abroad or in public works at home. With this view he attacked the Sabines, who had refuſed to acknowledge his authority, and he eaſily compelled them to ſubmit to his power. He next turned his arms againſt the Volſci, took Sueſſa Pometia, one of their towns, and laid ſiege to Gabii, another conſiderable city belonging to the ſame people. This place he was the more eager to reduce, as it contained a great number of Roman citizens who had taken refuge there, in order to avoid the cruelty of the tyrant. The city, however, made ſo vigorous a defence, that Tarquin had no hopes of taking it by force. He, therefore, had recourſe to the following ſtratagem. He cauſed his ſon, Sextus, to counterfeit deſertion, on pretence of having been ill-uſed by his father, and to ſeek for an aſylum among the inhabitants of Gabii. There he ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the people, that in a little time they made him governor of the town, and ſoon after general of their army. Having thus got the whole power into his hands, he ſent to his father for farther inſtruction. Tarquin thinking it dangerous to communicate his ſentiments either by word of mouth or by letter, contented himſelf merely with taking the meſſenger into the garden, where having cut off the heads of all the talleſt poppies, he ſent him back to his ſon without any other anſwer. Sextus underſtood the meaning of the ænigma, and having

ſoon put to death the principal inhabitants, he delivered the town into the hands of his father.

As ſuperſtitious people are generally the moſt ſubmiſſive, Tarquin fell upon the following device to increaſe the natural credulity of the Romans. A ſtrange woman, as he pretended, came to him one day, and offered to ſell him nine books for a certain ſum. Tarquin thinking the price too high, rejected the offer. She then went away, and after burning three of the books, ſhe came back, and offered him the remaining ſix for the ſame price ſhe had aſked for the whole. Tarquin now looked upon her as an impoſtor or a mad-woman, and he therefore diſmiſſed her with contempt and diſdain. She accordingly departed, and burnt three more of the volumes, and then returning with the remaining three, ſhe offered them to Tarquin for the ſame ſum ſhe had originally demanded. The king, ſtruck with the ſingularity of her behaviour, began to ſuſpect that there was more in the matter than he had at firſt imagined. He therefore conſulted the augurs on the ſubject, and it now appearing that ſhe was one of the celebrated Sibyls, whoſe propheſies were never known to fail, they greatly blamed him for not buying the nine volumes, and adviſed him by all means to purchaſe the three that were left at whatever price he could get them. He did ſo; and the woman, it is added, after delivering the books to him, and exhorting him to keep them with extraordinary care, immediately vaniſhed from his ſight.

THIS was no doubt a trick invented by Tarquin, in order to blind the eyes of the people, and enable him to hold out as the will of heaven and the decrees of fate whatever he thought moſt conducive to his own intereſt. The books, however, were put into a ſtone-cheſt, and depoſited in a vault in the capitol, which Tarquin now undertook to complete; for it had only been begun by his grandfather. The keeping of them was intruſted to the care of a certain number of perſons choſen from the firſt families in Rome. The number of theſe was at firſt two, afterwards ten, and laſt of all fifteen; and hence they were called Quindecemviri.

THE building of the capitol was likewiſe attended with an extraordinary incident; for in that ignorant and credulous age almoſt every remarkable event was diſtinguiſhed by a prodigy. In digging for the foundation, the workmen diſcovered the body of a man, named *Tolus*, which, though it had lain in the earth many years, yet upon being expoſed to the air, began to bleed, as if it had been but newly cut off. This gave the building the name of capitol, as if it were *Caput Toli*, the head of *Tolus*; and from this particular the augurs

augurs inferred, that Rome ſhould become the capital of Italy. This magnificent ſtructure was dedicated to Jupiter, but contained under the ſame roof two temples more, one dedicated to Juno, the other to Minerva: it was two hundred feet long, two hundred high, and almoſt as many broad; and, on the whole, it ſeemed better ſuited to the lofty ſpirit and aſpiring views of the Roman people, than to their preſent narrow and circumſcribed circumſtances.

MEAN while Tarquin carried every thing before him with ſo high a hand, that he ſeemed to be in a fair way of eſtabliſhing himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his ill-got power, and of tranſmitting it to his poſterity, when the violence, committed by his eldeſt ſon Sextus upon the perſon of Lucretia, threw him ſuddenly from the throne, and reſtored the people to the enjoyment of their long-loſt rights. He had lately declared war againſt the Rutuli, in order, as he ſaid, to revenge ſome injuries which that people had done him, but in reality with a view of repleniſhing his coffers, which were now greatly exhauſted by the building of the capitol and other expenſive works.

WHILE he was engaged in the ſiege of Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, his ſon Sextus, Collatinus the huſband of Lucretia, and ſome other officers, happened one evening to be regaling themſelves in a tent; and the diſcourſe turning upon the beauty and virtue of their wives, every one, as might be expected, gave the preference to his own. Collatinus propoſed putting the matter to an immediate trial by riding inſtantly to Rome (the diſtance was not more than twenty miles) and taking the ladies by ſurprize; and from the manner in which they ſhould find them employed, they would be enabled, he ſaid, to judge which of them really excelled the reſt. Being heated with wine, they approved of the propoſal; and accordingly taking horſe, they rode ſtraightway to Rome, although the night was pretty far advanced. There they found Lucretia, not like the other women paſſing the time in mirth and jollity and diverſions, but ſpinning in the midſt of her maids in the inner part of the houſe. The victory, therefore, was adjudged to her; and after being politely entertained by her, they all returned to the camp.

LUCRETIA'S virtue, which inſpired the other gueſts with reſpect and veneration, excited in the breaſt of young Tarquin a very different paſſion, which he was determined, at all events, to gratify. With this view he came back to viſit her a few days after, and met with the ſame civil reception as before. As ſhe had no ſuſpicion of his villainous deſign, ſhe even ſat with him at ſupper, and ordered a bed to be got

ready for him. When all the family were aſleep, he contrived to ſteal into her chamber, and having a drawn ſword in his right hand, and laying his left rudely on her boſom, "Silence, ſaid he, Lucretia; if you utter a word, you die." He then acquainted her with the violence of his paſſion, and begged ſhe would allow him to gratify it. But ſhe, though thus ſuddenly frightened from her ſleep, and though ſhe ſaw inſtant death before her eyes, yet rejected his ſuit with diſdain. From entreaties, therefore, he had recourſe to threats. He told her, that if ſhe refuſed to comply, he would forthwith kill her, lay his own ſlave dead by her ſide, and then ſpread a report, that he had found and killed them both in the act of adultery. The dread of infamy extorted that which the fear of death could not obtain; ſhe conſented; and Tarquin next morning returned to the camp, exulting in his triumph over female chaſtity.

MEAN while Lucretia was overwhelmed with grief, and reſolving not to outlive the indelible ſtain fixed upon her character, ſhe ſent meſſengers to her huſband Collatinus, and her father Lucretius, deſiring their immediate attendance, as a dreadful misfortune had befallen the family. They immediately ſet out, accompanied by Valerius, a kinſman of her father, and Junius Brutus, a reputed idiot, whoſe father Tarquin had murdered, and who had accidentally met the meſſengers by the way. Upon their entering the room, Lucretia burſt into tears; and when her huſband aſked her if all was well; "far from it," ſaid ſhe; "for how can it be well with a woman after the loſs of her honour? Yes, Collatinus, thy bed has been defiled by a ſtranger; but my body only is polluted; my mind is innocent, as my death ſhall teſtify. Promiſe me only, that you will not ſuffer the adulterer to go unpuniſhed. It is Sextus Tarquinius, who laſt night, under the pretended veil of friendſhip, offered me violence, and reaped a joy fatal to me, but, if you are men, ſtill more fatal to him." They all promiſed to avenge her cauſe; and at the ſame time endeavoured to comfort her by obſerving that the mind only is capable of ſinning, not the body; and that where the will is wanting, there cannot poſſibly be any guilt. "What Sextus deſerves," replies Lucretia, "I leave you to judge; but for me, though I declare myſelf innocent of the crime, I exempt not myſelf, therefore, from the puniſhment. No immodeſt woman hereafter ſhall plead Lucretia's example for outliving the loſs of her honour." So ſaying, ſhe drew a dagger from under her robe, and inſtantly plunged it in her boſom. At this tragical deed the whole company were ſtruck with pity, ſorrow,

and

and indignation. Collatinus and Lucretius gave a vent to their grief in tears. But Brutus, without ſpending time in uſeleſs lamentations, drew out the dagger all bloody from Lucretia's wound, and holding it up towards heaven, exclaimed, "I ſwear by this blood, ſo pure and chaſte ere it was polluted by Tarquin, and I call you, O ye gods, to witneſs, that I will purſue with fire and ſword the tyrant, his wife, and all his guilty race; nor will I ever ſuffer any king for the future to ſway the ſceptre in Rome." He then preſented the dagger to the reſt of the company, and exacted from them the ſame oath which he himſelf had taken.

JUNIUS Brutus was the ſon of Marcus Junius, a noble Roman, and of Tarquinia, daughter of Tarquinius Priſcus. He had received in his youth an excellent education, and poſſeſſed from nature a large fund of good ſenſe and an inflexible attachment to virtue. But finding that Tarquin, partly from avarice, and partly from jealouſy, had privately murdered his father and his elder brother, he put on the apppearance of a fool, in order to avoid the ſame danger, and thence obtained the ſurname of Brutus. Tarquin thinking his folly real, deſpiſed him too much to take any further notice of him, except that he kept him in his houſe as an idiot, merely for the purpoſe of diverting his children.

THE firſt ſpecimen he gave of his ſagacity was in a journey he made with the young princes to Delphi in order to conſult the oracle there. They were highly pleaſed with his company; but could not help laughing at his ſuppoſed ſtupidity in making an offering of his ſtaff to Apollo. This preſent, however, was much more valuable than they imagined, for the ſtaff was no other than an elder-ſtick, containing within it a rod of gold, a very good emblem of Brutus's character. The young princes having executed their commiſſion, were next ſeized with the curioſity of knowing which of them was deſtined to reign in Rome. "He," anſwered the oracle, "that ſhall firſt kiſs his mother." The Tarquins reſolved to conceal this circumſtance from their brother Sextus, who remained behind at Rome, and upon their return home, to determine by lot which of them ſhould be entitled firſt to kiſs his mother. It appeared, however, in the ſequel, that Brutus underſtood the meaning of the oracle much better than the princes; for, upon his arrival in Italy, he pretended to fall down, and kiſſed the earth, the common mother of all. From that time he began to conceive hopes of being one day the deliverer of his country, and of driving the Tarquins entirely from Rome.

THINKING the preſent a favourable opportunity, he re-

ſolved to embrace it; and calling together an aſſembly of the people, he related to them all that had paſſed; the atrocious crime committed by Sextus, the melancholy fate and tragical end of the chaſte Lucretia, and the inconſolable grief of a father, leſs affected with his daughter's death than with the barbarous deed to which it was owing. He then put them in mind of the numerous crimes of Tarquin himſelf; his avarice, pride, tyranny, his cruel treatment of the citizens, in employing them in his buildings like ſlaves or beaſts of burden; the horrid murder of king Servius, and Tullia's ſhocking impiety in driving her chariot over the body of her father. This ſpeech being pronounced over the bleeding body of Lucretia, inflamed the minds of the people to ſuch a pitch, that they immediately paſſed a decree, condemning Tarquin and his family to perpetual baniſhment, and making it capital for any one ever to attempt their return.

MEAN while Tarquin being informed of what was paſſing at Rome, directly ſet out for the city; but upon his approach to it, he found the gates ſhut againſt him; and before he could return to the camp, he heard that Brutus had been there before him, and had perſuaded the ſoldiers to deſert the tyrant, and to join their fellow-citizens in completing the long wiſhed-for deliverance of their country. Thus being abandoned by all the world, and expelled not only Rome, but even the Roman territories, after a reign of twenty-five years, he went to take refuge with his family at Cære, a ſmall town of the Hetrurians, and Brutus was proclaimed the reſtorer of public liberty. With Tarquin ended the regal ſtate of Rome, after a continuance of two hundred and forty-five years, during which, though it had not extended its dominions above thirty or forty miles on any ſide, yet had it acquired a firmneſs and ſtability that qualified it for the mighty projects it afterwards undertook, and which it finally accompliſhed.

CHAP. IX.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

From the BANISHMENT *of* TARQUIN *to the* APPOINTMENT *of the* DECEMVIRI.

[ANN. ROM. 245.]

THOUGH the Romans had expelled kings, they were too wiſe to think that government could be ſuppported without ſome ſupreme magiſtrates; and they therefore tranſferred

ferred the whole royal power into the hands of two perſons, who were called Conſuls, and who being choſen only for one year, and ſerving as a check upon one another, were likely to uſe their authority with more moderation. Brutus and Collatinus were the firſt conſuls; and they were no doubt raiſed to that high dignity on account of the ſhare they both of them had in the late revolution, and the ſtrong inclination they muſt conſequently feel to oppoſe the reſtoration of kingly government.

THE new republic, however, had been hardly eſtabliſhed, when it was like to have been overturned by a dangerous conſpiracy. Tarquin had ſent ſome ambaſſadors to Rome, under pretence of demanding the reſtitution of his property, but in reality with a view of forming a party in his favour; and in this unhappily they were but too ſucceſsful. They contrived to engage in his intereſt ſome of the principal young men of Rome, and, among others, the two ſons of Brutus himſelf. Their intention was to murder the conſuls, and reſtore the Tarquins. Fortunately the plot was diſcovered in time, by means of a ſlave who had concealed himſelf in the room where the conſpirators met. They were immediately apprehended. Brutus paſſed ſentence of death upon his two ſons, and with his own eyes ſaw it put in execution; the tenderneſs of the father, however, evidently appearing through the ſeverity of the judge.

THIS action of Brutus has been praiſed by ſome, and cenſured by others, according to their different diſpoſitions. But ſurely a ſon, who, in violation of the laws, and in order to overturn the conſtitution of his country, forms a deſign upon the life of his father, can have no right to complain if that father doom him to death in execution of the laws, and the better to preſerve the liberty of the public. What indeed renders the fate of theſe young men the more lamentable is, that they were not above fourteen years old; an age, at which, in many countries, perſons are hardly ſuppoſed to be capable of committing any crime at all, and far leſs that of high treaſon. But ſome ſtriking example was probably wanting to ſtrengthen and confirm the new conſtitution, and to inſpire the people with the utmoſt horror at entering into any conſpiracies againſt it; and this Brutus certainly gave them.

THE puniſhment of the other conſpirators was left to Collatinus, who being of a more mild and gentle temper than his colleague, ſeemed inclined to forgive them, the rather as many of them were his own near relations; but this being diſagreeable to the people, and ſtill more to Brutus, Collati-

nus was obliged to reſign his office, which was beſtowed upon Valerius, afterwards called Valerius Poplicola. The culprits, in conſequence, were condemned and put to death.

TARQUIN, thus deprived of all hopes of recovering his throne by the aſſiſtance of his old ſubjects, was forced to have recourſe to foreign aid. He applied to the Veientes; and theſe readily eſpouſed his cauſe, and raiſed an army to ſupport him. At the head of this army Tarquin advanced towards Rome. The conſuls came out to meet him. Brutus commanded the horſe; Valerius, the infantry. Aruns, ſon of Tarquin, commanded the horſe of the enemy. Diſcovering Brutus at a diſtance; "There," ſaid he, "is the man that has expelled us our country; behold him inſolently adorned with the enſigns of our family! Aſſiſt me, O ye gods, avengers of kings." So ſaying, he rode out from the ranks, and dared Brutus to ſingle combat. Brutus was not backward in accepting the challenge. Putting ſpurs, therefore, to their horſes, they flew upon each other with ſuch ungovernable fury, that regardleſs entirely of their own ſafety, and eager only to aſſail their adverſary, they ran one another through the body, and inſtantly fell dead to the ground. The foot then engaged, and a bloody battle was fought. The loſs on both ſides was nearly equal. A voice, it is ſaid, was heard out of the wood Arſia, declaring the Romans conquerors, and to have loſt one man leſs than the enemy. Certain it is they remained maſters of the field. A triumph was decreed to Valerius. He was the firſt conſul that made a triumphant entry into Rome, in a chariot with four horſes; a cuſtom, that was ever after obſerved.

THE body of Brutus was carried off the field by the moſt eminent knights, with all the marks of honour and tokens of the ſincereſt grief. When they came near the city, they were met a good way without the gates by the ſenate, with the parade of a triumph, with which they intended to grace the funeral of that great man. Valerius, clothed in mourning, expoſed in the forum Brutus's body upon a bed as richly adorned as the ſimplicity of thoſe early times would permit, and before all the people made an oration in praiſe of his colleague. This was the firſt inſtance of a funeral oration among the Romans. They did not borrow it from the Greeks; it was of their own invention: nor did they confine it, like the ſtates of Greece, to men only of military talents; they extended it to all men, eminent in their way, whether in a civil or military capacity.

THE Roman ladies were no leſs eager to honour the memory of Brutus. They went into mourning for him, and wore

wore it a whole year; and this they did chiefly in return for the ſervice he had done the ſex in revenging ſo ſignally the outrage offered to conjugal chaſtity in the perſon of Lucretia.

VALERIUS ſhone not more in the field than the cabinet. He enacted ſeveral popular laws, which procured him the ſurname of Poplicola. By one of theſe laws he allowed an appeal from the conſuls to the people; by another he made it death for any man to accept of any magiſtracy without the conſent of the people; and by a third he gave permiſſion to every one to kill any perſon that aſpired at the regal power, and declared the author of the murder acquitted, if he could prove the fact. The laſt law eſtabliſhed by him, was for the creation of two quæſtors or public treaſurers, who were to take care of the public money, and were ordered to keep it in the temple of Saturn. Theſe laws, it is evident, made a great change in the form of the Roman government. By them the conſular power, which had hitherto been equal to the regal, was conſiderably abridged, and the people's privileges proportionably increaſed. It is here we ſee the firſt dawnings of a real democracy in Rome.

THE people now proceeded to the choice of a new conſul in the room of Brutus; and they pitched upon Lucretius, the father of Lucretia; but he dying ſoon after his election, was ſucceeded by Marcus Horatius. About this time the capitol was finiſhed, and dedicated in the moſt ſolemn manner.

TARQUIN, though defeated in his laſt attempt, was by no means diſcouraged. He repaired to the court of Porſenna, one of the kings of Hetruria, and he prevailed upon that prince to eſpouſe his quarrel. Accordingly, Porſenna, who was as remarkable for his courage as his conduct, marched directly to Rome with a numerous army. At the very firſt aſſault, he took the gate Janiculum, and was upon the point of forcing his way over the bridge Sublicius, which would have made him entire maſter of the city. This, however, he was prevented from doing by the heroic bravery of Horatius Cocles, who, placing himſelf at the entrance of the bridge, and aſſiſted only by two others, gallantly oppoſed the whole force of the enemy, repeatedly repelled their moſt furious aſſaults, and even ſeemed to ſet them at defiance. At length, hearing that the bridge behind him was broken down, and the communication with the city effectually cut off, he inſtantly plunged with his arms into the Tyber, and ſwam back to his friends, who received him in triumph.

PORSENNA, finding it impoſſible to take the place by ſtorm, converted the ſiege into a blockade, reſolving, if he could, to reduce it by famine. And this indeed he had well nigh effected, when

when it was again ſaved by an act of heroiſm, ſtill more extraordinary than that of Cocles. Mutius, a youth of undaunted courage, enraged to ſee Rome in a worſe condition under the conſuls than ſhe had been under kings, determined, if poſſible, to rid his country of an enemy, that had reduced her to ſuch a low and diſgraceful condition. With this view, diſguiſing himſelf in the habit of a Tuſcan, he entered the enemy's camp, and paſſing the guards unſuſpected, advanced to the tent of Porſenna, who, accompanied by a ſingle ſecretary, dreſſed almoſt like himſelf, was employed in paying his troops. Mutius not knowing which was the king, and which the ſecretary, and ſeeing the men addreſs themſelves more frequently to the latter than the former, miſtook the one for the other, and ſtabbed the ſecretary to the heart. He was inſtantly ſeized in ſpite of all his reſiſtance, and brought into the royal preſence. Upon Porſenna's aſking him who he was, and what were his motives for committing ſo atrocious an action; "I am," ſaid he, "a Roman citizen; my name is Mutius: I intended to kill the enemy of my country; and am as ready to ſuffer death as I was to inflict it on thee. It equally becomes the character of a Roman to act with courage, and to ſuffer with conſtancy. Nor ſtand I alone in the deſign formed againſt thee. Many others after me aſpire to the ſame honour. Prepare thyſelf therefore for continual alarms; expect every moment to run the riſk of thy life, to find always at the door of thy tent a ſecret enemy watching an opportunity to attack thee. This is the war which the Roman youth have denounced againſt thee. Thou needeſt not fear a general engagement; thou alone art the object of their vengeance, and thou wilt have to do at a time but with one enemy." The king, enraged at theſe menaces, the real meaning of which he did not underſtand, commanded Mutius to be ſurrounded with flames, in order to force him to a fuller confeſſion. But Mutius, without diſcovering the leaſt concern; "See," ſaid he, putting his hand into a fire that was burning before him on an altar, "ſee how deſpicable their body is to men, who ſeek only after true glory." He then continued to let his hand burn on, as if he had been totally deſtitute of feeling. Porſenna, however, could not endure ſo ſhocking a ſight; but leaping from his tribunal, "Be gone," ſaid he, "young man, more an enemy to thyſelf than to me. I would exhort thee not to degenerate from ſuch virtue, hadſt thou exerted it in behalf of my country. As it is, I give thee free leave to depart without any fear of the puniſhment, which, by the laws of war, I might juſtly inflict on thee." Then Mutius, as if in return for ſo great a fa-

a favour, told him, that three hundred of the Roman youth had conſpired his deſtruction; that he was the firſt on whom the lot had fallen, and the reſt would ſucceed each in his turn. It was from this action, that Mutius acquired the ſurname of *Scævola*, or left-handed, becauſe, after burning his right-hand, he was obliged to make uſe of the left.

To prevent the danger that threatened his perſon, Porſenna concluded a peace with the Romans upon very moderate terms. Theſe were, that they ſhould reſtore certain lands they had lately taken from him; and till that article was performed, that they ſhould put into his hands, by way of hoſtages, twenty perſons, ten young men, and as many virgins, of the beſt families in Rome. But even in this inſtance, as if the gentler ſex were determined to diſpute the prize of valour with their countrymen, Clælia, one of the hoſtages, eſcaping from her guards, and pointing out the way to the reſt of her female companions, ſwam over the Tyber on horſeback, and returned ſafely to Rome. The conſuls, however, fearing leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of having countenanced and encouraged the eſcape of the virgins, ſent them back to Porſenna, who, ſtruck more with the boldneſs than the perfidy of the deed, applauded Clælia for her ſpirit and intrepidity, preſented her with a horſe richly capariſoned, and not only gave her liberty to return to Rome, but likewiſe to take with her ſuch of the hoſtages as ſhe thought proper to chuſe. On her part, ſhe, with a modeſty becoming her ſex and age, pitched only upon ſuch as were under fourteen, alledging that their tender years rendered them leaſt capable of enduring the hardſhips of ſlavery. Thus ended the Tuſcan war, in which Rome had been expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Porſenna, indeed, made one effort more (in words at leaſt) in favour of the dethroned monarch; but being told by the Romans, that they would rather open their gates to their moſt inveterate enemies than to kings, he deſiſted from all attempts of that kind for the future.

TARQUIN, however, though diſappointed in this quarter, ſtill had the addreſs to engage in his favour a great number of the Latin cities. He is even ſaid to have formed a ſtrong party in his intereſt among the poorer inhabitants of Rome, who, however happy they might be in the recovery of their liberty, ſtill found themſelves grievouſly oppreſſed by the ſpirit of uſury that prevailed among the great. Theſe indeed lent their money to the poor; but they lent it, at the ſame time, at ſuch an exorbitant intereſt, as reduced the borrower to a ſtate of abſolute ſubjection. For it is to be obſerved, that the Roman laws with regard to debtors and creditors

ditors were extremely ſevere. They permitted the creditor not only to ſeize the property of the debtor, but even to ſeize his perſon, to whip him, to impriſon him, to load him with chains, and employ him as a ſlave, until the money was paid. Add to this, that the great in general had got their riches by the moſt unfair and unjuſtifiable means. Inſtead of carrying the produce of the conquered lands into the public treaſury, where it ought to have been carried, in order to defray the expences of the ſtate, they contrived to get it into their own hands, and thus were enabled to oppreſs the very perſons, by whoſe valour theſe lands were obtained.

THE people, therefore, began to ſuſpect, that however advantageous the expulſion of the kings might have been to the great, it was rather a diſadvantage to them, as it had only been the means of making them exchange one deſpot for a number of petty tyrants. Thus they were glad of every thing that tended to diſtreſs and perplex their cruel creditors, and the preſent ſeemed to them a fair opportunity. When the conſuls, therefore, came to levy men in order to oppoſe the deſigns of Tarquin, who was now advancing with a large body of Latins, all the poorer citizens at Rome, who formed the great majority of the people, as indeed they muſt do in every nation, abſolutely refuſed to inliſt. "How can it be expected, ſaid they, that we ſhould expend our blood in defence of a government, from which we derive no real advantage, and from which the only fruits we reap are whips, ſlavery, and impriſonment? Let thoſe defend the conſtitution, who alone enjoy all the benefits ariſing from it. As for us, we will ſeek ſome other country, and ſome other government, where we may at leaſt enjoy our natural liberty, unawed by haughty nobles, unoppreſſed by cruel creditors."

IN order to ſoothe the minds of the people, ſome propoſed the abolition of all debts; others a ſuſpenſion of the rights of creditors till the concluſion of the war. But the firſt of theſe ſchemes was violently oppoſed by all the rich patricians, and particularly by Appius Claudius, who thereby incurred a large ſhare of popular hatred; and the ſecond did not ſatisfy the wiſhes of the plebeians. To put an end, therefore, to this diſpute, and enable the government to take ſome ſtep ſuited to the preſent emergency, which would admit of no delay, it was propoſed to create a ſupreme magiſtrate, veſted with abſolute and uncontrouled power over all the members of the ſtate, and even over the laws themſelves. This ſovereign magiſtrate was ſtiled Dictator; and the firſt that was advanced to that high dignity was Titus Lartius, one of the conſuls, being named to it by Clælius, the other conſul.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

From the CREATION *of the First* DICTATOR *to the* ELECTION *of the* TRIBUNES.

[ANN. ROM. 255.]

THE people ſeem not to have been aware of the conſequence of giving their conſent to the creation of a dictator, as they thereby deprived themſelves of the power they had formerly poſſeſſed of refuſing their names to be enrolled in the troops, which was the great check they had upon the ſenate, and the moſt effectual means they could poſſibly deviſe for obtaining, when they choſe, a redreſs of their grievances. Lartius had no ſooner entered upon his office, than he appeared with all the enſigns of ancient royalty, and, ſeated upon a lofty chair reſembling a throne, and attended by twenty-four lictors, inſtead of twelve, who were armed as uſual with their rods and axes, he iſſued his orders without any danger of ſeeing them diſobeyed; for had any one had the preſumption to do ſo, he would inſtantly have ordered his head to be ſtruck off, and that too without the leaſt apprehenſion of being called to an account for ſuch an act of ſeverity: for it is to be remarked, that the dictators were not anſwerable for any thing they did in the exerciſe of their office, either at the time, or at any future period. The people, overawed by ſo formidable a power, readily gave in their names to be enrolled in the troops; and Lartius having by this means aſſembled a numerous army, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the enemy, that they humbly ſued for peace, or at leaſt for a truce, which was immediately granted them. The dictator having thus, without drawing a ſword, averted the danger that hung over the republic, laid down his office before the end of ſix months, the period, to which, by the laws, it was limited.

IT is worthy of notice, that the office of dictator was frequently the means of ſaving the ſtate in the moſt critical emergencies; and that there never was an inſtance of any one, poſſeſſed of it, having abuſed his power, till, towards the end of the commonwealth, when it was uſurped by Sylla, and afterwards conferred for life upon Julius Cæſar.

UPON the expiration of the truce that had been concluded with the Latins, hoſtilities were renewed; and Aulus Poſthumius, one of the conſuls, was created dictator, in order to conduct the war. The Roman army conſiſted of 2400 foot,

and

and 1000 horſe; that of the enemy amounted to 4000 foot, and 3000 horſe. The main body of the Latins was commanded by Titus, Tarquin's ſecond ſon, the left wing by Sextus, his eldeſt, and the right by Mamilius, his ſon-in-law. After a bloody battle, which was fought near the lake Regillus, and in which the enemy loſt about three-fourths of their number, the Romans gained the victory. Sextus Tarquinius was ſlain, and Titus dangerouſly wounded. Old Tarquin himſelf retired to Cumæ in Campania, where he ſoon after died at the age of ninety; a prince certainly of conſiderable parts, but the merit of which was entirely deſtroyed by his tyrannical diſpoſition.

THE ſoldiers having acquitted themſelves with ſo much bravery, had reaſon to expect a remiſſion of their debts, or at leaſt a mitigation of the hardſhips they ſuffered from their creditors. Neither of theſe favours, however, could they poſſibly obtain. The courts of juſtice were again opened, and the proſecutions againſt the debtors went on as uſual. This ſoon excited freſh murmurs; and in order to check them, the ſenate choſe Appius Claudius, a man of auſtere manners, a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, and of unſhaken intrepidity, for one of the conſuls for the year enſuing; but, at the ſame time, to temper his ſeverity, they gave him for a colleague Servilius, a man of a humane and gentle diſpoſition, and as much beloved by the people as Appius was hated. When the ſenate, therefore, took into conſideration the complaints of the debtors, the two conſuls, as might be expected, gave very different opinions. Servilius, pitying the diſtreſſes of the poor, propoſed a total abolition of the debts, or at leaſt a conſiderable diminution of the intereſt. This mild expedient, however, was oppoſed by Appius, who, with his uſual ſeverity, inſiſted that the laws ought to be obſerved, and that removing the load from thoſe who owed the money, was only throwing it upon thoſe to whom it was due; that it would be encouraging the idle and extravagant at the expence of the frugal and induſtrious; and that every compliance with the demands of the populace would only ſerve ſtill farther to increaſe them.

THE people, informed of this oppoſition between the conſuls, beſtowed upon Servilius the loudeſt ſhouts of applauſe, and loaded Appius with the moſt bitter imprecations. They began to hold aſſemblies by night, to communicate their griefs to one another, and to enter into ſome deep-laid plot for taking vengeance on their cruel creditors, when lo! the ſight of one of their companions in diſtreſs threw them all at once into a tranſport of fury. An old plebeian, loaded with chains, threw himſelf into the midſt of the people as into a place

place of ſafety. He was covered with rags; his face was pale and wan with famine; his beard, which was long and neglected, and his hair diſhevelled, gave him altogether a moſt ghaſtly appearance. He was, however, very well known; and ſome of the company remembered to have been with him in the wars, and to have ſeen him fight with great bravery. He himſelf ſhewed the ſcars of the wounds he had received in battle: he mentioned the names of the conſuls and tribunes under whom he had ſerved; and addreſſing himſelf to the multitude around him, he ſaid, that while he bore arms in the war againſt the Sabines, he had not only been prevented from cultivating his little farm, but that the enemy, in an incurſion, after having plundered his houſe, had burnt it to the ground: that, in this ſituation, he had been forced, for ſubſiſtence, to contract debts, and then obliged to ſell his little inheritance to diſcharge them: but a part ſtill remaining unpaid, his mercileſs creditor had dragged him to priſon, where he was not only loaded with chains, but torn with the whips of the executioner, who was ordered to torment him.

THIS account, together with his wounds, which he ſhewed them, and which were ſtill bleeding with the ſtripes he had lately received, inflamed the people with ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment, that they flew to take vengeance not only upon the author of theſe cruelties, but upon the whole body of creditors. The conſuls were unable to appeaſe the tumult. Appius would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to popular fury, had he not conſulted his ſafety by flight. Even Servilius was obliged to lay aſide the badges of his office; and throwing himſelf into the midſt of the people, he entreated, beſought and conjured them to have patience, promiſing, upon that condition, that he would immediately aſſemble the ſenate, and endeavour to obtain a redreſs of their grievances; and as a proof of his ſincerity, he iſſued a proclamation, importing, that no citizen ſhould be arreſted for debt till the ſenate had made ſome new regulations.

IN the midſt of this popular commotion, word was brought, that an army of Volſcians was advancing towards Rome. This was the very thing the people wiſhed for. They knew, that, in caſe of a war, the ſenate could not do without them; and they therefore reſolved to ſeize the preſent opportunity of extorting that by force which they could not procure by more gentle means. Accordingly, when the levies came to be made, they almoſt unanimouſly refuſed to inliſt; and ſome of the debtors, who during the tumult had eſcaped from priſon, holding up their chains, aſked with a ſneer,

ſneer, whether it was for the preſervation of ſuch ornaments that they were now called upon to riſk their lives.

SERVILIUS, however, had the addreſs to perſuade them to follow his ſtandard: he led them out againſt the Volſcians, and obtained a complete victory; and in order to reward them for the extraordinary valour they had ſhewn on the occaſion, he beſtowed upon them the whole plunder of the enemy's camp; a circumſtance which the ſenate made uſe of as a pretext for refuſing him, on his return, the honour of a triumph.

NOR were they more compliant in enabling him to perform the promiſe he had made to the people of procuring them ſatisfaction in the article of debts. Inſtead of agreeing to a remiſſion of theſe, or even a mitigation of the laws reſpecting the manner of recovering them, they ſtill allowed them to be exacted with all the former rigour and ſeverity; and the people, now deſpairing of obtaining any redreſs in this the greateſt of all their grievances, reſolved to quit a city, where they were obliged to undergo all the fatigues and dangers of war, without enjoying any of the bleſſings and advantages of peace. They therefore retired, under the conduct of one Sicinius Bellutus, to a hill about three miles from Rome, which, on account of the laws that were afterwards paſſed there, was called *Mons Sacer*, or the ſacred mountain.

THE ſenate, alarmed at this general defection of the people, were greatly at a loſs what ſteps to purſue. Some of the more young and headſtrong among them, and particularly Appius, the ſworn enemy of the plebeians, recommended violent meaſures, and the repelling of force by force; but the more aged and experienced part of the body thought that gentler arts were to be uſed, and that even a victory over ſuch enemies, if it could be obtained, would be little better than a defeat. They accordingly ſent them a meſſenger, inviting them to return and explain their grievances, and promiſing that, upon that condition, their preſent revolt ſhould be forgiven. This meſſage, however, was treated with the contempt that might have been expected. They then appointed ten commiſſioners, at the head of whom was Menenius Agrippa, to go to the people, and enter into a negociation with them.

MENENIUS, who himſelf had formerly been a plebeian, well knew the diſpoſition of the people with whom he was to deal. Inſtead, therefore, of endeavouring to perſuade them by a long train of refined arguments, he ſimply addreſſed them with the following ſhort, but ſignificant fable. "At a time," ſaid he, "when the various parts of the human

man body did not, as at preſent, co-operate towards the ſame end, but each had a ſeparate will and a ſeparate language of its own, they began to take offence, that the belly, which lay in the midſt of them, did in reality nothing, but only enjoyed the delicacies that were brought to it. They therefore conſpired againſt it, as being in their opinion altogether uſeleſs. The hands vowed they would no longer carry meat to the mouth, the mouth that it would not receive it, and the teeth that they would not chew it. But while they thought they were thus only puniſhing the belly, they found to their coſt that they were ruining themſelves, and that they ſhould ſoon be reduced to ſuch a feeble ſtate as to be utterly incapable of diſcharging their ſeveral offices; that the belly therefore was not ſo uſeleſs as they had at firſt imagined, but that if it was ſupported by the other members, it was no leſs active in ſupporting them; for that it was by the digeſtion of the food in the belly, and the blood thence communicated to the various parts of the body, that they were all of them enabled to perform their different functions." He compared the preſent diviſion between the ſenate and the people to this diſſenſion between the members of the body, and ſhewed, that the continuance of it would be as fatal in the one caſe as it had been in the other. He added, that ſuch of the citizens as were inſolvent ſhould be entirely diſcharged from their debts; that thoſe who had been arreſted ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that the ſenate and people ſhould hereafter unite in making ſuch regulations with regard to debts as ſhould appear moſt equitable.

THE people, pleaſed with theſe conceſſions, immediately cried out, that Agrippa ſhould lead them back to Rome, and were preparing to follow him, when Lucius Junius, one of their leaders, withheld them, obſerving, that though they were thankful for the favours which the ſenate now offered them, they had yet no ſecurity againſt their future reſentment; that it was therefore neceſſary, for their greater ſecurity, to have certain magiſtrates choſen annually from among themſelves, whoſe ſole buſineſs it ſhould be to take care of their rights, and prevent their being invaded by the ſenate. The people, though they did not think of this before, yet highly applauded it as ſoon as they heard it. The commiſſioners, however, had no power to make ſuch a conceſſion: they therefore ſent back to Rome for farther inſtructions; and the ſenate, deſirous of bringing the treaty to a happy concluſion, which they well knew could not be otherwiſe effected, at laſt gave their conſent to the creation of theſe new magiſtrates, who were denominated *Tribunes of the people*. They were ſo called either from their being elected

elected by the tribes, or from their being firſt choſen from among the tribunes or colonels of the army. Their number was at firſt two, afterwards five, and at laſt was augmented to ten. Their power was very extenſive. They ratified or annulled the decrees of the ſenate and conſuls, and of all other magiſtrates, except the dictators. When they meant to approve, they ſubſcribed the letter T. when they intended to reject, they ſubjoined the word *veto*, or *vetamus*, *I forbid it*. Great, however, as was their power, they had few external badges of authority. The only mark of this kind they had was the being preceded by a beadle, who was called *viator*. They were not allowed to be abſent a whole day from the city. As they were the defenders and protectors of the people, their houſes were to be open both day and night, that ſo there might be at all times an eaſy acceſs to them.

THEIR power, however, was confined within the city; and notwithſtanding their controul over the ſenate, they were not at firſt admitted to a ſeat in that aſſembly. They ſat at the door of the ſenate-houſe; and the decrees of the ſenate were brought out to them, in order to receive their approval or rejection. Their perſons were conſidered as ſacred and inviolable. The people paſſed an expreſs law for that purpoſe, by which it was prohibited to lay hands upon the tribunes, or to offer them violence upon any pretence whatever. Whoever infringed this law, was declared to be accurſed—*ſacer eſto*, and his eſtate was confiſcated into the public treaſury. It was lawful to kill him without any form of trial. And in order, if poſſible, to make this law eternal, the people engaged themſelves by oath, and under the moſt dreadful imprecations, as well in their own name as in that of their poſterity, never to aboliſh it. This law was called ſacred, as indeed all laws were that were confirmed by an oath, and by imprecations againſt thoſe who had the impiety to break them; and this was the reaſon, why the mountain, to which the people had retired, and where the law was paſſed, was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *ſacred mountain*. The people having thus obtained all, and indeed a great deal more than they at firſt wiſhed or expected, had now no longer reaſon for remaining out of the city; and they therefore ſuffered themſelves to be led back to it by their two tribunes and the deputies of the ſenate.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

From the CREATION *of the* TRIBUNES *to the* APPOINTMENT *of the* DECEMVIRI.

[ANN. ROM. 260.]

BY the expulſion of the kings the government of Rome was transformed from a monarchy into an ariſtocracy; by the creation of tribunes it was changed from an ariſtocracy into a democratical conſtitution. Nor were the tribunes the only new magiſtrates which the people now obtained; they were likewiſe allowed to chuſe two other officers, who were called *Ædiles*. Theſe derived their name from their principal employment *ab ædibus curandis*, that is, from taking care of the public buildings, aqueducts, &c. They had alſo the determining of ſome cauſes, that had hitherto been cognizable by the conſuls only. They were to inform againſt thoſe perſons that occupied more land than the laws permitted them; to check all public immoralities; to remove all nuiſances; to provide corn and oil in times of ſcarcity, and to prevent the dealers in ſuch commodities from being guilty of monopoly or hoarding. The ambition of the people being now fully gratified, they marched with alacrity againſt the Volſci and Antiates, and reduced Corioli, one of their chief towns; in the taking of which Caius Marcius, a young ſenator, diſtinguiſhed himſelf remarkably; and hence he was honoured with the ſurname of Coriolanus.

IN a ſtate, however, where property was ſo unequally divided as it was at Rome, even in that early period, it could not be ſuppoſed, that the rich and the poor could long live upon very amicable terms. The late ſeparation of the people had occaſioned a neglect of agriculture; this naturally produced a ſcarcity of proviſions; and the patricians were now accuſed of buying up all the grain that remained, in order to ſell it out at an exorbitant price, and thereby re-imburſe themſelves for the loſs they had ſuffered by the abolition of debts.

THESE murmurs, however, were, in ſome meaſure, appeaſed by the arrival of a large fleet from Sicily laden with corn, part of which had been purchaſed with the public money, and part ſent as a preſent by Gelon, king of that iſland. The diſtribution of this corn raiſed a freſh miſunderſtanding between the ſenate and the people. The more elderly and moderate ſenators were for giving part of it gratis

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to the poorer ſort of citizens, and ſelling the reſt at a low price among them. But Coriolanus, whom we have already mentioned, a man of great parts and diſtinguiſhed bravery, but, at the ſame time, of a moſt proud and imperious diſpoſition, and who, on all occaſions, avowed himſelf an inveterate enemy to the intereſts of the people, loudly exclaimed againſt this propoſal. He ſaid, that now was the time for humbling the pride, and abridging the power of the plebeians; and that therefore the price of the corn ſhould be kept up, until they had agreed to an abolition of the tribuneſhip, and to an entire reſignation of all the other favours and conceſſions that had been granted them upon the ſacred mount.

THE people were no ſooner informed of this violent council, than they had like to have broke out into an open mutiny, and would inſtantly have put the author of it to death, could they have laid their hands upon him. The tribunes, however, prevented them from proceeding to ſuch extremities; they only cited Coriolanus to appear before them; but to this ſummons he paid no regard. They then attempted to ſeize his perſon, but were rudely repulſed by the young ſenators. They therefore called an aſſembly of the people, in which Coriolanus made his appearance; but inſtead of offering an apology for what he had ſaid in the ſenate, he boldly juſtified every word he had uttered; adding, that he acknowledged no authority but that of the conſuls, and appeared in that aſſembly of mutineers, as he was pleaſed to call the people, only to reproach them for their inſolence.

SICINIUS, one of the tribunes, immediately condemned him to death, and ordered him to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock; but as the patricians ſeemed reſolved to defend him, he deſiſted, for the preſent, from the execution of his ſentence. He then ſummoned him to appear before the people, and to ſtand his trial at the end of twenty-ſeven days. The reaſon of putting it off for ſo long a time was owing to a cuſtom that prevailed among the Romans, of not deciding finally upon any public queſtion till after the return of three market-days, that ſo the people in the country might be informed of the matter; and the markets were only held every ninth day.

THE ſenate was now reduced to a very dangerous dilemma. To abandon one of their order to be tried by the people was a thing altogether unprecedented; and yet to refuſe their compliance in the preſent inſtance might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. From this difficulty they were freed by Coriolanus himſelf, who boldly aſked the tribunes of what crime they meant to accuſe him. "Of having aſpired to

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he ſovereignty," ſaid they. "If to refute that accuſation," eplied he, "be all that is wanted, I will willingly appear efore the people." In order to make ſure of the iſſue of the onteſt, the tribunes reſolved, that the people ſhould vote by ribes, in which every individual had a ſuffrage, and not by enturies, in which the patricians always carried the queſtion. The tribes accordingly being regularly aſſembled on the day f trial, Minucius, the conſul, aſcended the tribunal, and harangued the people in favour of the illuſtrious citizen, who reſented himſelf before them. He inſiſted upon his noble birth, his gallant actions, the ſervices he had done the ſtate, nd in the name of the whole ſenate requeſted, that he might ot be treated as a criminal. The tribunes, on the other and, were equally zealous in carrying on the proſecution, and naintained, that the attempts made by Coriolanus to aboliſh he office of tribune, and to prevent the price of corn from being owered, were undoubted proofs of his aiming at tyranny.

THIS imputation was fully refuted by Coriolanus himelf, who ſhewed the wounds he had received in fighting or his country, and mentioned the names of the citizens, whoſe lives he had ſaved in battle; and Decius, one of the ribunes, perceiving the impoſſibility of making good this art of the charge, immediately ſtarted another. "If," ſaid he, "we are prevented by the ſenate from inſiſting on thoſe peeches which were made amongſt that auguſt body, tending o deſtroy the privileges of the people, yet ſtill we are not without other crimes to alledge againſt the delinquent. We paſs over what he has ſaid; we come now to what he has done; and let him defend himſelf againſt the charges we ſhall bring againſt him in the beſt manner he can. We have an ancient law amongſt us, that all plunder, taken from the enemy, ſhall be appropriated to the uſe of the public, and be brought into the treaſury, untouched by the general. But a law, ſo equitable in itſelf, and ſo religiouſly obſerved by our anceſtors, has been violated by this man, who ſtands accuſed before you. In a late incurſion into the territories of Antium, though his plunder in ſlaves, cattle, and proviſions, was very great, yet the public were neither the better nor the richer for it; it was divided among his friends and followers; men, whom, probably, he intended to enrich, only to make them more ready tools in executing his ambitious projects. It has ever been the policy of men, who meant to overturn the liberties of their country, to begin by forming a ſtrong body of partizans, who were willing to aſſiſt them in all their deſperate enterprizes. This, then, is the crime, of which we accuſe Coriolanus; let him, if he can, diſprove

the fact; if not, let him ſuffer the puniſhment due to thoſe that are guilty of ſuch an enormity." As this was a charge which Coriolanus never imagined would be brought againſt him, he was altogether unprovided with a reply: his defence, therefore, was very unſatisfactory, and he was accordingly condemned to perpetual exile.

IT is remarkable, that the crime, for which Coriolanus now ſuffered ſo ſevere a ſentence, had been committed by ſome of the moſt illuſtrious and moſt popular generals of Rome, and that too not only without drawing upon them ſo heavy a puniſhment, but even without expoſing them to the ſlighteſt degree of cenſure. It is, therefore, natural to think, that Coriolanus fell a ſacrifice, not ſo much to his having violated the law in the particular inſtance with which he was charged, as to the general odium under which he laboured on account of his proud, haughty and imperious temper, which led him, on all occaſions, to oppoſe the intereſts and inclinations of the people, and to extend the power and prerogatives of the ſenate: an inſtructive leſſon this to all men of an elevated rank, never to treat their inferiors with contempt and diſdain, leſt they ſhould one day be made to pay dearly for their inſolent behaviour. A diſtinction of ranks is no doubt neceſſary in ſociety, becauſe perhaps there never was an inſtance of any nation's having attained to a high degree of civilization without ſuch a diſtinction; but then it ought, at the ſame time, to be remembered, that the true end of all government is not the gratification of the pride or ambition of any ſingle perſon, or of a few individuals, but the promoting the happineſs and welfare of the whole body of the people. Thoſe who think otherwiſe, whatever they may imagine, ſhew themſelves to be ſtill more ignorant even than they are proud.

THE trial of Coriolanus gave a mortal blow to the authority of the ſenate, which had hitherto poſſeſſed the excluſive privilege of trying all the individuals of its own body; but from this time forward the people claimed and exerciſed the right of trying all the different members of the ſtate, whether ſenators, patricians, or plebeians, without exception; ſo that no man, however high or exalted his rank, was ſecure from the effects of their reſentment, if he had happened to incur it. Nor was it merely the condemnation of a ſenator that gave the patricians ſo much pain. It was the condemnation of a ſenator, who, of all thoſe poſſeſſed of that high dignity, was the moſt zealous and active in maintaining the prerogatives of the order; and it was greatly to be feared, that after the downfal of ſo ſtrenuous an advocate, none would have

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he courage to ſtand up in defence of their few remaining privileges.

As to Coriolanus himſelf, inſtead of waſting his time in womaniſh lamentations, he retired among the Volſci; and having perſuaded that people to declare war againſt the Romans, and to entruſt him with the command of their forces, he advanced at the head of a numerous army to within five miles of Rome, firmly reſolved to lay ſiege to the city, and to take a ſignal vengeance upon thoſe who had been the cauſe of his diſgrace. The rapidity of his motions deprived the Romans of all power of making a regular defence, and they had therefore no other alternative left than to throw themſelves upon the mercy of the enemy. Two ſucceſſive embaſſies were accordingly ſent to Coriolanus, entreating him to draw off his army from Rome, and promiſing, upon that condition, that his ſentence of baniſhment ſhould be annulled, and himſelf reſtored to all his former dignities; but theſe propoſals he rejected with contempt and indignation. It was therefore reſolved to ſend another embaſſy, more ſolemn than either of the former, compoſed of the pontiffs, the prieſts, and the augurs. Theſe, clothed in their habits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, marched forth from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror. He treated them with all the reſpect that was due to their ſacred character, but remained as obſtinate and inflexible as before.

It was now determined, as a laſt reſource, to employ the good offices of his mother Veturia, and his wife Volumnia, and try whether filial duty and conjugal affection could not obtain that which no other conſideration had been able to procure. Accordingly theſe two venerable ladies, accompanied by the two young ſons of Coriolanus, and a long train of Roman matrons, ſet out for the Volſcian camp. Coriolanus perceived them at a diſtance, and eaſily gueſſed the purpoſe of their viſit. He reſolved to receive them with the ſame reſpect he had ſhewn to the miniſters of religion; but to turn a deaf ear, however, to all their requeſts. But he counted upon a hardneſs of heart and a ſtubbornneſs of nature which he did not poſſeſs; for he no ſooner beheld his wife and mother at the head of this mournful train of ladies, than he leaped from his tribunal to embrace them. After expreſſing their mutual joy at this unexpected meeting, Veturia began to open the purport of her errand; and Coriolanus, to prevent his being ſuſpected by the Volſcians, called the principal officers of his army to be witneſſes of what paſſed at the interview. Theſe were no ſooner come, but Vetu-

ria, in order the more ſtrongly to induce her ſon to grant her requeſt, told him, that all thoſe Roman ladies, who attended her, whom he well knew, and who were confeſſedly of the firſt families in Rome, had done every thing in their power, during his abſence, to adminiſter comfort to her and his wife; that touched with the calamities of war, and apprehending the fatal conſequences of the ſiege of Rome, they were now come to beg peace at his hands. She therefore conjured him, in the name of the gods, to grant this favour to his country, and to turn the force of his arms upon ſome other foes.

CORIOLANUS ſaid, that, by granting her requeſt, he ſhould offend thoſe very gods, whoſe name ſhe now invoked, and whom he had called to witneſs the faith he had ſworn to the Volſci; that he could not think of betraying the intereſts of thoſe who had not only raiſed him to an honourable rank in their ſenate, but had even intruſted him with the command of their army; that he had found at Antium (the capital of the Volſci) more honours and riches than he had loſt at Rome by the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens; and that nothing would be wanting to his happineſs, if ſhe would pleaſe to be a partner in his fortune, and would come and enjoy among the Volſci the honours which they would not fail to pay to the mother of their general.

THE Volſcian officers, who were preſent, ſhewed by their looks how highly they were ſatisfied with this anſwer; but Veturia, without entering into an invidious compariſon between Rome and Antium, contented herſelf with telling her ſon, that ſhe would never demand any thing of him that might fix a ſtain upon his character; but that, without being deficient in the duty he owed to the Volſci, he might eaſily be the means of bringing about a peace, that ſhould be equally advantageous to both nations. "And can you, my ſon," added ſhe, raiſing her voice, "refuſe a requeſt ſo reaſonable, unleſs you prefer the gratifying of a cruel and obſtinate revenge to complying with the prayers and entreaties of your mother? Conſider, that your anſwer is to decide the fate, not only of my character, but even of my life. If I carry back with me to Rome the hopes of an approaching peace; if I return thither with aſſurances of your reconciliation; with what tranſports of joy ſhall I be received by my fellow-citizens? The few days, which the gods may be pleaſed to permit me yet to paſs on earth, will be ſurrounded with glory and with honour—nay, my happineſs will not end with this mortal life—and if it be true, that there are different places for our ſouls after death, I ſhall not need to have the leaſt apprehenſion

ſion of thoſe gloomy and obſcure caverns where the wicked are confined: the Elyſian fields, that delicious abode ſet apart for the virtuous, will not even ſuffice for my reward. After having ſaved Rome, the city ſo dear to me, I may preſume to hope for a place in that pure and ſublime region of the air, which is ſuppoſed to be inhabited by the children of the gods. But I give myſelf up too much to theſe pleaſing proſpects. What, on the other hand, will become of me, if you perſiſt in that implacable hatred, whoſe dreadful effects we have already experienced? Our colonies have been expelled by thy arms from moſt of the towns they formerly poſſeſſed; thy licentious ſoldiers have ſpread through the land, and have carried fire and ſword where-ever they came: ought not theſe, by this time, to have ſatisfied thy vengeance? And haſt thou had the heart to lay waſte the country, which gave thee birth, and nouriſhed thee ſo long? The moment thou ſaweſt the walls of Rome, did it not occur to thee, that they incloſed all that was deareſt to thee in this world; thy houſe, thy houſhold gods, thy mother, thy wife, thy children? Doſt thou believe, that covered with the ſhame of a contemptuous denial, I can patiently wait till thy arms have pronounced our doom? A Roman woman knows how to die when her honour calls upon her ſo to do; and if I cannot move thee, know that I have reſolved to encounter death in thy preſence. Thou ſhalt not march to Rome without treading over the body of her to whom thou oweſt thy being; and if a ſight of ſo much horror has not power to ſtop thy fury, remember at leaſt, that thou canſt not enſlave Rome without expoſing thy wife and children to the dreadful alternative either of a ſpeedy death or a tedious ſervitude."

CORIOLANUS, toſſed with the violence of contending paſſions, was unable to make a reply: thirſt of revenge on the one hand, and filial piety on the other, ſtruggled long for the maſtery. His mother ſeeing his reſolution ſhaken, and fearing leſt his rage ſhould get the better of his compaſſion: "Why doſt thou not anſwer me, my ſon?" ſaid ſhe: "Wilt thou not know thy mother? Haſt thou forgot the care I took of thy infancy? And canſt thou, who makeſt war only to be revenged of the ingratitude of thy fellow-citizens, deny me the firſt favour I ever aſked thee, without incurring the guilt of the very ſame crime? If I required thee to betray the Volſci, who have given thee ſo generous a reception, thou wouldſt have juſt cauſe to reject ſuch a propoſal. But Veturia is incapable of adviſing her ſon to any thing baſe. Thy glory is dearer to me even than my own life. I only deſire thee to withdraw thy troops from the walls of Rome. Allow us a truce but for one year, that, in this interval,

meaſures may be taken for procuring a ſolid and laſting peace. Grant this, my ſon, I conjure thee by Jupiter, all good and all powerful, who preſides in the capitol; by the manes of thy father and of thy anceſtors. If my prayers and entreaties are not able to move thee, behold thy mother at thy feet, imploring of thee the preſervation of her country." And, with theſe words, melting into tears, ſhe embraced his knees; his wife and children did the ſame; and all the Roman ladies, that were with her, implored his pity in the moſt ſuppliant terms.

CORIOLANUS, tranſported, and as it were beſide himſelf, to ſee Veturia at his feet, cried out, "Ah, mother, what is it you are doing?" And tenderly preſſing her hand, as he lifted her up, "Rome," ſaid he to her, "is ſaved, but your ſon is loſt;" foreſeeing, probably, that the Volſci would never forgive him for the ſtep, which, in conſequence of her importunities, he was going to embrace. He then took her apart with his wife, and agreed with them that he would endeavour to obtain the conſent of the principal officers of his army for raiſing the blockade; that he would uſe all his intereſt and endeavours to bring the community of the Volſci to terms of accommodation; and, if he could not prevail with them, that he would lay down his command, and retire to ſome neutral city, there to wait till his friends had time to procure the repeal of his ſentence of baniſhment, and thereby open the way for his return to Rome. He then took leave of his wife and mother, after having tenderly embraced them; and bent his whole attention towards obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace for his country.

NEXT day he called a council of war: he there repreſented the extreme difficulty of forming the ſiege of a city, which had a formidable army for its garriſon, and where there were as many ſoldiers as there were inhabitants; and he concluded with obſerving, that the moſt prudent ſtep they could take was to think of a retreat. No body ventured to diſſent from this opinion; though every one knew what were the general's motives for ſo ſudden a change of ſentiment. The army accordingly began to draw off; and the Volſci, more affected with the filial piety of Coriolanus to his mother, than with the loſs which themſelves had thereby ſuſtained, retired quietly into their ſeveral cantons.

VARIOUS accounts are given of the death of Coriolanus. Some ſay, that, upon his return to Antium, he was murdered in an inſurrection of the people purpoſely excited by Tullus, general of the Volſci, who began to be jealous of his fame. Others alledge, that he lived to a very great age, and towards

wards the latter end of his life, was frequently heard to exclaim, that baniſhment was a great misfortune to any man, but much more to an old man.

To reward the ladies for the ſignal ſervice they had done their country upon this occaſion, a temple was erected to Female Fortune, into which none but perſons of their ſex were permitted to enter; and they were likewiſe allowed to expreſs their ſorrow for his death by wearing mourning for a whole year. It is more than probable, however, that neither the people nor the ſenate were ſorry to have thus got rid of a man, who had always been an inveterate enemy of the former, and never very acceptable to the latter. It is remarkable, that Themiſtocles, who lived at the ſame time, met with a ſimilar fate; for after having ſaved Athens by his courage and prudence, he was baniſhed by the jealouſy and ingratitude of the people, and retired into the enemy's country, where he died.

WHEN the Romans were free from foreign wars, they were always ſure to be engaged in domeſtic feuds and diſſenſions. This was particularly the caſe at preſent; and the cauſe of diſpute was the famous Agrarian law, propoſed by the conſul, Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus, who is ſaid, however, to have had no other view in promoting this law than merely to gain the favour of the people, and thereby pave his way to the attainment of the ſupreme power. The purport of the law was, that not only the people, but likewiſe the allies of Rome, ſhould have a ſhare of the lands lately conquered, and even of thoſe that had been a long time uſurped by the patricians. The people believed they had an excluſive right, and were offended at the thought of the allies being admitted. The ſenate laid hold of this diſtinction as an excellent pretext for defeating the purpoſe of the law, which, however, they could not help ratifying. They determined, that no foreigners ſhould have a ſhare but in proportion as they had contributed to the conqueſt, and they paſſed a decree, by which ten ſenators were intruſted with the execution of the law; thinking by this means to gain time to diſappoint the views of Caſſius; who was no ſooner out of office, than he was accuſed before the people, by two queſtors, of aiming at the ſovereignty. According to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus he was convicted of the crime, and thrown from the top of the Tarpeian rock; and ſome writers ſay, that his father himſelf carried on the proſecution before the ſenate, and cauſed the ſentence to be executed in his own ſight. Certain it is, that the ſenate frequently accuſed thoſe

of aiming at the ſupreme power, whom they had a mind to deſtroy.

As the paſſing of this law was only an artifice to deceive the people, the execution of it was demanded in vain, and every thing foreboded a ſpeedy rupture between the patricians and plebeians. The ſenate, therefore, employed their utmoſt art to ſtir up new wars, in order to turn the reſtleſs humour of the people from domeſtic towards foreign concerns. The people in diſguſt refuſed to inliſt, but they were compelled to it by the ſenate's threatening to appoint a dictator; and the Æqui, the Volſci, the Veians and Tuſcans were all defeated in different engagements.

IT was in one of theſe wars, that the family of the Fabii performed one of the moſt gallant and patriotic actions that is recorded in hiſtory. Finding that the ſtate was very much diſtreſſed rather by the multiplicity than the ſtrength of its enemies, and was not well able to guard againſt the incurſions of all the various foes by whom it was ſurrounded, they applied to the ſenate, by the mouth of the conſul, and demanded as a favour, that they would be pleaſed to transfer to their houſe, the care and expence of the garriſon, neceſſary to oppoſe the inroads of the Veientes, which required a watchful rather than a numerous body, promiſing to maintain with ſpirit the honour of the Roman people in that poſt. Every body was charmed with ſo noble and unheard of an offer, and it was accepted with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of gratitude. The news immediately ran over the city, and nothing was talked of but the Fabii. Every body praiſed, every body admired and extolled them to the ſkies. "If there were two more ſuch families in Rome," ſaid they, "the one might take upon them the care of the war againſt the Volſci, and the other againſt the Æqui, whilſt the commonwealth remained quiet, and the forces of individuals ſubdued the neighbouring ſtates for it."

EARLY the next day the Fabii ſet out, with the conſul at their head, robed in his coat of arms. Never (ſays Livy) was there ſo ſmall, and at the ſame time ſo illuſtrious an army ſeen. Three hundred and ſix ſoldiers, all patricians, and of the ſame family, of whom not one but might be thought worthy of commanding an army, marched againſt Veii, full of courage and alacrity, under a captain of their own name, Fabius. They were followed by a body of their friends and clients, animated with the ſame zeal and ſpirit, and actuated only by great and patriotic views. That troop amounted to about four thouſand men. The whole city flocked to ſee ſo

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fine a ſight, extolled the courage of theſe generous ſoldiers, and promiſed them conſulſhips, triumphs, and every other reward in the power of a grateful people to beſtow. As they paſſed before the capitol and other temples, every body implored the gods to take them into their protection, to proſper the enterprize in which they were engaged, and to grant them a ſpeedy and a happy return.

WHEN they arrived at the banks of the river Cremera, which was not far from Veii, they built a fort upon a very ſteep and rugged mountain; and in order to render the approach to it ſtill more difficult, they ſurrounded it with a double ditch, and flanked it with ſeveral towers. From this fort they continued to make repeated incurſions into the territory of the Veians, and kept that people in ſuch a perpetual alarm, that they were afraid to appear without the walls of their cities, and left the adjacent country expoſed to the ravages of the enemy. At length, grown confident by ſucceſs, they began to conduct their military enterprizes with leſs caution than formerly; and this furniſhed the Veians with an opportunity of forming a plan for taking them by ſurprize. With this view they contrived to place a number of men in ambuſh upon the hills that overlooked the neighbouring plain, which they took care, at the ſame time, to cover with a greater quantity of cattle than uſual. The Fabii ſeeing ſo many cattle, and but very ſlightly guarded, thought they might eaſily make a prey of them, and for this purpoſe they deſcended into the plain, and having ſeized the ſhepherds, and routed the few troops that attended them, and who purpoſely made but a very faint reſiſtance, they were beginning to drive away the cattle, when the men placed in ambuſh, ſuddenly ſtarted up, and encompaſſing the Fabii on all ſides, commenced a moſt furious attack upon them. The Fabii, ſeeing themſelves thus ſurrounded, and no poſſibility of eſcape remaining, reſolved to ſell their lives as dearly as poſſible; and accordingly, drawing up in the form of a wedge, and forcing their way to the ſide of the mountain, they there gained a riſing ground, where they continued to defend themſelves with the moſt deſperate valour; but the enemy having taken a compaſs, and by that means reached the top of the mountain, poured down upon them ſuch thick and repeated ſhowers of darts, they could no longer hold up againſt ſuch a furious aſſault. They continued, nevertheleſs, to fight to the very laſt, and were all killed but one, who preſerved the name and family, and from him ſprung all the ſucceeding Fabii, and particularly the dictator, Fabius Maximus, that afterwards made ſo diſtin-

guiſhed a figure. The Roman people were deeply affected with the loſs of the Fabii. The day of their defeat was ranked among the unfortunate days, called *Nefaſti*, on which the tribunals were ſhut up, and no public buſineſs could be done, or at leaſt finally concluded. And indeed it was impoſſible to pay too much honour to the memory of theſe illuſtrious patricians, who had thus generouſly ſacrificed their lives for the honour and intereſt of their country; for a like inſtance of courage and patriotiſm was never known to occur in any age or nation.

UPON the defeat of the Fabii, the Veientes invaded the Roman territories, and marching up to the very gates of Rome, made themſelves maſters of mount Janiculum, from which, however, the were in a little time diſlodged.

PEACE abroad was always ſucceeded by contentions at home; and the Agrarian law was the perpetual ſubject in diſpute between the patricians and plebeians. This was now carried to ſuch a degree of violence, that there was an abſolute neceſſity for having recourſe to ſome extraordinary expedient in order to quiet the commotions in the city, and the ſenate reſolved to create a dictator. They fixed their choice upon Quintius Cincinnatus, a man who had been originally poſſeſſed of a very large fortune, but the whole of which, except a ſmall farm, he had been obliged to diſpoſe of in order to pay a heavy fine impoſed on his ſon Cæſo. From that time he had continued to lead an obſcure but contented life in the country, not in the leaſt interfering with the management of public affairs, but ſtill anxious for the welfare of his country. When the deputies of the ſenate, therefore, approached him, they found him employed in holding the plough, and dreſſed in the mean garb of an huſbandman; and ſo far from being elated with the high ſtation to which he was now advanced, he only expreſſed his ſorrow that the Romans ſhould ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance, and ſaid to his wife on taking leave of her, "I fear, my Attilia, that, for this year, our little fields muſt remain unſown." He then repaired to the city, where he conducted himſelf with ſo much ſpirit and prudence, that he ſoon appeaſed the popular commotion; and having thus reſtored tranquillity to the ſtate, he laid down his office with more pleaſure than he had felt in aſſuming it.

HE was not, however, ſuffered to continue long in his rural retreat, to which he had returned. He was obliged, in a little time, by the neceſſities of the ſtate, to exerciſe once more the office of dictator. The conſul, Minucius, being intruſted with the conduct of the war againſt the Æqui, had ſuffered himſelf and his army to be cooped in a narrow defile between

between two mountains; and the enemy taking advantage of this act of imprudence, had formed intrenchments behind him, ſo that he muſt have been compelled, in a few days, to ſurrender at diſcretion. In this extremity, Cincinnatus was again ſent for, and inveſted with the dictatorial power as formerly; and having levied an army in the ſpace of a few hours, he marched directly from Rome, and arrived in the rear of the enemy before the next morning. The firſt thing he did was to order his ſoldiers to ſet up a loud ſhout, in order to apprize their friends that aſſiſtance was at hand. He then commanded them to throw up intrenchments, by which means he put the enemy into the ſame, or even into a worſe ſituation than they had put the army of the conſul. The Volſci, now ſeeing one army in their front and another in their rear, and at the ſame time obſerving that all poſſibility of eſcape was cut off, had no other alternative left than to ſubmit to the dictator, who was graciouſly pleaſed to ſpare their lives, but, as a mark of their captivity, obliged them, however, to paſs under the yoke. This was formed of two ſpears ſet upright in the earth, and another laid acroſs and faſtened at their tops in the ſhape of a gibbet; and the paſſing under it was the greateſt infamy that could be inflicted upon a vanquiſhed enemy. As to their captains and generals, he made them priſoners of war, and reſerved them to adorn his triumph. The plunder of the enemy's camp he beſtowed entirely upon his own ſoldiers, without reſerving any part of it for himſelf, or permitting thoſe of the delivered army to partake in the ſpoils. Thus having reſcued a Roman army from inevitable deſtruction, having defeated that of a formidable enemy, and having taken one of their chief towns, named Corbio, which he ſecured with a garriſon, he returned to Rome, and reſigned his dictatorſhip in ſixteen days after he had received it, though he might lawfully have retained it for the ſpace of ſix months. The ſenate decreed him one of the moſt ſplendid triumphs that ever had been conferred upon any general; and would willingly have made his riches equal to his honours, would he have condeſcended to accept them; but this he declined, and returned to his humble hut and ruſtic labours, in which he ſeemed to take more pleaſure than in all the pomp and magnificence that Rome had to beſtow.

THE Agrarian law ſtill continued to keep the minds of the people in a ferment; and their clamours at this time were conſiderably increaſed by a vehement ſpeech which Siccius Dentatus made from the roſtrum. He was an old plebeian, of an handſome aſpect, though near ſixty years of age; and with a

ſoldier's boldneſs he ventured to ſpeak freely of his own atchievements, and of the various actions in which he had been engaged. He ſaid, that it was now forty years ſince he had begun to bear arms; that he had been in one hundred and twenty battles; that he had received forty-five wounds, and all before; that he had obtained fourteen civic crowns for having ſaved the lives of ſo many citizens in battle; that he had received three mural crowns for having firſt mounted the breach in towns taken by ſtorm; that his generals had given him eight other crowns for having reſcued the ſtandards of the legions out of the hands of the enemy; that he had in his houſe eighty collars of gold, above ſixty bracelets, gilded javelins, gorgeous coats of arms, and trappings for horſes, which had been given him as teſtimonies of the victories he had gained in ſingle combat in the ſight of both armies; that theſe, however, were all the rewards he had ever received for his many important ſervices; that neither he nor any other brave plebeian, who with the loſs of their blood had won for the republic the better part of her territory, poſſeſſed the ſmalleſt portion of it; that their conqueſts had fallen a prey to ſome patricians, whoſe only merit lay in the nobility of their birth, and the celebrity of their names; and that not one of theſe could juſtify their poſſeſſion of the public lands by any lawful title, unleſs they looked upon the poſſeſſions of the ſtate as their own patrimony, and conſidered the plebeians as vile ſlaves, unworthy to have any ſhare in the riches of the community. He added, that it was now time for a generous people to do themſelves juſtice, and that they ought to prove, by paſſing the law for the partition of lands, that they had no leſs reſolution to ſtand by their tribunes in accompliſhing this meaſure, than they had ſhewn courage in the field againſt the enemies of the ſtate. This ſpeech made ſuch an impreſſion upon the aſſembly, that it was determined to bring the queſtion of the Agrarian law to an immediate deciſion; and the conſul Icilius, who favoured the popular cauſe, was preparing to collect the votes, when the young ſenators, who were as eager to prevent the law as the people were to obtain it, ruſhed into the crowd, and excited ſuch a tumult and confuſion, that it was impoſſible for the preſent to proceed any further.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

From the APPOINTMENT *of the* DECEMVIRI *to the* ABOLITION *of their* OFFICE.

[ANN. ROM. 302.]

HITHERTO every thing had been conducted at Rome by a majority of votes either of the ſenate or the people, or by their arbitrary will and diſcretion. It was now, however, determined to have a body of written laws to regulate the deciſion as well of public as of private queſtions. For this purpoſe three ſenators, Poſthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were appointed to go to the Greek cities in Italy and to Athens, and to import from thence ſuch laws and cuſtoms as ſhould ſeem beſt adapted to the genius of the Romans. After being abſent about a year, they returned, and brought with them a body of inſtitutes, which were ordered to be digeſted into form; and to this end ten ſenators were elected, who were called Decemviri. The duration of their office was at firſt limited to one year, during which time they were inveſted with abſolute power, and the authority of all other magiſtrates, whether conſuls, tribunes, ædiles, or queſtors, was aboliſhed, or at leaſt ſuſpended. After long and mature deliberation, they produced their laws, which were divided into ten tables, and two being afterwards added, compoſed the twelve tables of the Roman law, which were afterwards held in the higheſt veneration. Cicero ſays of them, that they contained a better ſyſtem of politics, and even of morality, than all the writings of the moſt learned philoſophers.

THESE laws conſiſted of three parts. The firſt contained things relating to religion; the ſecond, ſuch matters as concerned the public; and the third, the rights of private perſons. The explanation of them was called *Jus Civile*, or the civil law; and the caſes compoſed out of them *Actiones Juris*, or caſes at law. The reſt of the Roman laws, that either took place before or after them, were of four kinds, viz. *Plebiſcitum*, made by the authority of the plebeians alone; an edict of a magiſtrate, called *Jus Honorarium*; *Senatus Conſultum*, or an ordinance of the ſenate; and laſtly, that called *Principalis Conſtitutio*, enacted by the prince or emperor. The decemviri having taſted the ſweets of power, were unwilling to reſign it, and they prevailed upon the ſenate to continue them in their office; but as all power, and eſpecially all arbitrary power, is apt to

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be abuſed, they ſoon gave, by their violent conduct, an additional proof of the truth of this maxim. In a little time they broke out into the moſt furious acts of tyranny. They baniſhed ſome; they murdered others; they threw one man into priſon, and confiſcated the eſtate of another: in a word, they committed ſo many and ſuch daring outrages as expoſed them to the reſentment of the whole body of the people. This evidently appeared in a variety of inſtances, and particularly in the war with the Æqui and the Volſci, where the ſoldiers rather choſe to ſuffer themſelves to be beat, than to gain a victory for a general they hated.

NOR were they ſatisfied with attacking the lives and liberties of thoſe of their own ſex; they even made attempts upon the chaſtity of the other. Appius, one of the moſt powerful and unpopular of the decemvirs, happened one day, while ſitting on his tribunal, to caſt his eyes on a young lady named Virginia, as ſhe was going to the public ſchools; for it was the cuſtom among the Romans for girls to attend the public ſchools as well as the boys. Struck with her beauty, he reſolved, if poſſible, to get her into his poſſeſſion. At firſt he made uſe of thoſe gentle arts which lovers commonly employ; but finding all his endeavours of this kind ineffectual, he had recourſe to methods more violent and criminal. He ſuborned one of his clients, named Claudius, a man of profligate and abandoned morals, to claim her as his ſlave, hoping that, if he could ſucceed in this attempt, he ſhould eaſily make himſelf maſter of her perſon. Accordingly, Claudius one day meeting her, as ſhe was going to ſchool, ſtopped her, aſſerted ſhe was his ſlave, and bade her follow him, or he would oblige her to do ſo by force. Virginia, amazed and trembling with fear, did not know what he meant; and the governeſs, who attended her, raiſed a loud cry, and implored the aſſiſtance of the people. Relations and friends ran from all parts to join her, and the moſt indifferent were deeply affected with the ſight. This for the preſent ſecured her from violence. Claudius, finding he ſhould meet with oppoſition, began to aſſume a milder tone, ſaying that there was no occaſion for ſo much noiſe; that he had no intention of having recourſe to force, but ſolely to employ the uſual methods; and he immediately cited Virginia before the magiſtrate, whither ſhe followed him by the advice of her friends. When they came to Appius's tribunal, the claimant repeated his well known tale to the judge, with whom it had been concerted. He ſaid, that Virginia was born in his houſe of one of his ſlaves, who had carried her away, and ſold her to Virginia's wife, who was barren, and who being unwilling to remain

remain without children, had adopted this child, and brought her up as her own; that he had inconteſtable proofs of the fact, againſt the validity of which Virginius himſelf, were he preſent, could not poſſibly have any thing to object. He concluded with demanding, that, as the abſence of Virginius prevented the matter from being finally determined, the ſlave ſhould, in the mean time, be made to follow her maſter. This, however, was directly contrary to a law enacted by the decemvirs themſelves. This law declared, "that if a perſon, enjoying liberty, ſhould be claimed as a ſlave, ſuch perſon ſhould continue at liberty till a definitive ſentence was given in the caſe." In vain did Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, alledge this equitable law. In vain did he urge, that as Virginius was abſent in the ſervice of his country, it was but juſt the ſentence ſhould be delayed, till he could appear to defend his daughter in perſon. Appius ſaid, that the law, which had been cited, was a ſtriking proof of his own zeal for the liberty of the people; that if the father were preſent, the maid might be put into his hands without any difficulty, and therefore it was neceſſary he ſhould be ſent for immediately. In the mean time he decreed, that ſhe ſhould be put into the hands of Claudius, who ſhould give ſufficient ſecurity for producing her upon the arrival of her father.

ON the paſſing of this ſentence Virginia burſt into tears and lamentations, in which ſhe was joined by the women that attended her. Every body was filled with horror and indignation, but no one ventured to ſpeak his mind freely. At laſt Icilius, to whom Virginia had been betrothed, ſtarted up in order to protect his intended ſpouſe. The lictor, calling out that ſentence was already paſſed, endeavoured to oppoſe him, and thruſt him back rudely. But Icilius, who was young and ſpirited, was not to be ſo eaſily repulſed. "You muſt remove me hence, Appius," ſaid he, "with the ſword, if you would prevent my diſcovering your infamous deſign. I am to marry this maid, but to marry her a pure and untainted virgin. Therefore aſſemble, if you pleaſe, all your lictors, and thoſe of your colleagues, and bid them make ready their rods and axes; but the bride of Icilius ſhall not ſtay out of her father's houſe. Though you and your colleagues have deprived the people of their tribunes and their right of appeal, the two great bulwarks of their liberty, do not imagine that you have therefore a power to treat our wives and daughters according to the dictates of your luſt. Rage, tyrannize, if you will, over our perſons; but let chaſtity and innocence at leaſt be exempt from your violence." He concluded

cluded with ſaying, that, while he had life, he ſhould always, he hoped, have the courage and conſtancy to protect the virtue of his intended ſpouſe.

THIS ſpeech inflamed the multitude to ſuch a degree, that they were ready to proceed to the utmoſt extremities; and Appius, finding that he ſhould meet with reſiſtance, was obliged to relax of his former rigour. He ſaid, "he perceived, that Icilius, ſtill full of the pride and violence of the tribune, (for Icilius had formerly been tribune) only wanted to excite a tumult; but that, for the preſent, however, he would not furniſh him with an opportunity; that, on account of Virginius's abſence (who was then a centurion with the army in the field), his character as father, and likewiſe from a regard to the common cauſe of liberty, he was willing to defer judgment till the next day; but that if Virginius did not then appear, he now gave warning to Icilius, and all his abettors, that he ſhould proceed in the caſe, and that his own lictors, without thoſe of his colleagues, would be fully ſufficient to chaſtiſe the inſolence of ſuch demagogues as he." After ſitting ſome time longer on the bench, to prevent its being ſuſpected, that he had come thither ſolely on account of this affair, he roſe, and went home, greatly chagrined at the oppoſition he had met with. The firſt thing he did after his return to his houſe, was to write to his colleagues in the camp, deſiring them not to ſuffer Virginius to leave it, but, on the contrary, to keep him confined under a ſtrong guard. The courier was diſpatched immediately, but was too late in arriving. The affair of Virginia was no ſooner known, than Icilius's brother and Numitorius's ſon, two active young men, took horſe, and riding full ſpeed, arrived in the camp long before the meſſenger of Appius. They even arrived ſo long before him, that Virginius had already got leave of abſence, and was ſet out for Rome, which he reached in a few hours.

NEXT day he appeared in the forum, pierced to the heart with grief, and leading by the hand his daughter all drowned in tears. She was accompanied by her kinſwomen, who aſked the people in the moſt moving terms, whether it was fit, that a citizen, while he was venturing his life in defence of his country, ſhould have his children expoſed to more barbarous inſults than if the city had fallen into the hands of an enemy. Virginius uſed almoſt the ſame expreſſions to all he met, and conjured them to take his daughter into their protection. Icilius, quite furious with love and reſentment, gave full ſcope to his rage, and inveighed bitterly againſt Appius's luſt. But the tears of Virginia herſelf, her youth, her innocence, her beauty, made a much deeper impreſſion upon

upon the minds of the people than all the complaints and entreaties of her friends.

APPIUS was equally ſurpriſed and alarmed when he heard of the arrival of Virginius: he began to fear that this ſingle circumſtance would diſconcert all his meaſures. To prevent, therefore, any oppoſition on the day of trial, he cauſed the troops in the capitol to march down to the forum; and repairing thither himſelf, and aſcending the tribunal, he commanded Claudius to open his demand, and proceed in his action. Claudius then ſaid, that he need not obſerve what was acknowledged by every body, that ſlaves belonged to the maſters of their parents, and in that character he claimed Virginia as his property. At the ſame time he produced a female ſlave, whom he had ſuborned to ſwear, that ſhe had ſold Virginia to the wife of her reputed father, and ended his ſpeech by aſſerting, that he could confirm her teſtimony by that of many others, were it thought neceſſary.

To ſhew the falſity of theſe allegations, Virginius repreſented, that his wife had had ſeveral children, and, if upon her loſing them, ſhe had been inclined to adopt a ſuppoſitious child, ſhe would certainly have pitched upon a boy rather than a girl; that her neighbours had ſeen her big with this very daughter; that the child, when it came into the world, was received into the hands of her relations; that it was well known his wife Numitoria did herſelf give ſuck to young Virginia, which ſhe could not have done, had ſhe been barren, as was falſely aſſerted; and that it was ſtrange that Claudius had ſuffered his claims to lie dormant for the ſpace of fifteen years, and had never thought proper to urge them till Virginia was grown up to woman's eſtate, and was acknowledged to be poſſeſſed of that exquiſite beauty, which was the cauſe of her preſent misfortune. Appius, apprehenſive leſt theſe arguments ſhould make too ſtrong an impreſſion on the minds of the people, ſtarted up and ſaid, "Virginia's friends muſt not pretend to take advantage of the long forbearance of Claudius; for I myſelf can bear witneſs to the truth of the depoſition he has now made. Every body knows, that I was left guardian to this youth, and I was early informed that he had a right to this young woman; but the affairs of the public, and the diſſenſions of the people, have hitherto prevented me from doing him juſtice. However, it is not yet too late; and by the power veſted in me for the public good, I adjudge Virginia to be the property of Claudius."

VIRGINIUS, enraged beyond the power of bearing by ſuch a mixture of impudence and injuſtice, was no longer able to reſtrain

reſtrain his indignation. He loudly declared to the whole aſſembly, that the decemvir himſelf was the contriver of the plot which his client was now executing; and addreſſing his ſpeech to Appius, "Know, ſaid he to him, that I did not educate my daughter to proſtitute her to thy impure deſires. I gave her to Icilius, and not to thee. Couldſt thou imagine, that the Romans would ſuffer their wives and daughters to be taken from them to ſatiate the luſt of a cruel tyrant?" The multitude, on hearing this, raiſed a loud outcry, expreſſive of their indignation. Appius, almoſt frantic to ſee his guilt diſcovered, commanded the ſoldiers to drive away the people: "And you," ſaid he, turning to one of the lictors, "go, force a paſſage through the crowd, and make way for a maſter to take poſſeſſion of his ſlave."

THE people, accordingly, were immediately diſperſed, and the lictor was upon the point of ſeizing Virginia, and delivering her into the hands of Claudius, when the unhappy father, reduced to deſpair, formed within himſelf a moſt dreadful reſolution. He affected to acquieſce in the ſentence, and only entreated Appius to indulge him ſo far as to permit him to ſpeak a few words with Virginia and her nurſe, "in order," ſaid he, "that if I can diſcover ſome ſigns of my not being her father, I may return to the camp with leſs grief and vexation." This favour was readily granted, but only on condition, that every thing ſhould paſs in the preſence of Claudius. Virginius then, advancing through the crowd, took his almoſt expiring daughter in his arms, ſupported for a while her head upon his breaſt, and wiped away the tears that trickled down her cheeks. He moſt tenderly embraced her, and drew her inſenſibly to ſome ſhops which were on the ſide of the forum. There ſnatching up a butcher's knife, "My deareſt, loſt child," cried he, "thus, thus alone is it in my power to preſerve thy honour and thy freedom!" So ſaying, he plunged the weapon into her heart. Then drawing it out, all reeking with her blood, and holding it up to Appius, "Tyrant," cried he, "by this blood I devote thy head to the infernal gods." Thus ſaying, and covered with his daughter's blood, the knife remaining in his hand, threatening deſtruction to whoever ſhould oppoſe him, he ran wildly round the forum, calling upon the people to aſſert their liberty; and being favoured by the multitude, he made towards one of the city gates, where mounting a horſe that waited for him, he rode directly towards the camp.

THERE he had no ſooner arrived, than the knife which he ſtill held in his hand, and the blood with which his body was covered,

covered, drew upon him the eyes of the whole army, who had already indeed heard ſomething of his misfortune, and wiſhed to be more particularly informed. Virginius got upon a ſmall eminence, from which he might be the more eaſily heard. His face was bathed in tears, and grief for ſome time tied up his tongue. At length breaking this mournful ſilence, and raiſing his hands to heaven, "I call you to witneſs, ye immortal gods," ſaid he, "that Appius alone is guilty of the crime I have been forced to commit." He then related every circumſtance of the plot, which the decemvir had formed againſt his daughter. And continuing his ſpeech, "I conjure you, my fellow ſoldiers," ſaid he, "do not drive me out of your company as a parricide and the murderer of my daughter. I would willingly have ſacrificed my own life to preſerve hers, could ſhe have retained her honour and her liberty. But finding the tyrant only meant to make her a ſlave, in order to have an opportunity of diſhonouring her, pity alone made me cruel: I rather choſe to loſe my daughter, than to keep her with infamy; but I would not have ſurvived her one moment, had I not hoped to revenge her death by your aſſiſtance."

THIS ſpeech made a powerful impreſſion upon the whole army. The ſoldiers declared they were ready to aſſiſt him, not only in avenging his own wrongs, but in ſecuring the public liberty; and with that view they meant to extend their reſentment to the whole body of decemvirs, whoſe authority, as it had long ſince expired, was now become illegal, and beſides had degenerated into downright tyranny. To arms, therefore, was the univerſal cry; the ſtandards were pulled up; and the troops began their march directly for Rome. They firſt took poſſeſſion of the Aventine mount; and not being able there to obtain their full deſires, they withdrew, in a few days, to the Sacred Mountain, where the ſenate being intimidated by their firmneſs and perſeverance, were obliged to comply with all their demands. The decemvirate was aboliſhed; the offices of conſul and tribune were reſtored; Appius died by his own hands in priſon; Oppius, the next to him in guilt, and likewiſe in unpopularity, ſhared the ſame fate; the other eight decemvirs went into voluntary exile; and Claudius, the pretended maſter of Virginia, was driven out to baniſhment. Thus, ſays Livy, the manes of Virginia, more happy after her death than in her life, after having wandered through ſo many houſes in purſuit of juſt vengeance, were at length appeaſed by the puniſhment of all the guilty.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

From the ABOLITION *of the* DECEMVIRATE *to the* BURNING *of* ROME *by the* GAULS.

[ANN. ROM. 306.]

THE government being now re-eſtabliſhed upon its ancient footing, the two new conſuls Horatius and Valerius, marched againſt the Æqui and the Volſci, who had invaded the Roman territories, and over whom they obtained a complete victory; but as theſe were popular magiſtrates, and had ſided with the people in the late violent diſſenſions, the ſenate now refuſed them the honour of a triumph. The people, therefore, provoked at this unjuſt refuſal, decreed them a triumph by their own proper authority, and this was the firſt time they had ever preſumed to exerciſe ſuch a power. Not ſatisfied with this, they inſiſted upon two new laws being paſſed in their favour; one for permitting intermarriages between patricians and plebeians; the other for giving the plebeians a ſhare in the conſulſhip. To divert them from the proſecution of theſe two objects, the ſenate gave out that the Roman territories were invaded by ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, and that there was an abſolute neceſſity for levying an army and marching againſt the enemy.

THEY likewiſe ſtarted a number of objections againſt the two propoſed laws; but theſe appear to have been fully refuted by the tribune Canuleius, who addreſſed the people in the following terms. "Romans," ſaid he, "I have already often obſerved, how much the ſenators deſpiſe you, and how unworthy they think you of living within the walls of the ſame city with them; but I never perceived it more clearly than this day, in the violence and fury with which they oppoſe the laws we now wiſh to paſs. And, notwithſtanding, what is it we pretend to by theſe laws, but to make them ſenſible that we are their fellow-citizens, and that if we have not the ſame fortunes as they, we however are inhabitants of the ſame country. By one of theſe laws we demand the liberty of marriage between the two orders. Now marriage is often granted to the members of neighbouring ſtates, and even to ſtrangers. Rome does more, in conferring the freedom of the city upon conquered enemies, a thing undoubtedly far more conſiderable than marriage. By the other law we propoſe nothing new. We only claim, what has at all times been

been the right of the Roman people, that is, the liberty of conferring honours upon whomſoever they think worthy of them. What is there then in all this, that deſerves ſo much noiſe and uproar from the ſenators, that they are almoſt ready to fall upon me with violence in their houſe; that they threaten not to ſpare our perſons, and to violate the power of the tribunes, all ſacred as it is?

"How! if the Roman people be left at liberty to beſtow the conſulſhip by their ſuffrages on whom they think fit; if the plebeians are not deprived of the hope of attaining the firſt office in the ſtate, in caſe they are deemed worthy of it, will it not be poſſible for the ſtate to ſubſiſt? Will its dominion be at an end? And to demand, that a plebeian may be elected conſul, is it the ſame thing as to deſire to give that office to a ſlave or a freedman? Do you perceive, Romans, in what contempt you are held? They would deprive you of part of this light of heaven, if they could. It is with pain they ſuffer you to breathe the ſame air with them, that you have the uſe of ſpeech, and the form of men.

"If we believe them, it were a crime, an enormous crime, to elect a plebeian conſul. Though we are not permitted to inſpect the *faſti*, and the annals of the pontiffs, do we not know, what every ſtranger knows, that the conſuls ſucceeded the kings in their office, and that they had no power nor precedence, but what the latter had before them? And do you believe, patricians, we never heard that Numa Pompilius was ſent for from his farm in the country, by order of the people and ſenate, to aſcend the throne, and that he was neither a patrician, nor a Roman citizen? That L. Tarquinius afterwards, who was neither of Roman, nor even of Italian extraction, the ſon of Demaratus of Corinth, and of Tarquinii, where his father had ſettled, was made king in the life-time of Ancus's children? That after him Servius Tullius, the ſon of a ſlave, attained the ſovereignty by his excellent qualities and extraordinary merit? Why ſhould I mention T. Tatius the Sabine, whom Romulus, the founder of our city, thought fit to aſſociate with himſelf in the government? We ſee then that as long as regard was had at Rome to merit of whatſoever extraction, its dominions were enlarged, and its power augmented.

"Do you bluſh now to have a plebeian conſul, after our anceſtors have not refuſed to have ſtrangers for their kings, and have eſteemed and rewarded merit in them ſince the extinction of the ſovereignty? For ſince then we have received the family of the Claudii amongſt us, and not only conferred the freedom of the city upon them, but admitted them into the

the order of patricians. A ſtranger may become a patrician, and afterwards conſul; and ſhall a Roman citizen be excluded the conſulſhip, ſolely becauſe he is born a plebeian? Do we believe then, that it is impoſſible for the people to produce a man of merit and courage, capable of filling an important office either in peace or war, and one reſembling Numa, Tarquin, or Servius in his character? And if one of this deſcription ſhould happen to ariſe, ſhall we never ſuffer the helm of ſtate to be put into his hands? and ſhall we chuſe to have men for conſuls, like the decemviri, the moſt wicked of mortals, and all of them patricians, rather than perſons, that reſemble the beſt of our kings, whoſe births were not illuſtrious?

"BUT, perhaps, ſome one will object, that no plebeian, has been conſul ſince the expulſion of the kings. And what is to be inferred from thence? Are we never to think of any new inſtitution? How many have been made ſince the commonwealth began? Who can imagine, that in a city which is to endure for ever, and to augment to infinity, new offices, prieſthoods, cuſtoms, and laws, will not be frequently inſtituted? The law itſelf, which prohibits the intermarriage of the patricians with the plebeians, were they not the decemvirs who paſſed it ſome few years ſince, to the great prejudice of the public, and the diſgrace of the people? Is there any thing, in effect, more injurious or more contemptuous, than to declare one part of the citizens unworthy of allying themſelves in marriage with the other, as if they were polluted or profane? Is it not, in ſome meaſure, to be excluded, and to ſuffer a kind of baniſhment even within the walls of the city, to be incapable of contracting either alliance or affinity in it?

"IF you are convinced, that to mingle your blood with that of the plebeians, would be a ſtain to your nobility, why do you not take wiſe but ſecret meaſures to preſerve its pretended purity, by neither chuſing wives yourſelves from amongſt us, nor permitting your daughters and ſiſters to marry with any but patricians? No plebeian will offer violence to a patrician virgin: that would be invading the peculiar privilege of the patricians. Nobody will ever force you to contract ſuch alliances. But to forbid them by a law, and prohibit marriages between the ſenators and people, this is what we conſider as the higheſt indignity. You might paſs the ſame interdiction with reſpect to the rich and poor. Why don't you alſo forbid the plebeians to live in the neighbourhood of the patricians, to walk in the ſame ſtreets, to eat at the ſame tables,

tables, or to be preſent in the forum, and in the ſame aſſemblies with them?

"BUT, to be brief, do you believe yourſelves lords and maſters, and that you have a ſupreme authority here? When the kings were expelled, was it to give you abſolute dominion, or to procure the common and equal liberty of all? Are the people to be ſuffered to paſs a law, if they think it uſeful and neceſſary; or, as ſoon as they propoſe it, have you a right to puniſh them by decreeing levies? and as ſoon as I, the tribune, begin to call upon the tribes to give their ſuffrages, ſhall you, the conſul, immediately oblige the youth to take the military oath, and march them to the camp, menacing both the tribune and people? I declare, conſuls, that the people ſhall be ready to take arms againſt the enemy, of whom you tell us, whether real or pretended, if, in the firſt place, you conſent, that the patricians and plebeians ſhall, for the future, make but one and the ſame people by the ties of marriage and mutual affinity; and, in the ſecond, if the entrance to honours be open to all perſons of merit and valour, in order that the annual magiſtracy, poſſeſſed thus indifferently by the two orders of the ſtate, may ſhew, that they are equally called upon to command and obey, in which true liberty conſiſts. But if theſe two laws are oppoſed, talk as long as you will of wars, multiply the forces of the enemy, exaggerate the danger as if already at our door, not a man ſhall enter for the ſervice, nor fight for haughty maſters, who diſdain to aſſociate themſelves with us in public by honours, and in private by marriages."

THE ſenate, unwilling to yield to the people in both their demands, and being afraid to provoke them beyond meaſure, reſolved at laſt to compromiſe the matter. They gave their conſent to the law concerning marriages, hoping that that for the preſent would content them. In this, however, they were greatly diſappointed. The people inſiſted on the law reſpecting the conſulſhip with no leſs eagerneſs than they had urged that about the marriages; and the ſenate, ſeeing the neceſſity of gratifying them in this point as well as in the other, propoſed, that a certain number of annual governors ſhould be choſen, to be taken indifferently from among the patricians or plebeians; and that when the time of their magiſtracy ſhould be expired, it might then be determined whether it was proper to continue the office, or re-eſtabliſh the conſulſhip upon its former footing. The people, leſs anxious about names than things, and pleaſed with the proſpect of being admitted to ſome ſhare of the conſular power, very readily came into the propoſal; yet ſo fickle

fickle were they, that when the day of election arrived, they gave their ſuffrages to none but patricians, to the excluſion of the candidates of their own order. Theſe new magiſtrates were called military tribunes: they were at firſt but two, afterwards they were increaſed to four, and at length to ſix. They had the authority and enſigns of conſuls; yet that authority being divided amongſt a number, each ſingle tribune had, for that reaſon, the leſs. The firſt that were choſen only continued in office about three months, the augurs having diſcovered ſome flaw in the ceremony of their election.

THE military tribunes being depoſed, the conſuls once more came into office; and in order to lighten the weight of buſineſs that lay upon their hands, a new office was erected, namely, that of cenſors, who were to be choſen every fifth year, though the duration of their authority was afterwards limited to eighteen months. The office was at firſt of very little conſequence, though it afterwards grew to be one of the moſt conſiderable in the ſtate, and was even thought more honourable than that of the conſuls themſelves, moſt of thoſe that were advanced to it being ſuch as had enjoyed the dignity of conſul. Their buſineſs conſiſted of two parts, viz. the ſurvey of the people, and the cenſure of manners. As to the firſt, they took an exact account of the number and eſtates of the people, and diſtributed them into their proper claſſes. They likewiſe took care of the public taxes, and made laws for impoſing and collecting them. They were alſo inſpectors of the public ways and buildings, and defrayed the expence of ſuch ſacrifices as were made on account of the public. With regard to the latter part of their duty, they had power to puniſh all kind of vice in any perſon whatever. The ſenators they might expel the houſe, which was done by omitting to mention them when they called over the names of the other members. The knights they puniſhed by taking away the horſe allowed them by the public. The people they might either degrade from a higher tribe to a lower, or quite diſable them from giving their votes, or ſet a fine upon them to be paid into the treaſury. And ſometimes, when a ſenator or knight had been guilty of any notorious crime, he ſuffered two of theſe puniſhments, or all three at once. The greateſt part of the cenſor's buſineſs was performed every fifth year, when, after the ſurvey of the people, and an inquiſition into their manners, he made a ſolemn luſtration, or expiatory ſacrifice, in the name of all the Romans. This ſacrifice conſiſted of a ſow, a ſheep, and a bull, whence it took the name of *Suovetaurilia*. The ceremony of performing it they called *Luſtrum condere*; and hence the word *luſtrum* came

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in time to ſignify the ſpace of five years. The two firſt cenſors were Papirius and Sempronius, both patricians; and from this order cenſors continued to be choſen for upwards of a hundred years.

ABOUT this time the Romans were afflicted with a ſevere famine, and this inſpired a rich knight, named Spurius Mælius, with the hopes, and even, as he thought, furniſhed him with the means of making himſelf maſter of the liberties of his country. With this view he cauſed all the corn in the neighbouring ſtates of Italy to be bought up, and diſtributed among the poor gratis. Having thus gained, as he imagined, a ſufficient number of partizans, he procured large quantities of arms to be brought into his houſe by night, and formed a conſpiracy, by which he was to be raiſed to the ſupreme power, while ſome of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to aſſiſt him in accompliſhing this hazardous undertaking. The plot, however, was happily diſcovered by Lucius Minucius, prefect or ſuperintendant of proviſions, and the ſenate being informed of it, immediately reſolved to create a dictator. They accordingly appoint to that high office Quintius Cincinnatus, though he was now more than eighty years old. Cincinnatus began by ſummoning Mælius to appear before him, and that demagogue refuſing to obey, he next ſent Ahala, the maſter of his horſe, to compel him; but Mælius ſtill continuing refractory, Ahala purſued him into the midſt of the crowd, where he had taken ſhelter, and with his own hands killed him upon the ſpot. The dictator applauded the reſolution of his officer, and commanded the conſpirator's goods to be ſold, and his houſe to be demoliſhed, diſtributing his ſtores among the people.

THE tribunes were highly incenſed at the death of Mælius; and in order to expreſs their indignation on that account, they refuſed to conſent to the election of conſuls, but inſiſted on reſtoring their military tribunes. With this the ſenate were obliged to comply; but next year the government returned into its wonted channel, and conſuls were choſen.

ABOUT this time, the people of Fidenæ, which was a Roman colony, abandoned the intereſt of their mother country, and went over to the Veientes, of whom Lars Tolumnius was then king. To the crime of revolt they added that of cruelty in killing, by order of Tolumnius, the Roman ambaſſadors, who had been ſent to complain of their treacherous conduct, and enquire into their reaſons for ſuch a behaviour. They therefore declared war, not only againſt the Fidenates, but likewiſe againſt the Veians. The hoſtile armies ſoon came to an engagement, when Cornelius Coſſus, a young

Roman officer, of illuſtrious birth, and great perſonal valour, obſerving Tolumnius at a diſtance, cried out, "Is that then the man that breaks through all laws human and divine? I doubt, if there are gods avengers of impiety, but I ſhall ſoon offer him as a ſacrifice to the manes of our ambaſſadors." So ſaying, he rode furiouſly againſt him, and with the firſt ſtroke of his lance threw him headlong from his horſe. Then ſuddenly diſmounting, he beat him down as he was attempting to riſe, and after giving him ſeveral deſperate wounds, he run him through the body, and nailed him to the ground. After this he ſtripped him of his armour, and having cut off his head, and fixed it to the end of a ſpear, he held it up aloft as a proof of his victory. This ſtruck the enemy with ſuch a general panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the Romans with great ſlaughter. Theſe were the ſecond royal ſpoils, called *Spolia opima*, that had been taken ſince the foundation of Rome. Coſſus placed them in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, cloſe by thoſe which Romulus had taken from Acron, king of the Cæninenſes.

ABOUT this time a law was paſſed, which, though in latter times it would have been treated with contempt and ridicule, was now conſidered as a very ſerious matter. All the Roman citizens, it ſeems, wore white garments; but thoſe who ſtood candidates for public offices, and ſolicited the votes of the people, in order to render themſelves more conſpicuous, augmented the whiteneſs of their clothes by the uſe of a mixture, in which chalk was a conſiderable ingredient; and hence it was that they were called *candidati*, or candidates. The tribunes, however, thinking that the patricians excelled the plebeians in this mechanical manner of canvaſſing, propoſed a law, which was paſſed, ordaining that thoſe who ſtood candidates for public employments, ſhould, for the future, wear no whiter garments than the reſt of the Roman citizens.

SUCH purity of morals, and even ſuch ſeverity of manners, were expected from the veſtal virgins, that any approach towards a light or indecent behaviour was enough to bring them into ſuſpicion of having violated their vow of chaſtity. One of them, named Poſthumia, was now tried as having been guilty of this crime, merely on account of the gaity of her deportment, and though ſhe was in the end acquitted, yet was adviſed by the pontiff to be more guarded in her conduct for the future.

THE Roman ſoldiers had hitherto ſerved their country at their own expence, and without receiving any pay from the public. Every man was obliged to maintain himſelf from his own private fortune, as well in the field as in winter quarters; and

and when the campaign happened to be long, the lands of the plebeians frequently lay uncultivated. Hence aroſe the neceſſity for the poor borrowing of the rich, and intereſt accumulating upon intereſt, and being added to the capital, at laſt ſwelled up to ſuch a ſum as involved the borrower in inextricable difficulties. This was an eternal ſource of quarrels and jealouſies between the patricians and plebeians. In order, therefore, to put an end to it, the ſenate now decreed, that for the future, the ſoldiers who ſerved in the foot ſhould be paid by the public. The people, as might naturally be expected, were overjoyed at this indulgence. They ran in crowds to the ſenate-houſe. They kiſſed the hands of the ſenators as they came out, and called them their fathers; and all declared, that there was not now a citizen that would not be willing to ſhed the laſt drop of his blood in defence of ſuch generous benefactors.

THE tribunes, however, received the matter in a very different light. They ſaid, "that the grant was by no means ſo advantageous as at firſt ſight it might ſeem. For how was a fund to be raiſed for the payment of the ſoldiers, except by impoſing a tax upon every individual? The ſenate, therefore, were liberal at other people's expence. That as to the reſt, though others might approve of this innovation, the veteran ſoldiers never would, nor was it to be ſuppoſed, that after having ſerved their full time at their own proper charge, they would patiently ſubmit to be loaded with a tax for the payment of thoſe who ſucceeded them in the ſervice." By theſe ſpecious arguments they perſuaded a great number of the people to come over to their opinion; and when the law for levying the new duty was publiſhed, they loudly declared that, ſo far from obeying it themſelves, they would readily undertake the defence of thoſe who refuſed their compliance.

The ſenate, however, were determined to carry their decree into execution; and as the moſt effectual method of doing ſo, they began by ſetting an example to others, and were the firſt that ſent in their quota of the tribute; and as there was at that time no ſilver coin, but all money conſiſted of braſs or copper, which conſequently was very heavy, and was called *æs grave*, they were obliged to convey their contributions to the treaſury in carts and other carriages. This naturally excited the attention of the public; and the people being aſhamed to be backward in contributing to the formation of a fund, by which they themſelves were to be chiefly benefited, were prevailed on at laſt to follow the example of the ſenators, and they accordingly paid in their reſpective ſhares

of the new duty, without regarding, in the leaſt, the objections of their tribunes.

ABOUT two years after, pay was likewiſe eſtabliſhed for the horſe. Livy does not mention the amount of that pay. He only ſays, that it was three times as much as that of the foot. According to Polybius, the pay of the foot was two *oboli* a day, that is about three halfpence Engliſh, and the pay of the horſe ſix *oboli*, or four-pence halfpenny. Proviſions were very cheap in thoſe days. A buſhel of wheat was uſually ſold for no more than four *oboli*, or three-pence, and a buſhel of barley for half that price. A buſhel of wheat would maintain a ſoldier for eight days; ſo that two days pay would ſubſiſt him for more than a week.

BUT gratifying the ſoldiers was not the only object the ſenators had in view in granting them pay; they had a much more important and national point to carry. Before this inſtitution, the hoſtilities of the Romans deſerved the name of incurſions rather than of wars, and were uſually terminated by a ſingle battle. Theſe petty wars ſeldom laſted above twenty or thirty days at the utmoſt, the ſoldiers being unable, for want of pay, to keep the field longer. But when the ſenate ſaw themſelves in a condition to keep a body of regular troops at all times on foot, they began to think they were capable of greater undertakings, and they now formed a regular plan for beſieging Veii, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt popular towns of Italy, and which had long been conſidered as the rival of Rome itſelf.

BEFORE this place, accordingly, they now ſat down; and after carrying on the ſiege for a long time with unremitted diligence, with various ſucceſs, and under a ſucceſſion of different commanders, they at laſt committed the concluſion of the blockade (for the ſiege was in the end turned into a blockade) to Camillus, whom at the ſame time they created dictator. This brave and experienced general, ſeeing the impoſſibility of taking the place by ſtorm, contrived to run a mine under the walls into the heart of the town, ſo as to terminate it in one of the temples. He then commanded the ſoldiers in the trenches to make a general aſſault upon the walls from without; and while the beſieged ran thither in order to defend them, the men concealed in the mine ſuddenly ſtarted up, and attacking the enemy in their rear, and, at the ſame time, forcing open the gates, they completed the reduction of the city. The ſiege laſted no leſs than ten years, in which reſpect it reſembled the ſiege of Troy, as it did likewiſe in the circumſtance of the town's being taken by a ſtratagem, and not by main force.

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THE popularity, which Camillus had acquired by the taking of Veii, was conſiderably diminiſhed by the vanity he diſplayed in celebrating his triumph. He had his chariot drawn by four milk-white horſes; and as this was a mark of diſtinction, that had never been aſſumed by any but the ancient kings of Rome, and had ever ſince been conſidered as peculiarly appropriated to Jupiter and Apollo, whoſe horſes were ſuppoſed to be of this colour, it was generally ſaid, that the dictator not only exalted himſelf above the condition of the citizen of a free ſtate, but even pretended to an equality with the gods themſelves.

As a deſcription of men and manners is univerſally allowed to form a more intereſting picture than a hiſtory of battles and ſieges, which never fail to diſguſt us by their uniformity, we ſhall here mention a ſingular inſtance of patriotiſm, or rather of piety, exhibited by the Roman ladies upon this occaſion. Camillus, it ſeems, previous to his taking Veii, had made a vow to Apollo, that if he ſucceeded in the enterprize, he would dedicate to him the tenth of the ſpoils taken in the place. A tenth of the moveables was eaſily collected, and was intended to be formed of maſſy gold, worthy of the god, to whom it was offered. But Camillus declared, that when he made the vow, he certainly included in it a tenth of the value of the city itſelf, and of all the territories belonging to it. This threw the people into conſiderable difficulties. They referred the matter to the deciſion of the pontiffs, who were all of the ſame opinion with Camillus. An eſtimate, therefore, was immediately made of the value of Veii, and of all the lands that depended upon it. The amount of that ſum was taken out of the public treaſury, and was carried to the military tribunes, who were directed to purchaſe gold with it, to be uſed in the preſent intended for Apollo.

As gold was then very ſcarce, and was not eaſily to be found, the ladies ſupplied the defect by generouſly offering all their gold and jewels. Their offer was accepted with thoſe marks of gratitude, which it ſo richly deſerved; and by way of reward, they were indulged with many privileges. They were permitted to go to the ſacrifices and games in chariots covered and ſuſpended, called *pilenta*; they were allowed to be carried in the ſtreets, on feſtival-days and at other times, in open chariots, called *carpenta*; and they were ſuffered to have funeral orations publicly ſpoken; an honour, to which formerly none but men were entitled. The gold, which they ſent to the treaſury, was weighed, in order to its being in time refunded to them, and a great golden cup was made of it, and preſented to Apollo. The Roman hiſtory has already

ſupplied us, and will ſtill farther ſupply us with a like zeal in the ladies for the honour and intereſt of their country.

A GREAT plague, which happened about this time at Rome, gave riſe to the inſtitution of a new religious ceremony, which we mention as more deſcriptive of the ſpirit and genius of the people than military operations; for theſe laſt are common to all men, but the Romans excelled all other nations in their belief and acknowledgment of ſuperior powers that direct and controul the affairs of the world. This ceremony was called *Lectiſternium*, a word that is evidently derived from *lectos ſternere*, to make beds. The cuſtom at Rome was, in times of great danger, or great ſucceſs, to decree ſolemn feaſts to the gods, in order to implore their aid, or to render them public thanks for the protection they had afforded them. Officers, called *Triumviri*, and in proceſs of time, when their number was augmented to ſeven, *Septemviri epulones*, preſided at theſe feaſts. According to the cuſtom of thoſe times, they prepared in the temples, around the tables, beds covered with magnificent carpets, cuſhions, and ſeats. The ſtatues of the gods and goddeſſes, invited to the feaſt ſerved up upon the table, were placed on them, and they were deemed to be preſent at and to partake of it. Valerius Maximus informs us, they vouchſafed to conform to human cuſtoms; and that, in this ceremony, Jupiter lay at length upon a bed, and Juno and Minerva ſat on ſeats.

IN this manner the feaſt was celebrated on the preſent occaſion in the name of the public; and it is the firſt time the lectiſternium is mentioned. Private perſons did the ſame during the eight days of the ſolemnity, and mutually entertained each other at their tables. Every perſon kept open houſe, and tables were ſpread, and feaſts celebrated, at which every thing was in common, and every body, whether citizen or ſtranger, was equally welcome. Quarrels and lawſuits were ſuſpended, and priſoners were liberated during the whole entertainment; and it was afterwards thought unlawful to confine thoſe who were conſidered as perſons whom the gods had ſet at liberty.

THE next military operation of the Romans was againſt the Faliſci, who, during the whole ſiege of Veii, had given them great diſturbance. The management of this was given to Camillus, who finiſhed it in a little time, with his uſual good fortune. He routed the enemy in the open field; he took their camp, and having diſpoſed of the plunder, he ſent the money to the treaſury. He then laid ſiege to their capital, Falerii, which would probably have made an obſtinate reſiſtance, had not its ſurrender been haſtened by an event, that

that has done more honour to Camillus than all his other victories. A ſchoolmaſter, who had the care of the children belonging to the principal men in the city, having found means to decoy them into the Roman camp, offered to put them into the hands of Camillus, as the ſureſt means of obliging the citizens to a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion. Camillus, ſtruck with the treachery of a wretch, whoſe duty it was to protect innocence, and not to betray it, for ſome time regarded him with a ſtern ſilence; but at laſt, finding words, "Execrable villain," cried the noble Roman, "offer thy abominable propoſals to creatures like thyſelf, and not to me. True it is, that we have no expreſs or formal alliance with the Faliſci, but thoſe ties, which nature has eſtabliſhed between all men, both do and ſhall ever ſubſiſt between us. War has its rights as well as peace, and we know how to carry it on with no leſs juſtice than valour. We have taken up arms, not againſt an age that is ſpared even in captured cities, but againſt men armed like ourſelves; men, who, without having received any injury from us, attacked the Roman camp at Veii. Thou, indeed, to the utmoſt of thy power, haſt exceeded them in a new and different kind of crime: but as for me, I ſhall conquer here, as I did at Veii, by Roman arts, by courage, conduct, and perſeverance." The traitor did not eſcape with this reprimand, ſharp and ſevere as it undoubtedly was. Camillus ordered him to be ſtript, his hands to be tied behind him, and in that ignominious manner to be whipped back into the town by his own ſcholars.

THE Faliſci, who had been inconſolable for the loſs of their children, were ſo tranſported when they ſaw them return, that they inſtantly changed their ſentiments with regard to the Romans, and from inveterate enemies, they in a moment became their cordial friends, or at leaſt their profeſſed admirers; and being determined to have a peace with ſuch generous foes, they ſent ambaſſadors, firſt to the camp, and afterwards to Rome. Theſe being, at length, introduced into the ſenate, addreſſed themſelves to the members in the following terms. "Illuſtrious fathers," ſaid they, "conquered by you and your general, in a manner that can give no offence either to gods or men, we are come to ſurrender ourſelves to you; being firmly perſuaded, that we ſhall live much happier under your government than under our own. The event of this war has furniſhed the world with two excellent examples. You, fathers, have preferred juſtice in the midſt of war to immediate conqueſt; and we, excited by that juſtice, which we admire, pre-

ſent you with the victory. We are now entirely at your devotion. Send perſons to us to receive our arms, hoſtages, and the city, the gates of which are now thrown open. You will have no reaſon to be diſſatisfied with our fidelity; nor ſhall we, we hope, have any juſt cauſe to repent of having ſubmitted to your authority."

ONE would imagine, that the great merit of Camillus would have ſecured to him the love, and even the veneration of all his fellow-citizens; but it generally happens in republics, and indeed in moſt other governments, that ſuperior worth excites the jealouſy of thoſe who have none; and this was now the caſe with Camillus. He was accuſed by two of the tribunes of having prevented the removal of the people to Veii; for ſome of the citizens, it ſeems, had formed a ſcheme for tranſplanting one half the inhabitants of Rome to that city, in order, as they ſaid, to eſtabliſh a ſecond capital: but this deſign was reſolutely oppoſed by Camillus, who thought, and juſtly thought, that the formation of a ſecond capital might, in time, very probably prove the ruin of the firſt. He was likewiſe charged with having concealed, and appropriated to his own uſe, part of the plunder that had been taken at Veii. Camillus, unable to bear the diſgrace of a public trial, after the ſignal ſervice he had done his country, immediately went into voluntary exile, praying the gods, at the ſame time, as he was quitting the city, that the Romans might ſoon be made ſenſible of their injuſtice, and might ſoon ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance. Nor was it long before his wiſhes were gratified. For in a little time after the Romans were attacked by a more formidable enemy than any they had encountered. Theſe were the Gauls, one of the moſt fierce and warlike people of antiquity.

GAUL, ſurnamed Comata, on account of the inhabitants wearing long hair, was originally divided into three parts, Aquitania, Celtic, and Belgic Gaul. The Gauls, of whom we are now ſpeaking, were of the Celtic race. They were not the firſt that had come into Italy. In the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus, about the 165th year of Rome, Ambigatus was ſovereign of Celtic Gaul. That prince, finding his hereditary dominions overſtocked with inhabitants, put Sigoveſus and Belloveſus, two of his nephews, at the head of a great body of young men, whom he obliged to go in queſt of new ſettlements; whether it was that this was a common practice in thoſe times, as it afterwards was in the north down to the end of the tenth century, or that Ambigatus had recourſe to this expedient of military colonies, in order to get rid of a ſet of reſtleſs, ardent, and ungovernable ſpirits.

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WHATEVER was his motive, the fact is certain, and the leaders decided by lot the regions into which they were to go. Chance ſent Sigoveſus over the Rhine, who, taking his way through the Hercinian, now called the Black Foreſt, opened himſelf a paſſage by force of arms, and ſeized Bohemia and the adjacent provinces. Belloveſus turned towards Italy; having paſſed the Alps, and carried along with him the people of many of the petty ſtates, through which he paſſed, he at laſt fixed himſelf and his followers in that fine country which goes by the name of Lombardy. There they are ſaid to have built many cities, ſuch as Milan, Verona, Padua, Breſcia, Como, and other towns that ſubſiſt to this day.

THE Gauls, however, that now attacked Rome, appear to have been a freſh ſwarm, directly from their original habitations. They are ſuppoſed to have been invited into Italy by one Aruns, a native of Cluſium, who took this method of avenging an injury he had received from his fellow-citizens; and the temptation he held out to them, in order to induce them to comply with his requeſt, is ſaid to have been the delicious flavour of the Italian wines, which they had never taſted before, and of ſome of which he now made them a preſent.

THE Gauls were employed in the ſiege of Cluſium; and the inhabitants, apprehenſive of falling into the hands of theſe barbarians, implored the aſſiſtance of the Romans, though they had no other reaſon to expect it, than that, in the laſt war, they had not taken arms in favour of the Veians, as moſt of the other ſtates of Tuſcany had done. The ſenate, who had no particular alliance with the Cluſians, deemed it improper to proceed to extremities in ſupport of their cauſe. They contented themſelves ſimply with ſending an embaſſy of three young patricians, all of them brothers, and of the Fabian family, to effect an accommodation between the Cluſians and the Gauls. The ambaſſadors, upon arriving at the Gauliſh camp, were introduced into the council. They there offered the mediation of Rome, and demanded of Brennus, the king or leader of the Gauls, what right a ſtrange people, as they were, could have to Tuſcany, or whether the Cluſians in particular had done them any wrong? Brennus anſwered proudly, that his right lay in his ſword, and that all things belonged to the brave; but that, without having recourſe to this primitive law of nature, he had juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the Cluſians, who having more land than they could cultivate, had refuſed to give him that which they now left untilled. "They do us," added he, "the ſame wrong that was formerly done to you by the Sabines, the Albans, the Fidenates, the Equi, the Volſci,

and your other neighbours, whom you have either deprived, or are endeavouring to deprive, of part of their territory. Therefore ceaſe to interpoſe in behalf of the Cluſians, leſt you ſhould teach us by your example to eſpouſe the cauſe of thoſe whom you have ſtripped of their ancient inheritance."

THE ambaſſadors were enraged at this haughty anſwer, but they diſſembled their reſentment for the preſent. They only begged permiſſion to go into town, in order, as they ſaid, to have a conference with the magiſtrates, and to try, if poſſible, to bring about a peace. This favour was readily granted; but they had no ſooner entered the town, than, inſtead of acting agreeably to their character and to the promiſe they had made, they put themſelves at the head of the inhabitants, and made a furious ſally upon the beſiegers: one of them even killed a Gaul officer of great diſtinction, and was obſerved in the very act of ſtripping him of his armour.

BRENNUS, incenſed at this daring violation of the law of nations, ſent deputies to the ſenate, to demand ſatisfaction, and particularly that the Fabii ſhould be put into his hands; but finding it impoſſible to get any redreſs, and hearing, on the contrary, that inſtead of puniſhing the delinquents as they deſerved, the people had advanced them to the rank of military tribunes, he turned the whole bent of his reſentment, from the ambaſſadors, upon the Romans themſelves, on whom he was determined to take a ſignal vengeance. With this view, he broke up the ſiege of Cluſium, and began his march directly for Rome; and coming up with the Roman army on the banks of the river Allia, about four leagues from the city, he obtained over it an eaſy and a complete victory.

HIS troops were not only more hardy and warlike, but, what may ſeem ſtrange in barbarians, they were even better diſciplined. Beſides, they were much more numerous than the Romans, amounting to about ſeventy thouſand men, whereas the latter did not exceed forty thouſand in all. Add to this, that they had much more confidence in their general, who, barbarian as he was, appears to have been a very able commander, whilſt the Romans were diſtracted by the multiplicity of opinions that prevailed among their leaders, who were no leſs than ſix in number, for, inſtead of conſuls, the people were now under the direction of military tribunes. The action at Allia, therefore, was not ſo much a battle as a rout: the two wings of the army fled at the very firſt charge; and the main body, being thus deſerted and left to itſelf, was eaſily overpowered.

On receiving the news of this defeat, Rome was filled with terror and conſternation; and the ſenate ſeeing the impoſſibility

lity of defending the city, adviſed the younger and more active part of the inhabitants to take poſſeſſion of the capitol, and there to hold out to the laſt extremity. As to the old men, women, and children, they endeavoured to find ſhelter in the beſt manner they could, in the neighbouring towns and villages. Only eighty of the moſt ancient ſenators and prieſts, ſeized with a religious enthuſiaſm, reſolved to devote their lives as a ſacrifice to atone for the ſins of the people, and clothed in their robes of ceremony, they placed themſelves in the forum on their ivory chairs. The Gauls in the mean time were ſo eager to enjoy the firſt fruits of their victory, that they loſt all the real advantages they might have derived from it. They ſpent two whole days in dividing among them the ſpoils they had taken, and thereby gave the Romans ſufficient leiſure to provide at leaſt for the defence of the capitol.

ON the third day after the battle they reſumed their march, and upon approaching Rome, were greatly ſurprized to find the gates wide open, and the walls entirely defenceleſs. This made them at firſt apprehenſive of ſome ſtratagem; but after having taken the neceſſary precautions, they entered the city, and advancing into the forum, beheld there the ancient ſenators ſitting in due order, obſerving a profound ſilence, unmoved and undaunted. The ſplendid habits, the majeſtic gravity, and the venerable looks of theſe old men, awed the barbarous enemy into reverence: they miſtook them for the tutelary deities of the place, and began to offer them blind veneration, till one, more forward than the reſt, put forth his hand and ſtroked the beard of Papyrius. This was an inſult the noble Roman could not bear; he therefore lifted up his ivory ſceptre, and ſtruck the ſoldier on the head, and the other, in revenge, run him through the body. This was a ſignal for a general ſlaughter. All the other ſenators were put to the ſword, as was likewiſe every perſon of inferior rank that fell in the way of theſe fierce invaders.

BRENNUS then inveſted the capitol, and ſummoned thoſe that were ſhut up in it to ſurrender; but finding they were neither to be intimidated by his threats, nor cajoled by his promiſes, he turned the ſiege into a blockade; and in the mean time, to puniſh the Romans for their obſtinate reſiſtance, he determined to wreak his vengeance upon the city itſelf: his ſoldiers accordingly, by his command, ſet fire to the houſes, demoliſhed the temples and other public edifices, and even razed the walls to the foundation; and thus in a few days, inſtead of a city already famous throughout all Italy, nothing was to be ſeen but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waſte, in which Brennus encamped that part of his

army which inveſted the capitol: the other part was ſent out to forage.

THESE troops, who thought that they kept the whole country in ſubjection by the mere terror of their arms, preſerved neither order nor diſcipline in the excurſions they made. The ſoldiers rambled ſingly, or in very ſmall parties, in queſt of plunder; and even thoſe, that kept together in a body, ſpent whole days in riot and debauch. They never imagined they had any other enemies to contend with than thoſe that were ſhut in the capitol; but in this reſpect they were egregiouſly deceived. Camillus, who, upon his exile, had retired to Ardea, was now, for the firſt time, informed of theſe events; and more afflicted at the calamities of his country than at his own misfortunes, he determined to avenge her upon her barbarous foes. With this view he repaired to the aſſembly of the Ardeates, which was now convened for the purpoſe of concerting meaſures to oppoſe the Gauls, who were advancing, by rapid marches, towards their capital, and being admitted, he addreſſed the members in the following terms.

"PEOPLE of Ardea," ſaid he, "always my friends, and now my fellow citizens, if you ſee me appear in this place contrary to my cuſtom, do not ſuppoſe I have forgot my preſent ſituation; but the danger which threatens us, obliges every one to exert himſelf to the utmoſt, in order to guard againſt it. And, indeed, when will it be in my power to requite the important ſervices you have done me, if it be not at preſent; and in what can I be of uſe to you, if not in war? It was by that I ſupported my credit in my own country. After having been, for a ſeries of years, ſucceſsful in a military capacity, my ungrateful fellow-citizens expelled me during peace.

"As for you, Ardeates, fortune now preſents you with the fineſt opportunity of expreſſing your gratitude to the Roman people for all the favours they have done you (of which your own recollection renders it unneceſſary for me to give you a recital), and, at the ſame time, of acquiring to yourſelves immortal glory by the defeat of the common enemy. The Gauls, who are advancing hither in large bodies, are a nation, to whom nature has given greatneſs of ſize, and impetuoſity of courage, rather than ſtrength of conſtitution and vigour of mind; and in conſequence they carry with them more terror than force to battle. Their late victory itſelf, and their preſent behaviour, are a proof of what I ſay. If they defeated the Romans at the battle of Allia, their ſucceſs upon that occaſion is not ſo much to be aſcribed to their bravery, as to fortune, who then diſplayed the utmoſt extent of her power. But what have they done ſince? They have, indeed, made themſelves

themſelves maſters of a city, whoſe gates ſtood open to receive them. But a handful of ſoldiers, who ſhut themſelves up in the capitol, now ſet them at defiance. Diſguſted with the reſiſtance they meet with, they already think the ſiege too long and tedious: they remove from it, and diſperſe themſelves over the country. Full of meat and drink, with which they gorge themſelves, as ſoon as night comes on, they lie down upon the earth like beaſts, along the ſides of rivers, without entrenchments, without guards or ſentinels; and their late ſucceſs ſerves only to render them more careleſs than uſual. If you would ſecure your city againſt their attacks, and your whole country from falling into their hands, take arms in the middle of the night, and follow me, not to a battle, but to a certain ſlaughter. If I do not put the Gauls, faſt locked in the arms of ſleep, into your hands, to be butchered at pleaſure, I conſent to be treated at Ardea as I have been at Rome."

THE Ardeates, convinced of the abilities of Camillus, who had never failed in any of his military enterprizes, readily agreed to follow his directions; and accordingly ſetting out in the dead of night under his conduct, and advancing to the camp of the enemy, who had returned to it a little before laden with ſpoil, and in conſequence of their uſual debauch had fallen into a deep ſleep, they ſuddenly fell upon them, and put almoſt every one of them to the ſword.

THE news of this victory was ſoon carried into the neighbouring cities where the fugitive Romans had taken ſhelter, and who, encouraged, as they were, by this dawn of ſucceſs, began to flock together, and in a little time compoſed a conſiderable army. They only wanted a leader to conduct them, and it was hardly poſſible they could heſitate in their choice. They unanimouſly ſent deputies to Camillus, intreating him to aſſume the ſupreme command, and promiſing to obey him with the moſt implicit ſubmiſſion. Camillus at firſt excuſed himſelf from accepting their offer on account of his being an exile. "Rome," replied the deputies, "is now no more, and we can no longer reckon ourſelves inhabitants of a city that is totally deſtroyed. You ſee before you the wretched remains of a ſtate that hath flouriſhed for above three centuries. One ſingle battle has determined its fate and ours, and we have now no other aſylum left but in your camp."

CAMILLUS was affected with theſe arguments, but ſtill he refuſed to accept of their offer, until it had received the ſanction of the ſenate, which were ſhut up in the capitol. It appeared, however, to be extremely difficult, if not abſolutely impoſſible, for any one to find entrance into that fortreſs, ſurrounded, as it was, on all ſides by enemies, who were maſ-

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ters of the city. At laſt a young Roman, named Pontius Cominius, undertook the important but dangerous taſk. Supported by corks he ſwam down the Tiber, and came to the gate *Carmentalis*, where the ſilence was greateſt, and on the ſide of which the aſcent to the capitol was moſt difficult. He clambered up the rock without being perceived, and arrived, though with great danger, at the poſt of the firſt ſentinels. Having told them his name, he was received with joy, and carried to the magiſtrates. The ſenate was immediately aſſembled, and Camillus declared dictator of Rome. Pontius returned the ſame way he went, and with the like good fortune, and carried back the decree of the ſenate to Camillus and the Romans.

IN the mean time the capitol was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Whether it was, that the Gauls had perceived ſome traces of a man's foot in the way by which Cominius had got up, or had of themſelves diſcovered that the rock was not ſo inacceſſible as was commonly ſuppoſed, they undertook to aſcend it. At midnight they began to climb up it in files, laying hold of the herbage and buſhes that grew upon its ſides, and aſſiſting one another with their hands as much as poſſible. In this manner they got to the wall, which was not very high on that ſide, as the ſteepneſs of the rock rendered any additional fortifications the leſs neceſſary. They had been able to aſcend with ſo much ſilence, that they not only did not awake the ſentinels, but not even the dogs, animals that are ſo apt to ſtir at the leaſt noiſe. They did not, however, elude the quick hearing of the ſacred geeſe that were kept in the temple of Juno. Manlius, a perſon of conſular dignity and of acknowledged bravery, awakened by the gabbling of theſe fowls, and the beating of their wings, was the firſt that gave the alarm. Whilſt others were getting up, he ran to the wall, and with his buckler beat down one of the barbarians, who had already laid hold of the battlements, in order to enter the citadel; and he threw him down the precipice. His fall occaſioned that of others who were following him. The Romans, with ſtones and darts, drove all the reſt from the top of the rock to the bottom. In this manner the capitol was ſaved.

NEXT morning the aſſembly was convened; and Manlius received the praiſes he ſo well deſerved. Both officers and ſoldiers thought it their duty to give him a proof of their gratitude, and each made him a preſent of one day's proviſions, that is, of half a pound of wheat, and half a pint of wine; a reward ſmall indeed in itſelf, but which the ſevere famine, with which they were oppreſſed, rendered very conſiderable.

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THE next object that engaged the attention of the aſſembly, was the puniſhment of the ſentinels, through whoſe negligence the enemy had been ſuffered to aſcend to the capitol. Sulpicius, who commanded in chief, condemned them all to die, according to the rigour of military diſcipline; but the ſoldiers concurring in throwing the whole blame upon one perſon, Sulpicius was pleaſed to ſpare the reſt, and ordered the guilty ſentinel to be thrown from the top of the Tarpeian rock. The poſts from thenceforth were more ſtrictly guarded.

MEAN while the beſiegers, as well as the beſieged, were reduced to ſuch difficulties for want of proviſions, that they were ready to liſten to any tolerable terms for affecting a peace. The ſenate therefore empowered the military tribunes to enter into a negociation for this purpoſe; and, after ſome diſpute, a treaty was concluded upon the following condition, that the Gauls, upon receiving a thouſand pounds weight of gold, ſhould withdraw their troops from Rome, and from all its territories. The gold, accordingly, was immediately brought forth; but upon their beginning to weigh it, the Gauls endeavoured to make uſe of falſe weights. The Romans exclaimed againſt this act of injuſtice; upon which Brennus caſt his ſword and belt into the ſcale, crying out at the ſame time, with an inſulting air, *Væ victis*, "Woe to the vanquiſhed." By this anſwer the Romans plainly ſaw that they had no other choice left than to ſubmit to the conquerors, and that it was in vain to remonſtrate againſt any conditions which he ſhould think proper to impoſe. But while they were thus debating about weighing the money, they received intelligence, that Camillus, their old general, was at the head of a numerous army, haſtening to their relief, and entering the gates of Rome. In fact, Camillus ſoon after appeared, and entering the place of controverſy with the air of a man that was more likely to preſcribe terms himſelf than to liſten to thoſe that were dictated by an enemy, aſked the cauſe of the conteſt. He was no ſooner informed of it, than he ordered the gold to be taken up and carried back to the capitol: "For," added he, addreſſing himſelf to Brennus, "it has ever been the cuſtom of us Romans to ranſom our country with ſteel and not with gold." Brennus, ſurprized at this haughty language, which he had never heard before from any Roman, repreſented the injuſtice of contravening the terms of a treaty that was already concluded. "I am," ſaid Camillus, "dictator of Rome, and nobody has a right to conclude any treaty without my authority." The diſpute growing hot, the two armies came to an engagement, when, after a ſhort,

a ſhort, but obſtinate battle, the Gauls were defeated, and ſuch a ſlaughter made of them, that the Roman territories were ſoon cleared of their formidable invaders. Thus, by the bravery of one man, was Rome delivered of its enemies, after they had been in poſſeſſion of it for the ſpace of ſeven months; for they entered it on the fifteenth of July, and were expelled from it about the thirteenth of February.

CHAP. XIV.

From the Burning of ROME *by the* GAULS *to the Beginning of the* FIRST PUNIC WAR.

[AN. ROM. 365.]

THE firſt care of the Romans, after the expulſion of the Gauls, was the rebuilding of the city, deſtroyed as it now entirely was, the houſes being demoliſhed, and the walls razed to the ground; ſo that a man might in vain have ſearched for Rome even in the midſt of Rome itſelf. In ſo general a deſolation, the tribunes of the people renewed their old propoſal of ſettling at Veii, and inſiſted that the whole body of Romans ſhould remove thither, and make that the ſeat of the empire. They repreſented in all public aſſemblies the extreme miſery of the people, eſcaped, as it were, naked from a ſhipwreck, and exhauſted by ſo many misfortunes, without ſtrength, without money, and totally unable to rebuild a whole city, which had nothing of it left but the ruins, while Veii offered to them a place well fortified both by art and nature, commodious houſes, a wholeſome air, a fruitful ſoil, and extenſive territory.

THE ſenate, who conſidered it as a point of religion never to leave Rome, were extremely averſe to this wild project; but thinking it might be dangerous to irritate the people amidſt their preſent calamities, they confined themſelves ſolely to prayers and entreaties. Some of the moſt illuſtrious patricians ſhewed the people the tombs of their anceſtors; and others put them in mind of the temples conſecrated by Romulus and Numa, not forgetting the man's head (*caput* in Latin) that had been dug up in forming the foundation of the capitol, and which, according to the interpretation of the augurs, imported, that Rome ſhould one day become the capital of the world.

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CAMILLUS, who alone had more credit and authority than all the reſt of the ſenate, aſked ſome why they had ſhut themſelves up in the capitol; and of others he demanded, why they had fought in the open field with ſo much bravery to recover Rome, if they were determined to abandon it?—"Conſider," ſaid he, "that by retiring to Veii, you will aſſume the name of a conquered people, and loſe that of Roman, together with the glorious deſtiny which the gods have decreed to it, and which, with your name, will go to the firſt barbarians that ſhall get poſſeſſion of the capitol, and who, by this change, may in time become your maſters, and even your tyrants."

THESE arguments made a deep impreſſion upon the minds of a lofty and high-ſpirited people, who preferred the proſpect of future empire to the poſſeſſion of preſent advantages; and a word ſpoken by chance added great force to the ſpeech of Camillus, and finally fixed the reſolutions of the Romans. The ſenate was now extraordinarily convened in order to deliberate upon this very buſineſs. L. Lucretius was to give his opinion firſt. Juſt as that ſenator was beginning to ſpeak, the captain, that commanded the guard, was heard to call to the ſtandard-bearer to ſtop there, and plant his enſign: "For," added the officer, "here we muſt ſtay." This voice being heard at a time when the minds of men were in a ſtate of uncertainty, appeared to come from heaven, and Lucretius laying hold of the expreſſion, "I accept," cried he, "the omen, and adore the gods who have given us ſo ſalutary an advice." The whole ſenate approved of the conſtruction he had put upon it, and the news being ſpread abroad occaſioned an entire change in the ſentiments of the people; "ſo much greater effect," ſay the hiſtorians, "had an accidental word, when turned into an omen, than could have been produced by the moſt powerful arguments." It is more than probable, however, that this word was not the effect of chance, but rather of previous deſign, formed between the officer and the ſenate; and indeed it is natural to think, that all the other omens of the Romans owed their origin to cauſes of a ſimilar nature. Be this as it will, certain it is, that from this time forward the people thought no more of removing to Veii, but applied themſelves to the rebuilding of Rome with ſuch zeal and activity, that, in leſs than a twelvemonth, the whole of it was actually rebuilt from the meaneſt houſe to the moſt ſuperb edifice. There was, indeed, this material difference between the old and the new town, that whereas in the former the *cloacæ*, or common ſewers, ran through the middle of the ſtreets and ſquares; in the

the latter they frequently ran below the houſes, which muſt have rendered them very unhealthful.

To reward Manlius for the ſpirit and patriotiſm he had ſhewn in defence of the capitol, the ſenate aſſigned him a houſe on the very ſame rock on which that fortreſs ſtood; and to puniſh Fabius for the groſs violation he had committed of the law of nations, with reſpect to the Gauls, and the grievous calamities he had thereby brought upon his country, they ſummoned him to anſwer for his conduct before an aſſembly of the people; and that patrician, afraid to wait the iſſue of a public trial, thought proper, by a voluntary death, to anticipate the ſentence that would probably have been paſſed upon him.

BUT the fate of theſe two men ſhewed, that, in a republic, jealous of its liberty, exceſſive popularity may ſometimes prove dangerous to its poſſeſſor, as even the greateſt popular hatred. Manlius, from being the favourite of the people, wanted to be ſomething more; he wanted to be their maſter; he wanted to raiſe himſelf to the ſovereignty of that ſtate, which he had ſo ſignally ſerved; and the arts he employed for that purpoſe grew at length to be ſo open and ſo notorious, that he was called to an account for his conduct before an aſſembly of the people, where the proofs of his guilt were either found, or were ſuppoſed to be ſo indiſputable, that he was condemned to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, which he accordingly was; ſo that the ſame ſpot, which had formerly ſerved as the theatre of his glory, now became the ſcene of his diſgrace and puniſhment. Hence it appears, that, among the Romans, no ſervice, which a man could perform to his country, was ſufficient to atone for the guilt of attempting to deſtroy its liberties. During all theſe diſturbances, Camillus was the man that poſſeſſed the chief authority either as dictator or as military tribune; and in diſcharging the duties of theſe important offices, he not only brought Manlius to juſtice, but gained repeated victories over ſuch of the petty ſtates, bordering upon Rome, as, taking advantage of her late misfortunes, had declared war againſt her.

NOR were theſe the only ſervices he did his country. He conducted a war againſt the Volſci and Tuſculans, in a manner equally honourable to himſelf and advantageous to the public. He reſcued his colleague, Furius, from an ambuſcade, into which, by his own imprudence, he had fallen; and he obtained over the Volſci a complete victory. He then advanced into the country of the Tuſculans, many of whom had been unwarily perſuaded to join the Volſci; and he there met with

with a reception, which no enemy before perhaps had ever experienced. Upon entering their territories, he was ſurpriſed to ſee, that the people neither quitted their habitations, nor deſiſted from cultivating their lands: on the contrary, many of them, dreſſed in the robes of peace, came out to meet him, and furniſhed him and his army with plenty of proviſions. Having pitched his camp at the gates of the city, he deſired to be informed whether the ſame tranquillity reigned within the walls as without; and being anſwered in the affirmative, he entered the town. All the houſes and ſhops were open, and the different artificers employed in their uſual occupations: the ſchools reſounded with the noiſe of children at their books; the ſtreets were full of people going backwards and forwards about their buſineſs: there was no ſign of terror, nor even of amazement: not the leaſt veſtige of war was to be diſcovered; but every thing, on the other hand, was perfectly quiet and pacific.

CAMILLUS, aſtoniſhed at ſo unuſual a ſight, and totally diſarmed by the enemy's reſignation, ordered the public aſſembly to be immediately ſummoned. Then entering it, "Tuſculans," ſaid he, "you are the only people, who till now have found out the true method of appeaſing the indignation of the Romans. Go to Rome, and apply to the ſenate. They will determine, whether your preſent repentance is not more than ſufficient to atone for the guilt of your former conduct. I ſhall not anticipate a favour which you ought to receive only from the republic. All that I can grant you, is the liberty of preſenting your petition, and ſoliciting a pardon; and the ſenate will return you ſuch an anſwer, as to them may appear moſt proper."

WHEN the Tuſculans arrived at Rome, and were introduced into the ſenate, their dictator addreſſed himſelf to that venerable body in the following terms. "The condition, fathers, in which you now ſee us is the ſame as that in which we went to meet your general and your army. You have declared war againſt us, and entered our territories, without our having armed in any other manner than we are at this inſtant. Such has been, and ſuch will always be our behaviour, except when we receive your orders to take arms, and employ them for your ſervice. We ought to return thanks to your general and your ſoldiers, for believing their eyes rather than their ears, and for not having treated thoſe as enemies who made no reſiſtance. We come to demand that peace, which we have obſerved towards you, and to deſire that you would carry the war into countries, where it ought more properly to be made. As for us, if we are to feel the force

force of your arms, we will feel it without oppoſition. Such is our firm reſolution; and may it only prove happy and fortunate to us in proportion to the ſincerity with which we declare it. With regard to the crimes with which we are charged, and which had drawn upon us the weight of your reſentment, though it be unneceſſary to deny that in words which is ſo plainly contradicted by actions, yet, ſuppoſing the facts to be literally true, we believe we had much better frankly confeſs, after having ſo heartily expreſſed our repentance. You may ſafely ſuffer offences to be committed againſt you, while thoſe who commit them have ſo high an opinion of you, as always to think you entitled to ſuch a ſatisfaction." In conſequence of this ſubmiſſion, the Tuſculans were not only indulged with a peace, but were even honoured with the freedom of the city.

IN a little time after, Camillus obtained a triumph over a more formidable enemy than the Volſci, and that was over the Gauls, who had now again invaded the Roman territories, and were advancing, by haſty marches, towards the city itſelf. In this emergency, Camillus was raiſed for the fifth time to the office of dictator, and began to make preparations for oppoſing ſo terrible a foe. As he knew by experience, that the principal force of the Gauls conſiſted in their ſwords, which they uſed like barbarians, that is, heavily and clumſily, cutting down right before them, he cauſed moſt of his troops to be armed with helmets of well-poliſhed ſteel, ſo as to enable them to break the ſwords of the enemy, or to ward off the blows. He likewiſe cauſed his men to fortify their bucklers with ſtrong hoops of iron fixed round their edges, ſo as to render them more capable of reſiſting the blows of the adverſary; and at the ſame time he taught to make uſe of long javelins, which being thruſt under the ſwords of the barbarians, either totally prevented, or conſiderably weakened their blows.

THE Gauls had now arrived at the banks of the river Anio with an army ſo heavily laden with plunder, that it was hardly able to move. Camillus took the field at the head of his troops, and encamped upon a hill of eaſy deſcent, with many hollow places in its ſides, ſo that he was able to conceal there the greateſt part of his men, while thoſe that appeared, being poſted upon eminences, might naturally be thought to have retired thither through fear. To confirm the Gauls in this vain opinion, he purpoſely abſtained from giving them any check, even when they advanced to the bottom of the hill to forage; on the contrary, he kept his men cloſe within their camp, which he had previouſly taken care to ſurround with entrenchments.

ments. When he ſaw moſt of the enemy diſperſed in foraging, and thoſe that remained behind ſo gorged with meat, and intoxicated with wine, that they were hardly able to ſtand, and much leſs to fight, he detached his light troops before day to inſult them, and ſoon after marched down his heavy-armed infantry into the plain, where he drew them in order of battle. They amounted, on the whole, to a numerous army, and were eager for an engagement; contrary to the fond expectation of the barbarians, who believed, that they only formed an handful of men, and were beſides ſtruck with terror.

THE firſt thing that alarmed the Gauls, was the ſeeing the Romans have the courage to advance and attack them without neceſſity, and without being previouſly challenged to engage. The light troops charged them before they had time to form, or draw up in order, and puſhing them with vigour, compelled them to fight in the utmoſt confuſion. Camillus, with the main body of his army, fell furiouſly upon them. The Gauls, with their uſual courage, advanced to meet him with their ſwords lifted up. But the Romans ſtopped them with their long javelins; and as their own bodies were almoſt entirely covered with iron, the ſwords of the enemy had very little effect. For as the temper of their weapons was ſoft, the iron not having been ſufficiently hammered, this was a natural and a neceſſary conſequence; beſides which, their bucklers being ſtuck full of javelins, became at length ſo heavy, that they were no longer able to ſupport them; wherefore throwing them aſide, they began to ruſh furiouſly upon the Romans, who taking advantage of their preſent defenceleſs condition, committed terrible havock among them. The firſt ranks they cut entirely to pieces, and put all the reſt to ſuch a total rout, that they were glad to fly different ways over the plain, without any thoughts of returning to their camp, to which indeed they had very few temptations, as, from a vain confidence of victory, they had neglected to ſecure it.

THIS battle is ſaid to have been fought twenty-three years after the taking and burning of Rome, and was the firſt circumſtance that encouraged the Romans boldly to face the Gauls, whom they had hitherto been accuſtomed to regard with terror. So great, in fact, was their dread of them, that in the law which excuſed prieſts from going to war, wars with the Gauls were particularly excepted. And Cicero ſays, that from the beginning of the empire, Gaul had always appeared in the eyes of the judicious, to be the formidable enemy of Rome; and that it was not without the peculiar providence of the gods, that nature had fortified Italy with the Alps as with an inſuperable barrier: *An. Rom.* 388.

rier: "for," adds he, "had that paſſage been left open to the innumerable multitudes of ſo barbarous a nation, Rome would never have become the capital of the greateſt empire in the world."

THIS victory over the Gauls was the laſt military exploit of Camillus; but he had a terrible conflict ſtill to maintain about one of the civil inſtitutions of Rome. This was the admitting the plebeians to a ſhare of the conſulſhip. The people had long aſpired to the poſſeſſion of this dignity. A law had been propoſed for this very purpoſe at the time when the plebeians obtained the right of intermarrying with the patricians. The project, however, was then abandoned: but it was now reſumed with greater ardour than ever, and, after a long and a furious conteſt, was at laſt brought to bear. The ſenate were perſuaded to give their conſent, as the only poſſible means of avoiding a civil war, which muſt otherwiſe have been the conſequence. L. Sextius was the firſt plebeian conſul; and he might boaſt, with more reaſon than Cicero afterwards did, of having broke down thoſe barriers which the nobility had raiſed againſt the advancement of the people to the firſt honours of the ſtate, and of having rendered the conſulſhip no leſs acceſſible to merit than to birth. The people, in return for ſo great a favour, gave the ſenate permiſſion to create a new magiſtrate to adminiſter juſtice in the city, who was called prætor. Thus was part of the conſul's functions diſmembered from his office, and now erected into a new dignity, his military employments frequently rendering it impoſſible for him to diſcharge properly the civil branch of his duty. The ſenate alſo acquired about this time a ſecond magiſtracy, namely the curule ædileſhip. There were already two ædiles, elected out of the body of the people. Theſe refuſing to make preparations for celebrating the great games, which Camillus had vowed in conſequence of one of his victories, the patricians laid hold of ſo favourable an opportunity of eſtabliſhing a new dignity peculiar to their order.

ABOUT this time Rome was afflicted with a terrible plague, and to remove it, various methods, and all of them equally ridiculous, were employed. One of them was the repetition of the Lectiſternium, which we have already mentioned. Another was the introduction of the games called *Ludi Scenici*, or theatrical repreſentations, which at firſt were of a very rude and ſimple nature, but were afterwards carried to ſuch a degree of extravagance, that, according to Livy, the revenues of a ſovereign prince would hardly be ſufficient to defray the expence.

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A THIRD was, the ceremony of driving a nail into a temple: this was called *clavum figere*. The Volſcinians, a people of Etruria, are ſaid to have practiſed this cuſtom of old, in order to mark the number of their years, probably before they had learned the uſe of figures or the art of cyphering, and from them it is ſuppoſed to have been borrowed by the Romans. The nail was called *clavis annalis*. It was to be driven on the ides of September, that is, on the thirteenth of the month, by the principal magiſtrate of the republic. On the preſent occaſion, a dictator was expreſsly created on purpoſe; and he drove the nail in the right ſide of the temple of Jupiter. We are apt to laugh at the abſurdities of former times: future times will no doubt laugh at ours.

THE ſcheme of raiſing plebeians to the conſulſhip is ſaid to have been forwarded by the vanity of a woman. Two ſiſters, it ſeems, of the name of Fabia, had been married, the one to a patrician, the other to a plebeian. The latter being mortified at the ſuperior honour ſhe ſaw paid to her ſiſter beyond what were ſhewn to herſelf, fell into a deep melancholy, the cauſe of which ſhe endeavoured to conceal. Her father, however, and her huſband, who were both of them men of great influence, and loved her tenderly, at laſt extorted the ſecret from her; and from that time forward they never ceaſed exerting their utmoſt intereſt until they had deſtroyed this badge of diſtinction between the higher and the lower orders of the ſtate. So true it is, if the report he well founded, that great events are ſometimes produced, at leaſt are facilitated, by little cauſes!

THE office of prætor, which the patricians now obtained, however ſeemingly inconſiderable at firſt, grew at length to be one of the moſt important dignities of the ſtate. There was at firſt but one prætor; but afterwards another was appointed. The one was called *prætor urbanus*; the other, *prætor peregrinus*. The former decided cauſes between citizen and citizen; the latter determined controverſies between citizens and ſtrangers. The uſual puniſhments inflicted by the Romans, were fines, baniſhment, and death. With whatever ſeverity they proſecute a citizen, who had incurred their diſpleaſure by having oppoſed their real or ſuppoſed intereſt, they were extremely gentle in the ſentences they paſſed. The word baniſhment was not expreſsly mentioned either in their laws or trials. The perſon condemned was only "prohibited the uſe of fire and water," which neceſſarily implied baniſhment. The people ſuffered thoſe that were accuſed to prevent judgment, even when it extended to death, and to exempt themſelves from it, by retiring into voluntary exile.

For

For this reaſon Cicero ſays, that exile was not a puniſhment, but a poſt, an aſylum, where the accuſed found ſecurity againſt the rigour of the laws. Some caſes, however, were excepted; thoſe particularly, in which the public liberty was endangered: for then the people gave full ſcope to their ſeverity, and lent a deaf ear to every argument that could be urged for mercy.

CRIMINALS were put to death either by cutting off their heads, with the axes carried by the lictors; by crucifixion, which was the puniſhment of ſlaves; by ſtrangling; or by being thrown from the top of the Tarpeian rock. In the two firſt caſes, the priſoner was always ſcourged with rods before execution.

As to thoſe condemned to be ſtrangled, they were executed within the priſon. Officers, called triumviri, had the general direction of the priſons, and took care that every thing ſhould be conducted in them in a proper manner. Valerius Maximus relates a very curious fact upon this particular. A woman of illuſtrious birth had been condemned, probably either for adultery or poiſoning. The prætor delivered her up to the triumvir, who cauſed her to be carried to priſon, in order to her being put to death. The gaoler, who was to execute her, took compaſſion upon her, and could not find in his heart to put the ſentence in force. He therefore choſe to let her die of hunger. Beſides this, he ſuffered her daughter to ſee her in priſon, taking care, however, that ſhe brought her nothing to eat. As this continued many days, he was ſurprized that the priſoner lived ſo long; and ſuſpecting the daughter, he narrowly watched her, when he plainly ſaw that ſhe nouriſhed her mother with her own milk. Amazed at ſo pious, and at the ſame time ſo ingenious a contrivance, he told the fact to the triumvir, and the triumvir to the prætor, who believed the matter merited relating to the aſſembly of the people. The criminal was pardoned: a decree was paſſed that the mother and daughter ſhould be maintained for the reſt of their lives at the public expence, and that a temple ſacred to piety ſhould be erected near the priſon. This is uſually called the Roman Charity.

MANLIUS, who had been appointed dictator for the purpoſe of driving a nail into the temple of Jupiter, had no ſooner reſigned his office, than he was accuſed, by Pomponius, one of the tribunes of the people, of having exerciſed his power with too great ſeverity in levying troops to recruit the army. He was likewiſe charged with having acted a very unnatural part towards his own ſon, Manlius, whom he had confined in the country among his ſlaves, and condemned to laborious and ſervile employments, merely becauſe he had an impediment

ment in his ſpeech. But the young man, however deficient in elocution, ſoon ſhewed that he was by no means wanting in thoſe ſentiments of filial piety, which conſtitute at once the firſt duty and the greateſt glory of a child. Hearing that his father was expoſed to danger on account of his behaviour towards him, he found means, in a little time, to deliver him from it by the following bold and ſpirited action. Arming himſelf only with a dagger, he repaired privately to Rome; and having got admiſſion into the houſe of the tribune, he threatened to plunge the weapon inſtantly in his boſom, unleſs he would promiſe to put an end to the proſecution againſt his father. The tribune, having no other choice left, than immediate death or a ready compliance with Manlius's demand, wiſely embraced the latter part of the alternative. The people approved of the ſtep he had taken; the proſecution was quaſhed; and the action of Manlius, however irregular, was not only excuſed on account of the pious motive from which it proceeded, but it was even rewarded; he was created tribune of a legion, an office ſomewhat ſimilar to that of a modern colonel.

SALLUST ſomewhere obſerves, that the ſucceſs of the Roman arms, and the grandeur of the Roman ſtate, were not ſo much owen to the ſuperiority of the people in general over thoſe of other nations, as to the extraordinary qualities of a few great men, who in courage, magnanimity, and particularly in love to their country, excelled all the world; and who, in caſes of neceſſity, infuſed theſe virtues into the breaſts of their compatriots, ſo as to render them triumphant over all their enemies. With theſe men it was no uncommon thing to devote themſelves to certain death for the real or ſuppoſed intereſt, or even for the honour of their country. Of this there occurred a remarkable inſtance at this period. The earth happening to open in the forum, made ſo deep a gulph, that it could not be filled up, though great quantities of rubbiſh were thrown into it. The augurs were therefore conſulted, and theſe miniſters of religion declared, that the gulph would never cloſe till the moſt precious things in Rome were caſt into it. The people, for ſome time, were at a loſs to determine what could be meant by the moſt precious things in Rome, till M. Curtius, a young man, remarkable for his valour, came into the forum on horſeback, and, clad in complete armour, ſaid, that nothing ſurely could be more precious to the Romans than courage and arms; that he was therefore reſolved to devote himſelf to the infernal gods for the ſervice of his country; and accordingly having gone through the neceſſary

ceremonies, he boldly leapt with his horſe and armour into the gulph, which, the hiſtorians tell us, immediately cloſed.

SOON after Manlius, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo remarkably by his filial piety, gave a no leſs ſtriking proof of his military proweſs. For the Gauls having again invaded the Roman territories, and one of the moſt huge and bulky of that people having advanced between the two armies, and challenged any ſingle Roman to engage him, no one, for ſome time, had the courage to meet him, till Manlius, having obtained the permiſſion of the dictator, who commanded the Roman army, ſtept forward to oppoſe the inſulting foe; and having dexterouſly contrived to elude the firſt blow of his adverſary, and immediately cloſed in with him, he ſtabbed him in the belly, and having thus laid him dead at his feet, he took off the golden chain that ſurrounded his neck, and put it round his own, whence he acquired, and tranſmitted to his poſterity, the ſurname of *Torquatus*, from the Latin word *Torques*, which ſignifies a chain.

A ſimilar honour was, in a little time, gained by a young officer, named Valerius, who believed himſelf no leſs capable of achieving ſuch a feat than Manlius. For in another battle with the Gauls, and upon occaſion of another challenge being given, Valerius accepted of it, and with the like good fortune, though the glory of his victory is ſaid to have been diminiſhed by the evident interpoſition of heaven in his favour. For if fame may be credited, which generally delights in adding the marvellous to the great, as ſoon as the Roman came to blows with his adverſary, a crow on a ſudden perched upon his helmet, and always kept its head turned towards the Gaul. Valerius, conſidering this as a happy omen, already anticipated the victory in his mind, and conſequently exerted himſelf with double valour. The crow not only kept her place, but, during the combat, roſe upon her wings, attacked the face of the Gaul with her beak and claws, and did not entirely quit him till, terrified with a prodigy that deprived him at once of the uſe of his eyes and his preſence of mind, he was laid dead upon the ſpot. She then diſappeared, and was never ſeen more. From this circumſtance, the victor received the ſurname of Corvus, which ſignifies a crow.

VALERIUS, however, appeared to have been poſſeſſed of ſuch native courage, as did not ſtand in need of any ſupernatural aid. For in a war, which ſoon after broke out between the Romans and the Samnites, he conducted himſelf with ſuch ſpirit and prudence, as foiled all the attempts of the enemy; he even gained ſome ſignal advantages over them; while his colleague, Cornelius, the other conſul, brought the army, which

which he commanded, into such a difficult situation, as exposed it to the danger of being entirely cut off, which it probably would have been, had not Decius, a legionary tribune, luckily got possession of a rising ground on the other side of the enemy, and attacking them in the rear, while the consul attacked them in front, thereby contributed to put them to a total rout.

THE Samnites, though repeatedly defeated, were not yet entirely overcome. They still continued to make incursions into the territories of the Romans, and much more into those of their allies. To check these inroads, the senate sent a body of troops to pass the winter at Capua. This, however, was a measure, that had like to have been attended with the most fatal consequences. Capua was, even then, remarkable for the luxury of its inhabitants; and the manners of the Romans being not only softened, but even corrupted by the example of the citizens, unhappily led them into the formation of a plot, one of the blackest and most detestable that could be conceived. This was no other than to murder the inhabitants, to take the town into their own hands, and to create themselves into a republic independent of Rome. And when the plot was discovered, and thereby prevented from being carried into execution, the soldiers broke into an open mutiny, and obliging one Quintius, an eminent old officer, who lived in the neighbourhood, to become their leader, they began to advance towards Rome, and had already arrived within eight miles of the city. So terrible an enemy, almost at the gates, not a little alarmed the senate, who immediately created Valerius Corvus dictator, and sent him with another army to oppose them. The two armies were now drawn up against each other, while fathers and sons beheld themselves ready to plunge their swords into each others bosoms. Any other general but Corvus would, perhaps, have brought this civil war to extremity; but he knowing his influence among the soldiers, instead of going forward to meet the mutineers in an hostile manner, went with the most cordial friendship to embrace his old acquaintance. As soon as he reached them, he addressed them in the following terms. "Soldiers," said he, "in setting out from Rome, I implored the immortal gods, the gods of our country, your gods as well as mine, that I might return from hence with the glory, not of having conquered, but of having reconciled you. I have had, and shall still have opportunities enough of acquiring glory by war; I now only wish to acquire it by peace. The favour I earnestly solicited of the gods, it is in your power, soldiers, now to grant me, if you will only remember, that you are not encamped in the country of the Samnites or Volsci, but in the

territory of Rome; that thoſe hills which you behold, are the hills of your native country; that this army in front of you is compoſed of your fathers, ſons, brothers, and other fellow-citizens; and that I am your conſul, under whom you laſt year defeated the legions of the Samnites twice, and as often made yourſelves maſters of their camp. Yes, ſoldiers, I am Marcus Valerius Corvus, who never availed myſelf of my illuſtrious birth to do you any wrong, but always to do you ſervice; who never was the propoſer or ſupporter of any rigorous law againſt you, or of any decree of the ſenate, of which you had reaſon to complain; and who, in all the offices I have held, have ever been more ſevere to myſelf than to you. If birth, valour, or dignities can inſpire any one with pride, I may be ſuppoſed to be actuated by that fooliſh paſſion. I am deſcended of a noble family; I have given repeated proofs of my courage; and attained to the firſt office of the ſtate at an earlier period than moſt men attain to any office at all: I was made conſul at the age of twenty-three. During my firſt conſulſhip, did I either act or ſpeak in any other manner than I did when I was only tribune of the army? I retained the ſame moderation in my two following conſulſhips, and am ſtill determined to do ſo in this high office of dictator, with which it has been thought proper to inveſt me, and not to treat thoſe ſoldiers, who are mine and their country's, with more lenity and indulgence than I ſhall treat you; who (I ſpeak it with horror!) are now its enemies. You, therefore, ſhall draw the ſword againſt me, before I draw it againſt you. If we muſt fight, the trumpet ſhall firſt ſound, and the cry of battle firſt begin on your ſide. As to you, Quintius, from whatever motive you appear here, whether from choice or neceſſity, if we muſt come to blows, do you retire to the rear. It will be more honourable for you to flee before your country, than to fight againſt it. But now that we are employed in negociating a peace, it becomes you undoubtedly to appear in the front, and to exert yourſelf ſtrenuouſly in bringing the work to a concluſion. Finally, ſoldiers, do you propoſe but equitable terms, and we will readily grant them; though be they what they may, we had certainly better ſubmit to them, than imbrue our hands in the blood of thoſe, whom we ought rather to riſk our own lives in protecting from danger."

THE whole army ſeemed affected with this ſpeech. Quintius, as their ſpeaker, only deſired to have their revolt forgiven; and as for himſelf, as he was innocent of their conſpiracy, he had no reaſon to aſk pardon for his offences. Thus, this revolt, which at firſt threatened Rome with ſuch imminent danger, was appeaſed by the prudence and moderation of a general

general, whoſe ambition it was to be gentle to his friends, and formidable only to his enemies. The mutineers were once more received into favour, and the dictator having no further employment abroad, laid down his office.

IN a little time after the Romans were engaged in a war with the Latins. As theſe two people were next neighbours, they had inſenſibly contracted a ſtriking ſimilarity of manners. They had the ſame language, the ſame dreſs, the ſame arms, the ſame diſcipline; in a word, they were, to all intents and purpoſes, the ſame people, except that they had different names, and were ſuppoſed to form two diſtinct nations. It was therefore neceſſary to take the greateſt care to prevent confuſion in the midſt of an engagement; and, accordingly, the conſul, Manlius, iſſued ſtrict orders, that no one ſhould preſume to leave his rank without permiſſion; for that he that did otherwiſe ſhould be certainly put to death. The armies on both ſides were then drawn up in array; but before they came to an engagement, Metius, general of the enemy's horſe, ſtepped forward, and challenged any knight of the Roman army to fight him in ſingle combat. For ſome time there was a general pauſe, no one daring to violate the orders that had lately been given, till Titus Manlius, the conſul's ſon, burning with indignation to ſee the whole Roman army thus ſet at defiance by a ſingle man, boldly advanced, and offered to meet the Latin. The ſoldiers, on both ſides, for a while ſuſpended the engagement, to be ſpectators of this furious encounter. The two champions drove againſt each other with the utmoſt violence. Metius wounded his adverſary's horſe in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed that of Metius. The latter having thus fallen to the ground, attempted, for a while, to ſupport himſelf on his ſhield; but the Roman followed his blows with ſo much force, that he laid him dead at his feet as he was endeavouring to riſe; and then ſtripping him of his armour, he returned in triumph to the tent of his father, who was giving the neceſſary directions for beginning the engagement.

APPLAUDED, however, as he might have been by his fellow-ſoldiers, he was far from meeting with the ſame approbation from his father. The conſul knew too well the indiſpenſable neceſſity of maintaining the rigour of military diſcipline to excuſe the breach of it even in his own ſon. Inſtead, therefore, of receiving him with open arms, as the other probably expected, he regarded him with a ſtern, though at the ſame time with a compaſſionate air. Then aſſembling the army, and cauſing his ſon to appear before it, he ſpoke to him in the following terms: "Titus Manlius," ſaid he, "as thou haſt paid no reſpect either to the dignity of the conſul,

or the authority of thy father; as thou haſt preſumed, contrary to my orders, to ſkirmiſh with the enemy, and haſt thereby, as far as in thee lay, deſtroyed military diſcipline, which has hitherto been the great ſupport of the Roman ſtate; thou haſt reduced me to the cruel neceſſity of ſacrificing either my ſon or my country. But let us not heſitate in this dreadful dilemma: a thouſand lives were well loſt in ſuch a cauſe; nor do I think that thou thyſelf, if thou haſt any of my blood in thy veins, wilt refuſe to die, when thy country is to reap the benefit of thy ſufferings. Go, lictor, faſten him to the ſtake, and let his death ſerve as a dreadful example of the inevitable puniſhment that muſt ever attend the violation of military diſcipline." The whole army was ſtruck with horror at this unnatural mandate; fear, for a while, rather than ſubmiſſion, kept them from ſpeaking; but when they ſaw their young champion's head ſtruck off, and his blood ſtreaming upon the ground, they could no longer reſtrain their feelings, but poured out the moſt grievous lamentations for the unhappy youth, and the moſt bitter execrations againſt the cruel father. The dead body of young Manlius was carried without the camp, and being adorned with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed enemy, was buried with every circumſtance of military ſplendour. Meanwhile the battle began with equal fury, and, for ſome time, with equal ſucceſs on either ſide. The Latins depended chiefly on their bodily ſtrength; the Romans, on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces ſo nearly matched ſeemed to want nothing but the interpoſition of their reſpective deities in order to turn to either ſide the ſcale of victory; and, in fact, the augurs, in taking the auſpices, had declared it as the will of the gods, that whatever part of the Roman army ſhould be diſtreſſed, the commander of that part ſhould devote himſelf for his country, and die a ſacrifice to ſave the lives of his ſoldiers. Manlius commanded the right wing, and Decius the left. Both ſides fought, for ſome time, with doubtful ſucceſs, as their courage and numbers were nearly equal; but after a little, the left wing of the Roman army began to give way. It was then that Decius, who commanded there, reſolved to devote himſelf for his country, and to offer his own life as an atonement to ſave the lives of his men. Thus determined, he called out to the pontiff, Valerius, who happened to be preſent, and demanded his inſtructions how he ſhould devote himſelf, and the form of the words he ſhould uſe. By his directions, therefore, being clothed in the robe called *pretexta*, his head covered, and his arms ſtretched forward, ſtanding upon a javelin, he devoted himſelf to the celeſtial and infernal gods,

for

for the ſafety of Rome. Then arming himſelf, and mounting on horſeback, he drove furiouſly into the midſt of the enemy's ranks, carrying terror and conſternation wherever he came, till he fell covered with wounds. In the mean time the Romans conſidered his devoting himſelf in this manner as a ſure ſign of victory, while the Latins regarded it as a preſage of their defeat. They accordingly began very ſoon to give way; and the Romans preſſing them cloſely on every ſide, committed ſuch a havoc among them, that not above a fourth part of them were ſuffered to eſcape. This was the laſt war of any conſequence that the Latins had with the Romans; they were forced to beg a peace, and could not obtain it but upon hard conditions. Two years after, their ſtrongeſt city, Pædum, was taken, and they, as well as the other ſtates of Latium, were brought into an entire ſubmiſſion to the Roman power.

ABOUT this time, a veſtal, named Menucia, having incurred ſuſpicion by the gaudineſs of her dreſs, was accuſed before the pontiff, of violating her vow of chaſtity, and being convicted, underwent the uſual puniſhment of being buried alive. But a greater diſgrace was brought upon the ſex by the plot that was formed, and partly executed, by ſome Roman ladies for poiſoning their huſbands. For this crime not leſs than one hundred and twenty of them were put to death.

THE Samnites were one of the moſt formidable enemies the Romans had hitherto had to contend with, not only on account of their numbers and their military diſcipline, but likewiſe on account of their valour. At laſt, however, their power was reduced to ſo low an ebb, that they were obliged to have recourſe to ſtratagem, inſtead of force; and having contrived to draw the Romans into the defiles of Caudium, they ſurrounded them in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for theſe laſt to eſcape; and therefore, in order to ſave their lives, they were compelled to ſubmit to the mortifying condition of paſſing under the yoke. But this was an indignity which ſo high ſpirited a people as the Romans could not long bear with patience. The ſenate refuſed to ratify the convention, which, they ſaid, could not be legally concluded without their conſent; and renewing the war againſt the Samnites, they ſoon conſtrained them to undergo the ſame puniſhment, which they had inflicted upon the Romans.

NOTHING of any great conſequence happened for ſome years afterwards; the few events that occurred were rather of a private than a public nature. A temple was erected to plebeian chaſtity, in imitation of that which had formerly

been dedicated to the chaſtity of patricians. This was owen to an affront that had been offered to a lady of the patrician order, who had been refuſed admittance to the old temple merely becauſe ſhe had married a plebeian. Provoked at this inſult, which ſhe did not deſerve, the man whom ſhe had married being one of the moſt eminent citizens of Rome, and one that had rendered the ſtate the moſt ſignal ſervices, ſhe cauſed a chapel to be fitted up in her own houſe, diſtinct from the reſt of the building, and placed an altar in it. Then aſſembling the plebeian ladies, "I conſecrate," ſaid ſhe, "this altar to plebeian chaſtity; and my wiſh is, that no leſs emulation may prevail among the women with regard to virtue, than prevails among the men with reſpect to valour and honour. Be it your care, therefore, to make people confeſs, that this altar is adored with more devotion, if poſſible, and by women of ſtricter chaſtity, than the other."

THE Romans had now acquired, if not in actual force, at leaſt in reputation, ſuch an evident ſuperiority over the other ſtates of Italy, that not one of them thought themſelves a match for that warlike people; and hence it was, that the Tarentines, who had lately engaged in hoſtilities with the Romans, found it neceſſary to apply for ſuccour to Pyrrhus, king of Epire, one of the greateſt captains, and moſt powerful princes of the time. Pyrrhus very readily promiſed them aſſiſtance, and not only entertained hopes of enabling them to overcome the Romans, but even of making an entire conqueſt of Italy for himſelf, and afterwards of carrying his arms into other countries. But the vanity of this hope, and even the inutility of the project, if it could be accompliſhed, was painted to him in the moſt lively colours by Cineas, a Greek philoſopher and ſoldier, who had long reſided at the court of Pyrrhus, and who having been formerly a diſciple of Demoſthenes, is ſaid to have retained more of the fire and ſpirit of that celebrated orator than any other man of the age.

CINEAS ſeeing Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, and finding him one day at leiſure, inſenſibly drew him into the following converſation: "The Romans, ſaid he, have the reputation of being excellent ſoldiers, and have many warlike nations under their dominion. If we have the good fortune to overcome them, what benefit ſhall we reap from war?" "Cineas," replied the king, "the queſtion anſwers itſelf. When once we have overcome the Romans, there will be no town, whether Greek or Barbarian, in all the country able to oppoſe us. We ſhall at once be maſters of all Italy; whoſe extent, wealth, and power are better known to thee than any man." Cineas, after a little pauſe, continued, "And

"And having ſubdued Italy, what ſhall we do next?" Pyrrhus not yet diſcovering what he aimed at, replied, "Sicily next holds out her arms to receive us, a rich and populous iſland, and eaſy to be gained; for, ever ſince the death of Agathocles, faction and anarchy prevail in all their towns, and every thing is at the diſcretion of their turbulent orators." "You ſpeak," ſays Cineas, "what is highly probable; but ſhall the poſſeſſion of Sicily put an end to the war?" "Far from it," anſwered Pyrrhus; "for if fortune favours us with victory there, that ſhall only ſerve as the forerunner of greater undertakings. When Sicily is reduced, who can refrain from Lybia and Africa, then within our reach, which Agathocles, even when forced to fly in a clandeſtine manner from Syracuſe, and paſſing the ſea only with a few ſhips, had almoſt ſurprized? Now when we have added Africa to our conqueſts, can it be ſuppoſed, that any one of thoſe enemies, who now diſturb us, will dare to make any farther reſiſtance?" "No, certainly," replied Cineas; "for it is evident, that when we are poſſeſſed of ſuch a mighty power, we ſhall ſoon reduce Macedon, and govern in Greece without controul." "But when we have conquered all, what is the next thing we are to do?" "Why then, my friend," replied Pyrrhus laughing, "we will live at our eaſe, and drink and be merry." Cineas, when he had brought him thus far, replied, "And what hinders us now from living at our eaſe, and taking our pleaſure? We have already at hand, without any care or trouble, what we are going in queſt of, at the expence of ſo much blood, labour, and danger; at the expence of ſo many calamities, which we ſhall ſuffer ourſelves, and which we ſhall inflict upon others."

BUT princes are not to be diverted from their ambitious purſuits either by the charms of eloquence or the force of argument. Pyrrhus ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of aſſiſting the Tarentines, and as a proof of his ſincerity he ſent a ſmall body of troops before him under the command of this very Cineas, who was as good a ſoldier as an orator. In a little time after, he followed himſelf with an army of three thouſand horſe, twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand archers, five hundred ſlingers, and twenty elephants, in which the commanders of that time began to place great confidence. However, but a ſmall part of this force arrived in Italy with him; for many of his ſhips were diſperſed, and ſome of them totally loſt in a ſtorm.

HIS firſt care, after his arrival at Tarentum, was to reform the manners of the inhabitants, who were then perhaps the moſt luxurious and debauched people in the world. Inſtead of

making preparations for war, they ſpent their whole time in bathing, feaſting, dancing, and other diverſions, as if they had had no enemy to contend with. The Romans, however, were exerting themſelves with the utmoſt vigour to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy as Pyrrhus; and the conſul Lævinus was ſent with a numerous force to interrupt his progreſs. Pyrrhus, though his whole army was not yet arrived, advanced to meet him; but previouſly ſent an ambaſſador to aſk whether they would not allow him to mediate between them and the people of Tarentum. To this Lævinus anſwered, that he would neither admit him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy; and then leading the ambaſſador through the Roman camp, deſired him to take particular notice of what he ſaw, and to report the reſult to his maſter.

In conſequence of this, both armies approaching, pitched their tents in the plain between the cities of Pandoſia and Heraclea, and upon the oppoſite banks of the river Siris. Pyrrhus was always extremely anxious to chuſe a proper ſituation for his own camp, and to examine carefully that of the enemy. Riding along the banks of the river, and obſerving the Roman method of encamping, he was heard to ſay, that theſe barbarians were by no means barbarous in the art of war; and that he ſhould ſoon ſee whether their bravery was not equal to their knowledge. Pyrrhus ſeems to have been deſirous of avoiding a battle until he ſhould be joined by his allies. The Romans, on the other hand, were no leſs eager to bring matters to a ſpeedy deciſion; and having contrived to croſs the river at a place where ſuch an attempt was thought to be leaſt practicable, and falling upon the detached parties of the enemy, they compelled Pyrrhus to come to an engagement, whether he would or not. This battle was for ſome time maintained with deſperate valour on both ſides. Both armies are ſaid to have been repulſed no leſs than ſeven times, and as often to have returned to the charge. At length Pyrrhus brought up his elephants, which turned the ſcale of victory in his favour. The Romans, terrified at the ſight of ſuch formidable animals, which they had never ſeen before, began to give way, and Pyrrhus compleated their confuſion, by attacking them with his Theſſalian cavalry. It was now no longer a battle, but a route, or rather indeed a carnage. The Romans are ſaid to have loſt in this engagement about fifteen thouſand men, and the loſs of Pyrrhus fell not much ſhort of thirteen thouſand, including the flower of his army, ſo that when ſome one complimented him on his ſucceſs, he was heard to ſay, that ſuch another victory would ruin him entirely. Next day, as he was taking a view of the field of battle, he could not help

help regarding with admiration the bodies of the Romans, who were ſlain, upon ſeeing them all with their wounds in front, their countenances, even in death, marked with a noble reſolution, and a ſternneſs that awed him into reſpect, he was heard to exclaim, in the true ſpirit of a military adventurer, "O! with what eaſe could I conquer the world, had I the Romans for ſoldiers, or had they me for their king!"

IT was a maxim of the Romans not to ranſom thoſe priſoners who had ſurrendered to the enemy through fear. But the caſe was different with the priſoners taken in the late battle. Moſt of them were of the cavalry: they had repeatedly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their extraordinary valour; and had they not been thrown by their horſes, who were frightened by the noiſe, ſmell, and ſize of the elephants, they would probably not have been taken at all. It was, therefore, determined to ranſom them without loſs of time; and for this purpoſe three of the principal ſenators were ſent as deputies to Pyrrhus. Among theſe was the celebrated Fabricius. Upon being introduced into the king's preſence, they acquainted him with the purport of their errand. Pyrrhus, who was no leſs deſirous of peace than the Romans, replied, that to reſtore ſuch brave fellows, either by way of ranſom or in exchange for other priſoners, would be like putting arms into their hands againſt himſelf. "But there is another method," ſaid he, "much more ſure and certain; and that is for us to conclude a ſolid peace with one another: I ſhall then reſtore the priſoners without ranſom. There is nothing I deſire more than to enter into a treaty of friendſhip and alliance with a people who are ſo worthy of my reſpect and eſteem."

HAVING thus addreſſed the deputies in general, he afterwards took Fabricius aſide, and ſpoke to him as follows: "From the accounts I have received of your great qualities, I am exceedingly deſirous that you ſhould be one of my friends. I am told that you are a great captain; remarkable for juſtice and temperance, and equally diſtinguiſhed for every other virtue. But I alſo know that you are poſſeſſed of no eſtate, and that in this point alone fortune has dealt hardly with you in reducing you to the ſituation of the very pooreſt ſenator. To ſupply this defect, I am ready to give you as much gold and ſilver as will raiſe you above the richeſt perſon in Rome. And do not imagine I think that, in this, I ſhall do you a favour; on the contrary, it is I that will receive the favour. For I am perſuaded, that no expence does a prince more honour, than to eſtabliſh the fortune of great men, reduced, by poverty, to a ſituation unworthy of their virtue and merit, and that ſuch a way of laying out money is the nobleſt uſe a king can make

of his riches. For the reſt, I am far from expecting that you ſhould do me any unjuſt or diſhonourable ſervice by way of acknowledgment. What I aſk of you can only do you honour, and augment your power in your country. I conjure you firſt to aſſiſt me with your credit in bringing your ſenate into my views, which I believe to be juſt and reaſonable. Repreſent to them, I entreat you, that I have given my promiſe to aſſiſt the Tarentines, and the other Greeks on this coaſt of Italy, and I cannot in honour abandon them, eſpecially as I am at the head of a powerful army, with which I have already gained a battle. Beſide which, I find it diſagreeable to ſupport the character I bear here, and to ſee myſelf obliged to conſider as enemies a people who are ſo worthy of my love. Let them change that term into the name of friends, and they ſhall find in me a faithful ally. If my quality of king renders me ſuſpected to the ſenate, becauſe many, who bear that name, made no difficulty openly to violate the faith of treaties and alliances, be you yourſelf my ſurety, and deign to aſſiſt me with your counſels, in all my enterprizes, and to command my armies under me. I have need of a man of virtue, and a faithful friend; and you, on your ſide, have occaſion for a prince, whoſe liberality may enable you to indulge more freely the benevolence of your heart. Let us not then fooliſhly refuſe, but let us readily conſent to aſſiſt each other."

To this ſpeech Fabricius returned the following anſwer—"As you have already formed ſuch a favourable opinion of me, both with reſpect to my private conduct, and my behaviour in public offices, it is needleſs for me to ſpeak to you about them. You ſeem alſo to be ſo well acquainted with my poverty, that I ſave myſelf the trouble of telling you that I have neither money to lend out at intereſt, nor ſlaves to bring me in any revenue; but that my whole eſtate conſiſts of a ſmall houſe of very mean appearance, and a little field that ſupplies me with the neceſſaries of life. If, however, you believe, that my poverty renders my ſituation inferior to that of any other Roman, and that, whilſt I diſcharge the duties of a good man, and an uſeful citizen, I am the leſs regarded on account of my not being ranked in the number of the rich; I muſt tell you, that your opinion, whether formed by yourſelf, or received from others, is entirely groundleſs. If I do not poſſeſs a great fortune, I never did, nor do I yet believe, that my indigence has ever done me any prejudice, either in a public or a private capacity.

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"HAS my country, on account of my poverty, ever debarred me from any of thoſe employments that are the object of ambition to all great minds? The greateſt dignities are conferred upon me. I am placed at the head of the moſt illuſtrious embaſſies. The moſt ſacred functions of religious worſhip are intruſted to my care. When affairs of the leaſt importance are brought into the ſenate, I hold my rank, and freely give my opinion; I take place with the richeſt and moſt powerful citizens; and if I have any thing to complain of, it is of being too much praiſed and honoured. To diſcharge the duties of all theſe employments, I expend nothing of my own, any more than the reſt of the Romans. Rome does not ruin her citizens by raiſing them to public offices. She beſtows upon thoſe whom ſhe thus honours every thing neceſſary for executing their truſt, and ſhe even does it in the moſt liberal manner. For it is not with our city as with many others, where the public is poor, while individuals are rich. We are rich while the commonwealth is ſo; becauſe ſhe is rich only for our ſakes. In equally admitting the rich and the poor to public employments as ſhe thinks them moſt worthy, ſhe makes all her citizens equal, and knows no other diſtinction between them but that of virtue.

"As to what concerns my private affairs, far from complaining of my fortune, I eſteem myſelf the happieſt of men, when I compare myſelf with the rich, and I feel a kind of delight, and even pride, riſing within me from the difference of our condition. My little field, barren as it is, ſupplies me with what is neceſſary, provided I take care to cultivate it, and preſerve its produce. Do I want any thing more? All nouriſhment is grateful to me, when ſeaſoned with hunger. I drink with pleaſure, when I am thirſty. I taſte all the ſweets of repoſe when I am weary. I content myſelf with clothes that keep out the cold; and of all the moveables that ſerve for the ſame uſe, the cheapeſt are thoſe I like beſt. I ſhould be unreaſonable and unjuſt, if I accuſed fortune. She ſupplies me with all that nature requires: as to ſuperfluities, ſhe has not given them; but at the ſame time, I have learnt not to deſire them. To have few wants is to be rich. Of what then can I complain? Not having this abundance, indeed, I am not in a condition to relieve the wants of others; the ſole advantage, in my opinion, for which the wealthy are to be envied. But while I impart to the commonwealth and my friends a little of what I have; while I perform to my country every ſervice I am able; and, in a word, while I faithfully execute every office committed

mitted to my care, with what can I reproach myſelf? The deſire of acquiring riches never entered into my thoughts. As I have been long employed in the adminiſtration of public affairs, I have had a thouſand opportunities of amaſſing large ſums without expoſing myſelf to any kind of reproach. Could a more favourable one be deſired than that which I enjoyed a few years ago? With the conſular dignity I was ſent at the head of a numerous army againſt the Samnites, Albanians, and Bruttians. I ravaged a large tract of country; I defeated the enemy in ſeveral engagements; I took many cities full of plunder; I enriched the army with the ſpoil; I returned to every citizen what he had advanced for carrying on the war; and having received the honour of a triumph, I put four hundred talents into the public treaſury. After having neglected ſo conſiderable a booty, of which I might have reſerved to myſelf whatever part I thought proper; after having deſpiſed riches ſo juſtly acquired, and ſacrificed the thirſt of gain to the love of glory, in imitation of Valerius Publicola, and other great men, who by their diſintereſted conduct have raiſed the power of Rome to ſo great a height; would it be conſiſtent in me to accept the gold and ſilver you offer me? What idea would the world entertain of me? What example ſhould I ſet my country? On my return to Rome, how ſhould I be able to ſupport its reproaches, or even its looks? Would not our cenſors, thoſe magiſtrates who are appointed to ſuperintend our morals and manners, oblige me to give an account before all the world of the preſents which you would make me accept? You, therefore, if you pleaſe, ſhall keep your riches, and I my poverty and reputation."

PYRRHUS, ſurpriſed at the diſintereſted ſpirit of Fabricius, was determined to try whether he was poſſeſſed of equal ſtrength of mind in other particulars. Fabricius had never ſeen an elephant. Pyrrhus, therefore, the very next day ordered one of his largeſt elephants to be placed behind a ſcreen, while he and the Roman were engaged in converſation; and then cauſing the ſcreen to be ſuddenly removed, the huge animal made its appearance; but Fabricius was ſo far from being intimidated at the ſight, that he only ſmiled upon the king, and ſaid, "that he looked upon the terrors of that day with the ſame indifference, as he had regarded the allurements of the preceding." Pyrrhus was now ſo charmed with the whole character of Fabricius, that he was extremely deſirous of retaining him in his court, and he therefore entreated him, that after effecting a peace between him and the Romans, he would come and live with him, promiſing that, upon that condition, he would treat him

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as one of his greateſt captains and moſt confidential friends. To this Fabricius only replied with a ſmile, "I would not adviſe you to do ſo; for if once thoſe, who now admire you, were acquainted with me, they would much rather chuſe to have me for their king than you." Pyrrhus was ſo far from being offended at this anſwer, that he only laughed at it, and valued himſelf the more for it, as if it had contained an indirect compliment. To gratify Fabricius in the only point that he knew would be agreeable to him, he permitted all the Roman priſoners to return to Rome with him, upon condition, that if peace was not concluded, they ſhould immediately come back to Epirus. Soon after his own ambaſſadors ſet out for Rome. They were headed by Cineas, of whom Pyrrhus was wont to ſay, that he gained more places by this man's eloquence, than by his own arms. But all his eloquence was thrown away upon the preſent occaſion: the Romans refuſed to liſten to any propoſals of a peace, or even of a truce, unleſs Pyrrhus would immediately quit Italy; and as he could not be brought to comply with this condition, another battle of conſequence enſued, in which the Romans were again defeated, though Pyrrhus had no great reaſon to boaſt of his victory, himſelf having been wounded in the arm, and four thouſand of his men left dead upon the ſpot; ſo that when ſome people were congratulating him upon the advantage he had gained, he only ſighed, and ſaid, "Another ſuch victory, and I ſhall be undone."

THIS battle finiſhed the campaign. Hoſtilities were renewed in the ſpring with equal ardour on both ſides, and the two armies were now faſt advancing, and had almoſt approached to each other, when a letter was brought to old Fabricius, the Roman general, from the king's phyſician, importing, that, for a proper reward, he would take him off by poiſon, and thus rid the Romans of a powerful enemy and a dangerous war. There are few people, perhaps, either in ancient or modern times, that would not have accepted of this offer with pleaſure; but the Romans had a certain greatneſs and elevation of mind, that raiſed them infinitely above all other nations. Fabricius received the propoſal with the utmoſt indignation. He even reſolved to communicate the matter to Pyrrhus, and accordingly he wrote him a letter, acquainting him with the treachery of his phyſician, and at the ſame time telling him that he made a very bad choice both of his friends and enemies; for that he waged war againſt the brave and generous, while he repoſed all his confidence in traitors and aſſaſſins. Upon the receipt of this letter, Pyrrhus could not help expreſſing his ſurprize at the gene-

generoſity of his enemy. "Admirable Fabricius," cried he, "it would be much eaſier to turn the ſun from its courſe, than thee from the path of honour." He then made a ſtrict enquiry into the conduct of his phyſician; and finding him to be guilty of the crime he was charged with, he cauſed him to be executed. At the ſame time, in order to ſhew his gratitude to the conſul, he reſtored to him all the priſoners he had taken, and again deſired to negociate a peace; but the Romans refuſed to comply with his requeſt upon any other terms than thoſe they had already offered.

NOTHING of any conſequence happened during the two next years, at the end of which Pyrrhus having increaſed his army, divided it into two parts. One of theſe he ſent againſt the conſul Lentulus, while he himſelf went to attack Curius Dentatus, the other conſul, before his colleague could come to his aſſiſtance. His principal view was to ſurprize the enemy by night; but being detained on his march longer than he expected, he could not come up with them till break of day. The Romans diſcovered him deſcending from the mountains, and immediately drew out to receive him, and a battle enſuing, Pyrrhus was not only defeated with the loſs of twenty-ſix thouſand of his beſt troops, but his camp was alſo taken. This laſt circumſtance was of great ſervice to the Romans. It taught them to encamp their armies with greater order and regularity than formerly; and indeed to their improvement in this particular, many of their ſucceeding victories ought juſtly to be aſcribed.

PYRRHUS having now loſt all hopes of being able to ſupport the Tarentines againſt the Romans, reſolved to quit Italy; but at the ſame time to conceal his deſign until he had accompliſhed it. Accordingly calling the Tarentines together, he informed them, that he had received aſſurances from Greece of being ſpeedily furniſhed with large ſupplies of both men and money, which he deſired them to wait for in tranquillity, and then embarking his troops the very next night, he returned undiſturbed into his own kingdom, leaving, however, a garriſon in Tarentum, in order to ſave appearances. Such was the concluſion of the war with Pyrrhus, after it had continued for the ſpace of ſix years. Pyrrhus was certainly one of the greateſt captains of the age, and his ambition was equal to his military talents. He afterwards engaged in other undertakings of a ſimilar nature, particularly againſt Antigonus, the ſon of Demetrius; as alſo againſt the Lacedæmonians, and the inhabitants of Argos, who oppoſed him in their ſtreets, where he was killed about the year of Rome 480, by a tile which a woman threw at him from her

her window. The Tarentines being abandoned by Pyrrhus, had recourſe to the Carthaginians, who ſent a fleet to their aſſiſtance; but the Romans having found means to bring over the garriſon to their intereſt, made themſelves maſters of the city, and levelled the walls with the ground. Soon after the defeat of Pyrrhus, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, ſent ambaſſadors into Italy, to congratulate the Romans on their ſucceſs, and to enter into an alliance with them; and the Romans, in return for this compliment, ſent ambaſſadors into Egypt, where they met with a moſt honourable reception. About four years after this, ſilver was firſt coined at Rome. The Roman money had hitherto conſiſted only of copper. All Italy being now reduced under the dominion of the Romans, and conſequently enjoying a profound tranquillity, the firſt care of the ſenate was to puniſh the perfidy of the legion, which had maſſacred the inhabitants of Rhegium, and taken poſſeſſion of their wives and eſtates. As theſe miſcreants ſaw the Roman arms proſpering every where, they began to apprehend that they ſhould not be ſuffered long to remain unmoleſted, and they therefore prepared for a vigorous defence. Beſide the ferocity that was now become natural to them, they relied much on the amity of the Mamertines, and the great ſucceſs of their own arms againſt the Carthaginians and Pyrrhus, both of whom they had lately compelled to drop the deſign of attacking their city. They even carried their rebellious ſpirit to ſuch a height, that having entered Crotona by the aſſiſtance of ſome traitors, they had the preſumption to put the Roman garriſon to the ſword, and to demoliſh the city. Genucius, the conſul, marched againſt theſe rebels. Having driven them into their city, he beſieged them there in form. They defended themſelves with the courage of lions, as they were altogether deſperate, and had nothing to expect but the moſt cruel kind of death. They even gained ſome advantages over the conſul, and would have reduced him to the want of proviſions, if Hiero had not ſupplied him with corn. That prince made perpetual war upon the Mamertines, and their allies, who had been guilty of the ſame crime at Meſſina, as they had committed at Rhegium. As much, therefore, out of inclination, as to make his court to the Romans, he aſſiſted the conſul by every means in his power. The beſieged being at length reduced to extremity, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Only three hundred Roman ſoldiers fell alive into the conſul's hands. The reſt were either dead before, or, to avoid the diſgrace of a public execution, had fought like lions till they were killed. Genucius immediately cauſed the deſerters and thieves, who had

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fled to Rhegium in great numbers, as to a place of ſafety, to be put to death. As to the legionary ſoldiers, he carried them with him to Rome, in order that the ſenate might determine their fate. The ſentence was ſevere, and ſuitable to the atrocity of the crime they had committed. They were firſt carried to priſon, and were all condemned to be whipt with rods, and then to be beheaded. One of the tribunes of the people oppoſed this decree of the ſenate; nevertheleſs it was put in execution, and not one of the culprits was ſuffered to eſcape. Not, however, to terrify the multitude by putting them all to death at once, only fifty in a day were executed. The ſenate even iſſued an order, that no one ſhould bury them, or go into mourning on their account. Jubellius, the original author and conductor of this plot, met with a puniſhment, if poſſible, more ſevere. Driven out of Rhegium by the very perſons who had formerly been his accomplices, he took refuge at Meſſina, where being ſeized with a violent diſorder in his eyes, he applied to a phyſician, who was a native of Rheguim, (which Jubellius did not know) and who, glad of ſuch an opportunity of avenging the cauſe of his country, told the Roman, that he was poſſeſſed of a remedy, that would infallibly relieve him, but that it was extremely violent, and required patience. The hope of a cure made Jubellius ſubmit to any thing. The phyſician, accordingly, applied to his eyes a certain compoſition, in which he had mixed a conſiderable quantity of cantharides, a moſt powerful corroſive, ordering him, at the ſame time, not to take off the dreſſing, till he ſhould return; upon which he immediately left Meſſina. Jubellius ſoon felt the ſharpeſt and moſt exquiſite pain, as if burning coals had been held to his eyes, and continued in inexpreſſible torments. After having long expected the return of the phyſician, he tore off the bandage, which had already deprived him of ſight, and left him for the reſt of his life in inſupportable anguiſh. The inhabitants of Rhegium were induſtriouſly ſought for, and were reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their city, together with their laws and liberties. The execution of theſe criminals gave the Romans as high a character for their inflexible juſtice, as they had already attained for their invincible bravery.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

From the Beginning of the FIRST PUNIC WAR, *to the Beginning of the* SECOND.

[ANN. ROM. 484.]

THE wars of the Romans had been hitherto confined to Italy; but now they began to extend to a greater length, and to take in a larger compaſs. The firſt foreign nation that felt the weight of their arms were the Carthaginians; a people poſſeſſing that part of Africa, which is now called Barbary, together with Sardinia, Corſica, the greateſt part of Sicily, and other ſmaller iſles. It is more than probable, that a jealouſy had long ſubſiſted between theſe two ſtates, which were then the moſt powerful in the world; but the immediate cauſe of the firſt rupture between them was their interference in the affairs of the Mamertines, who were then at war with Hiero, one of the kings of Sicily. The Mamertines, finding themſelves unable to make head againſt Hiero, applied, for aſſiſtance, both to the Romans and Carthaginians. The Carthaginians having then ſome troops in the iſland, were the firſt to comply with their requeſt. They entered Meſſina, the capital of the Mamertines, and obliged Hiero to give up the ſcheme which he had lately formed of beſieging the city. After Hiero's retreat, the Mamertines took courage, and began to deliberate on the choice they ſhould make. Some affirmed, that it was neceſſary to put themſelves under the protection of the Carthaginians on many accounts, and particularly as they had admitted their troops into the city. Others maintained, that the Mamertines had no leſs to fear from the Carthaginians than from Hiero: that it was to run headlong into voluntary ſlavery, to truſt their defence to a republic that had a powerful fleet upon the coaſt of Sicily, and was actually in poſſeſſion of a great part of the iſland, and had been long endeavouring to make herſelf miſtreſs of the reſt; that, conſequently, the only choice they could make with ſafety, was to implore the aid of the Romans, a people as invincible in war, as faithful in their engagements, who had not a foot of land in Sicily, poſſeſſed no fleet, nor any experience in naval affairs, and was equally intereſted to prevent either Hiero or the Carthaginians from becoming too powerful in Sicily: and that laſtly, as they had already ſent ambaſſadors to Rome to implore

implore the protection of the Roman people, it would be offering them a kind of inſult to change their reſolution all of a ſudden, and ſolicit the aſſiſtance of any other nation.

WHILE theſe things were going on at Meſſina, the Roman ſenate conſidered the matter in every poſſible light in which it could be viewed. On the one hand it appeared ſhameful and unworthy of the Romans openly to take upon them the defence of traitors and aſſaſſins. For it is to be obſerved, that the Mamertines had been guilty of the ſame crime that was committed by the Roman legion at Rhegium, that is, they had murdered all the males of Meſſina, had married their wives, and ſeized upon their property. On the other hand, it was of the laſt importance to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the Carthaginians, who, not content with their conqueſts in Africa and Spain, had made themſelves maſters of all the iſlands in the neighbourhood of Sardinia and Etruria, and would ſoon undoubtedly get poſſeſſion of the whole of Sicily, if they were allowed to retain Meſſina. Now the diſtance from this laſt place into Italy was not great; and to leave the entrance open was to invite ſo powerful an enemy thither. The ſenate, beſides, was offended at the Carthaginians for the aid they had given the people of Tarentum. Theſe reaſons were certainly ſtrong, but they were not ſufficient to determine the ſenate to undertake the defence of the Mamertines: motives of juſtice and honour upon this occaſion prevailed over thoſe of policy and intereſt. The people, however, were not ſo ſcrupulous. In an aſſembly, which was ſoon after held, a reſolution was taken to aid the Mamertines. An army was raiſed for the purpoſe. The command of it was given to the conſul Appius. He had the ſtreights of Meſſina to paſs. The enterprize was dangerous, or rather indeed raſh, and was, according to all the rules of probability, impracticable. The Romans had no fleet; they had only boats of a very coarſe conſtruction, and which were indeed little better than the canoes of the Indians. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, had a fleet well manned, and conſiſting of a great number of ſhips.

IN this dilemma, which would have diſconcerted any other man, Appius had recourſe to ſtratagem. Not being able to paſs the ſtraits while the Carthaginian gallies rode there, he made a feint of abandoning the enterprize, and marching back to Rome. The enemy believing him to be really in earneſt, immediately retired, and Appius taking advantage of their abſence, and of the darkneſs of the night that enſued, paſſed the ſtraits without interruption, and arrived in Sicily. The place where he landed was not far from the camp of Hiero.

Hiero. Appius exhorted his men to fall upon it inſtantly, aſſuring them, that the enemy being thus taken by ſurprize, would be eaſily routed. It happened as he had foretold. Hiero, who little dreamed of the Romans being ſo near him, had ſcarce time to draw up his troops. His cavalry, however, gained ſome advantage at firſt; but the Romans attacking the main body of his army, ſoon broke it and put it to flight. Appius entered Meſſina in triumph; and taking advantage of the conſternation that had now ſeized the enemy, he immediately went in queſt of the Carthaginians, whom he ſoon overtook, and entirely defeated; and Hiero being apprehenſive for the ſafety of his capital Saracuſe, ſent ambaſſadors to the conſul, ſoliciting a peace, which was granted him on condition, that he ſhould reſtore to the Romans all the places he had taken from them or their allies; that he ſhould ſet the priſoners free without ranſom; that he ſhould pay an hundred talents of ſilver to defray the expences of the war; and that, in conſideration of theſe conceſſions, he ſhould be allowed Syracuſe and all the cities dependant upon it.

A STOP, however, ſeemed to be put to the farther progreſs of the Romans by their want of a fleet; but this defect they ſupplied with a ſpirit and ingenuity that are altogether unexampled. A Carthaginian veſſel, in a ſtorm, happened to be driven upon the coaſt of Italy; and this ſerved them as a model. They now began to apply themſelves to the building of ſhips with incredible ardour. The conſuls preſided in this new kind of work; and the people, animated by their exhortations, and ſtill more by their example, exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, that in the ſpace of two months, they actually raiſed a fleet of no leſs than one hundred and twenty veſſels; ſo that, ſays Florus, one might have almoſt believed, that theſe were not ſhips built by art, but trees metamorphoſed into gallies.

AT the ſame time they had taken care to inſtruct a certain number of men to row theſe veſſels. For this purpoſe they had placed them upon benches on the ſea ſide, and taught them to move their arms as if they had actually been rowing. Every thing being now got ready, the fleet put to ſea under the conduct of Duilius, the conſul, who though greatly inferior to the enemy both in number of ſhips, and in naval knowledge, yet gained a complete victory, the Carthaginians loſing about fifty of their veſſels, and the undiſturbed ſovereignty of the ſea, which they had hitherto poſſeſſed.

DUILIUS owed his victory, in a great meaſure, to his own prudence and ſagacity; for as his ſhips were very unweildy in compariſon of thoſe of the enemy, and his men greatly inferior

inferior to theirs in making their evolutions, he invented a kind of grappling iron, by which he boarded their veſſels, and obliged them to come to cloſe quarters; and as the Romans excelled all the world in this kind of fighting, their ſucceſs, of conſequence, was abſolutely infallible. The ſenate were ſo overjoyed at this victory, that they not only granted Duilius the honour of a naval triumph (the firſt of the kind that had ever been ſeen at Rome), but they likewiſe decreed, that he ſhould be allowed the privilege, whenever he ſupped in the city, of being attended with flambeaux and muſic. And ſtill farther to expreſs their regard for him, they erected to his honour a roſtral pillar, ſo called from the beaks of the ſhips, in Latin *Roſtra*; and this pillar is ſtill ſtanding in Rome.

THIS Duilius ſeems to have been as happy in private life, as he was ſucceſsful in his public undertakings; for being one day reproached with having a ſtinking breath, he aſked his wife Biblia, why ſhe had not informed him of it—"I thought," ſaid ſhe, "it had been the ſame with all men."

NOTWITHSTANDING the late ſucceſs of the Romans, they were abundantly ſenſible, that Sicily could not be conquered by any other means than by making a deſcent upon Africa, and attacking the Carthaginians in the very center of their dominions. With this view, they fitted out a fleet of three hundred and thirty ſhips, on board of which they embarked an army of one hundred and forty thouſand men. The conduct of this mighty force was committed to the two conſuls, Regulus and Manlius. The generals immediately ſet ſail, and were met by the Carthaginians with a fleet ſtill more numerous, and men more uſed to the ſea. While the fight continued at a diſtance, the Carthaginians, by their ſuperior ſkill in naval affairs, ſeemed to have the advantage; but when the Romans came to grapple with them, the appearance of things was totally changed. The enemy's fleet was inſtantly diſperſed; thirty of their ſhips were ſunk, and fifty of them taken with all their crews. The Romans being now maſters of the ſea, continued their courſe towards Africa, on which they debarked their land-forces, and ſoon after took the city of Clypea, together with twenty thouſand men, who were made priſoners of war.

THE ſenate being informed of theſe great ſucceſſes, commanded Manlius to return to Italy with the greateſt part of the army, in order to conduct the war in Sicily; and directed that Regulus ſhould continue in Africa to proſecute his victories there.

THE

THE Carthaginians, diſpirited by their late misfortune, ſent ambaſſadors to Regulus, demanding a peace; but this he refuſed to grant them, but upon the hardeſt conditions. They therefore implored the aid of the Spartans, who ſent them Xantippus, one of their ableſt generals. Xantippus, obſerving that the Carthaginians were much ſuperior to the Romans in cavalry, and might derive great advantage from employing their elephants, cauſed them to deſcend into the plain, where Regulus, who deſpiſed this Spartan captain, was entirely defeated and made priſoner by the Carthaginians, who treated him with great inhumanity. Their cruelty and ingratitude to their deliverer, Xantippus, were ſtill more inexcuſable; for, envying the glory he had lately acquired, and unable to bear the thoughts of owing their ſafety to the Spartans, they reſolved to ſend him back to his own country; but, inſtead of conducting him thither in the manner he deſerved, they murdered him by the way, and threw his body into the ſea.

As Regulus was now taken priſoner in Africa, and his army almoſt annihilated, there was an abſolute neceſſity for ſending out freſh forces and freſh commanders. Accordingly, the new conſuls, Æmilius Paulus and Fabius Nobilior, ſet ſail with a fleet of three hundred and fifty veſſels, and were met near Africa by the Carthaginian navy. A battle immediately enſued, in which the Romans gained the victory, after taking thirty of the enemy's ſhips, and ſinking a hundred and four of them. The conſuls then took on board the garriſon of Clypea, and propoſed returning, without loſs of time, to Sicily; but before they could reach the coaſts of that iſland, a violent tempeſt aroſe, and moſt of their veſſels were either daſhed to pieces or were ſwallowed up in the waves. The ſhore was all covered with the bodies of the dead; both the conſuls periſhed on the occaſion; and the handful of men, that had the fortune to eſcape, were kindly received by Hiero, who, after providing them with clothes and other neceſſaries, conveyed them ſafe to Meſſina. Karthala, the Carthaginian, taking advantage of this misfortune, made himſelf maſter of Agrigentum.

BUT the Romans were incapable of being diſpirited by any calamities. In about three months after they had built another fleet of two hundred and twenty veſſels. They now reduced ſome other towns in Sicily. The following ſpring the conſuls ſailed with the whole fleet, to Sicily, and afterwards to Africa, but performed nothing worthy of notice. Coming at laſt near the leſſer Syrtes, and being ignorant of thoſe coaſts, they unhappily fell on certain quickſands, where they were in great

great danger, though they afterwards reached Sicily in a fleeing condition. Sailing from thence very imprudently towards Rome, through the ſtraits, they were overtaken by a ſtorm, and loſt a hundred and fifty ſhips.

SUCH a continued ſucceſſion of misfortunes began to diſcourage the Romans, notwithſtanding their invincible ſpirit. The ſenate, therefore, decreed, that no more naval engagements ſhould be fought; and that only ſixty veſſels ſhould be kept at ſea, to guard the coaſts of Italy. Theſe marks of deſpondence coming to the ears of Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian general, he laid waſte the whole country about Panormus in Sicily; and this he did with the greater eaſe, as Metellus, the conſul, would not ſtir out of its walls. He was not, however, ſo much off his guard as the Carthaginian imagined; for wiſely laying hold of a fair opportunity, he drew up his ſoldiers ſo very advantageouſly againſt the elephants, that when Aſdrubal ventured to approach the town, he ſuddenly marched out, and falling upon him, gave him a dreadful overthrow, killing twenty thouſand of his men, and taking twenty-ſix of his elephants; a victory that procured him the honour of a triumph.

SOON after this the Carthaginians loſt all Sicily, Drepanum and Lilybæum excepted, to the latter of which places Aſdrubal eſcaped; but being condemned at Carthage, he was executed there on his return to it; the unhappy fate of many a commander of that fierce people.

BY this time the Carthaginians were heartily tired of a war, that had involved them in ſo great and ſuch repeated calamities, and therefore began to turn their thoughts towards a peace. They, accordingly, ſent Regulus, with their ambaſſadors, to Rome, to make propoſals for that purpoſe to the ſenate. Regulus had been impriſoned five years at Carthage; and before his ſetting out from that city, had been obliged to take an oath to return to it in caſe he proved unſucceſsful in his endeavours to procure a peace, or at leaſt an exchange of priſoners. On his arrival at Rome, he acquainted the ſenate with the motives of his voyage, when being deſired to give his opinion freely, he replied, "that he could not do ſo as a ſenator, becauſe he had loſt that character, ever ſince he had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but that he would venture to ſpeak as a private perſon." This was a very delicate affair, and every one was touched with the misfortunes of ſo great a man. He had only one word to ſay; and that would have reſtored him to his liberty, his fortune, his dignity, his wife and children; but that word ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with the honour and welfare of his country. He

regarded

regarded only the ſentiments with which fortitude and greatneſs of mind inſpired him. He therefore frankly declared, "that an exchange of priſoners ſhould not ſo much as be thought of, ſince ſuch an example would be of fatal conſequence to the republic: that citizens, who had been ſo mean-ſpirited as to ſurrender their arms and perſons to the enemy, deſerved not the leaſt pity, and were incapable of ever ſerving their country: that as to himſelf, he was ſo far advanced in years, that his death ought to be conſidered as nothing; whereas they had in their hands ſeveral Carthaginian generals, in the prime of life, who were capable of doing their country great ſervice for many years: that he had ſo much of the true ſpirit of a Roman, that he could not do any thing that was baſe or diſhonourable; and did not ſo much fear the tortures of a cruel rack, as the ignominy of an infamous action; the former touching only the body, but the latter piercing the mind."

IT was with the utmoſt difficulty that the ſenate gave its aſſent to ſo generous and unparalleled a counſel. The illuſtrious exile, therefore, ſet out from Rome, in order to return to Carthage, unmoved either with the deep ſorrow of his friends, or the tears of his wife and children, though he was not ignorant of the torments that were preparing for him. For when the enemy ſaw him return to Carthage, not only without having ſeconded the views of their ambaſſadors, but likewiſe with the additional guilt (as they thought) of oppoſing them, there was no kind of torture that they did not inflict upon him. They impriſoned him for a long time in a dark dungeon, from whence, after cutting off his eye-lids, they brought him out at once, and expoſed him to the beams of the ſun, when its heat was the greateſt. They then put him into a kind of cheſt or barrel, ſtuck full of nails, whoſe ſharp points running into his fleſh, kept him in perpetual torment. At length, after ingenuity had been exhauſted in inventing new methods of torture, they nailed him to a croſs, the moſt uſual kind of puniſhment among them; and in that poſture he expired.

THE ſenate being informed of the tragical death of Regulus, delivered up ſome priſoners of the greateſt diſtinction to his wife Marcia, who ſhut them into an armory filled with iron ſpikes, where ſhe kept them five days without ſuſtenance, intending to make them ſuffer tortures that her huſband had undergone. Boſtar, the Carthaginian, died under the torments; but Hamilcar was kept five days longer with the dead body; having only ſo much food allowed him, as would keep life in him a few days. The Magiſtrates hearing of this, began to relent; and giving ſtrict orders, that no more captives ſhould

be uſed in this manner, they ſent the aſhes of Boſtar to Carthage, and treated the reſt of the priſoners with greater moderation.

BOTH ſides now took up arms with greater fury than ever. At length the Roman perſeverance was crowned with ſucceſs. One victory followed upon the back of another. Fabius Buteo once more ſhewed them the way to naval victory, by defeating a large ſquadron of the enemy's ſhips; but the conſul Lutatius gained a victory ſtill more complete, in which the power of Carthage was totally deſtroyed at ſea, by the loſs of an hundred and twenty ſhips. This loſs brought the Carthaginians to ſue for a peace, which the Romans granted, but ſtill upon the ſame conditions which Regulus had offered at the gates of Carthage. Theſe were, "that they ſhould lay down a thouſand talents of ſilver, to defray the expences of the war; and ſhould pay two thouſand two hundred more within ten years: that they ſhould evacuate Sicily, and all ſuch iſlands as they poſſeſſed near it: that they ſhould never make war againſt the allies of Rome, nor come with any veſſels of war within the Roman territories: and laſtly, that all their priſoners and deſerters ſhould be delivered up without ranſom." Theſe conditions the Carthaginians would have rejected at any other time; but they were now reduced to ſuch a very low ebb, that they were glad to accept of them.

SUCH was the concluſion of the firſt Punic war, which had laſted twenty-four years without interruption. The obſtinacy of both ſides in contending for empire ſeems to have been equal. The ſame greatneſs of ſoul, in forming as well as in executing projects, was conſpicuous in both. The Carthaginians were certainly ſuperior in their knowledge of naval affairs; their ſkill in building ſhips; their addreſs and ability in working them; the experience of their pilots; their knowledge of the coaſts, creeks, roads, and winds; and laſtly, their inexhauſtible fund of riches, which aroſe from their commerce. The Romans were poſſeſſed of none of theſe advantages; but the want of them was more than ſupplied by their invincible valour, their zeal for the public good, their love of their country, and their inſatiable thirſt of praiſe, that made them bravely undertake the moſt hazardous enterprizes, and firmly bear up againſt the greateſt misfortunes.

IT is ſurpriſing to ſee a people, ſo little acquainted with, or rather ſo totally inexperienced in naval affairs, not only make head againſt the moſt expert and moſt powerful nation of the world at ſea, but even gain many ſignal victories over them. No difficulties, no diſappointments, were capable of diſcouraging them. They loſt in the courſe of this firſt Punic war, either

either in battles or by ſtorms, ſeven hundred galleys. The conſtancy of the Romans may be eaſily known from hence. They certainly would not have accepted of a peace in the ſame circumſtances, in which we have juſt ſeen the Carthaginians requeſt it. A ſingle unfortunate campaign diſcourages the latter; many do not ſhake the reſolution of the former.

As to the ſoldiers, there is no compariſon between thoſe of Rome and thoſe of Carthage; the firſt being infinitely ſuperior to the latter in bravery. As to the generals, Hamilcar, ſurnamed Barcas, was undoubtedly the moſt diſtinguiſhed, both by his valour and conduct. During all this war, no general has appeared on the ſide of the Romans, whoſe extraordinary talents can be conſidered as the cauſe of victory; ſo that it was ſolely by the conſtitution of the ſtate, and, if we may ſay ſo, by her national virtues, that Rome triumphed over Carthage.

THE war being ended between the Carthaginians and Romans, a profound peace enſued, and, in about ſix years after, the temple of Janus was ſhut for the ſecond time ſince the foundation of the city. The Romans being now in friendſhip with all the world, began to turn their attention towards the arts of peace; and they particularly applied to the ſtudy of poetry, the firſt liberal art which riſes in every civilized nation, and the firſt alſo that decays. Horace tells us, that the firſt dramatic entertainments of the Romans took their riſe from the rude jeſts that paſſed between the peaſants at celebrating their harveſt homes. Theſe were followed by a kind of ſports, called Feſcennini, in which a ſet of debauched actors invented their own parts, and where raillery and obſcenity ſupplied the place of humour. After theſe came tragedy and comedy, which were borrowed from the Greeks: indeed the firſt dramatic poet of Rome, whoſe name was Livius Andronicus, was by birth a Grecian. His example was followed above five years by Nævius, a native of Campania, who was the firſt Roman that attempted the drama. From that time forward they laboured upon the Grecian model; and though they were never able to rival their maſters in this kind of poetry, they yet equalled, and even excelled them in many others of an equally pleaſing and ſtill more inſtructive nature. This was particularly the caſe with regard to elegy, paſtorals, and didactic compoſitions; and as to ſatire, it was a kind of poetry entirely of their own invention, and which they carried at the ſame time to ſuch a degree of perfection, as, in the opinion of the beſt judges, to remain unrivalled in it even to this day.

INTENT, however, as the Romans now were upon improving themſelves in the arts of peace, they were not unmindful of the art of war, which had hitherto been their only, and ſtill continued to be their principal profeſſion; and the firſt people that provoked them to reſume their arms were the Illyrians, a nation inhabiting that part of Europe which is now called Dalmatia. This people having committed depredations upon ſome of the trading ſubjects of Rome, ambaſſadors were ſent to demand ſatisfaction; but Teuta, queen of the country, was ſo far from complying with the requeſt, that ſhe even cauſed one of the ambaſſadors to be put to death. To revenge ſuch a barbarous deed, which was at once an injury and inſult, the Romans declared war againſt her, and ſoon reduced her to ſuch extremity, that ſhe was glad to agree to a peace upon condition of yielding up to the Romans the greateſt part of her territories, paying a tribute for the reſt, and engaging not to ſail beyond the river Liſſus with more than two barks, and thoſe too unarmed.

THE next people, that drew upon them the reſentment of the Romans, were the Gauls. Theſe barbarians, imagining that the Romans either had made, or intended to make encroachments on their territories, poured into Italy, to the number of fifty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe; and laying all waſte around them with fire and ſword, advanced to within three days journey of Rome. They were there met by two armies, commanded by the conſuls and a prætor; and being thus ſurrounded on all hands, and ſuddenly attacked, they ſuffered a total and moſt terrible overthrow: forty thouſand of them were left dead upon the field, and about ten thouſand taken priſoners. Soon after, another victory was gained over the ſame enemy, by Claudius Marcellus, who killed their king, Viridomarus, with his own hand, and thus obtained the *ſpolia opima*, or regal ſpoils, the third that had been acquired ſince the foundation of the city.

AT this period the ſecular games were celebrated for the third time. They continued three days. On the firſt, after the people had been at the capitol to offer the victims, they returned to the Campus Martius, where they ſolemnized games in honour of Apollo and Diana. On the ſecond, the noble matrons, at a certain hour, went to the capitol, and ſung hymns in honour of Jupiter. On the third, which was the laſt day of the entertainment, twenty-ſeven young boys, and as many girls, ſung, in the temple of Pallatine Apollo, hymns and verſes, in Greek and Latin, to implore the protection of thoſe deities, in whoſe honour theſe ſacrifices were particularly

larly inſtituted, for the city of Rome. It may not be improper to obſerve, that the famous ſecular poem of Horace was compoſed for this laſt day, in the ſecular games celebrated by Auguſtus.

CHAP. XVI.

From the Beginning of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, *to the End of it.*

[ANN. ROM. 535.]

THE Carthaginians had concluded a peace with the Romans, not from any conviction of the equity of the terms upon which it was granted, but merely from an inability to carry on the war. As ſoon, therefore, as they were in a condition to reſume their arms, they eagerly did ſo, and that too with the greater alacrity in conſequence of the advice that was given them by Hannibal.

THIS man ſeemed to poſſeſs an hereditary antipathy to the Romans; for his father, Hamilcar, had carried him to the altar when but ſeven years of age, and made him take an oath that he would never be in friendſhip with the Romans, but would embrace every opportunity of revenging the loſſes and diſgraces they had brought upon his country. To gratify this, which ſeemed to be his ruling paſſion, he now uſed all his influence to make the Carthaginians take up arms, and having gained his point, he inſtantly laid ſiege to Saguntum in Spain, which was then in alliance with the Romans.

THE Romans ſent ambaſſadors to Carthage, to complain of this infraction of the peace; and not being able to obtain any redreſs, they forthwith declared war againſt the Carthaginians, who, in return, denounced hoſtilities againſt them. This is one of the moſt memorable wars to be found in hiſtory, whether we conſider the ſtrength and reſources of the two ſtates, which were certainly then the moſt powerful in the world; the abilities of the generals on both ſides, by whom it was carried on; the variety of fortune, with which it was attended; and the final termination of it, which was in favour of that people, who ſeemed at one time to be neareſt to deſtruction; for Rome was certainly in greater

danger after the battle of Cannæ, than ever Carthage was during the continuance of this war.

HANNIBAL having taken Saguntum before the Romans could come to its relief, reſolvẽd to carry the war into Italy itſelf, and thus ſurpriſe and overwhelm the enemy by the boldneſs of his enterprizes. Accordingly having croſſed the Pyrenean mountains with an army of fifty thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe, and traverſed Gaul, which was then a very wild and uncultivated country, he came to the foot of the Alps. Theſe he inſtantly determined to paſs, notwithſtanding it was the beginning of winter. This was looked upon as an impracticable project; but nothing was impoſſible to a man of Hannibal's genius; for perhaps he poſſeſſed in his own perſon a greater aſſemblage of thoſe qualities that go to the forming of a hardy ſoldier and ſkilful general than ever was attained by any other perſon.

ON his firſt appearance in the field, he inſtantly engaged the love and affection of all the ſoldiers. The veterans in particular thought they ſaw revived in him the very picture and image of their old general, Hamilcar; the ſame features, the ſame martial vigour, the ſame vivacity of look.

BUT this bodily reſemblance of his father ſoon became the leaſt circumſtance that rivetted him in the good will of the army. No one excelled, or even equalled him in obeying his ſuperiors; nor in commanding thoſe who were below him. So that it was difficult to ſay, whether the generals or the ſoldiers loved him moſt. If any enterprize was to be executed, that required courage, Hannibal was the man pitched upon for the purpoſe; the ſoldiers were never ſo confident of ſucceſs as when they fought under his direction. None had more bravery in encountering danger; none more dexterity in delivering himſelf from it. No fatigue could exhauſt his body; no misfortune depreſs his mind. Equally patient of heat and of cold, he took food only to ſupport nature, not to gratify the caprices of taſte. He knew no diſtinction of night and day for his hours of labour or reſt; the greateſt part of his time he employed in buſineſs; the reſt he gave to repoſe: and then he ſought neither a ſoft bed, nor freedom from noiſe, to procure a ſound ſleep. He was often ſeen in a ſoldier's caſſock, lying upon the ground amongſt the ſentinels, and at the places where the guards were poſted. He was at once the beſt foot ſoldier and the beſt horſeman in the army. He was always the firſt that advanced to battle, and the laſt that returned from it.

UNDER the conduct of ſuch a general, his men believed themſelves capable of achieving any enterprize, however difficult,

difficult, and ſeemingly unſurmountable, and they therefore reſolved to follow his directions in forcing their way into Italy, even ōver thoſe mountains, whoſe heads were covered with eternal ſnow, and appeared to be buried in the clouds. Hannibal, however, perceiving ſome ſigns of fear and diffidence among many of his ſoldiers, called them together, and ſaid, "That having to that day confronted the greateſt dangers with them, he could not conceive whence could ariſe the terror, with which they ſeemed to be ſeized. That during the many years they had ſerved under his father, under his brother-in-law, Aſdrubal, (who had married his ſiſter) and under himſelf, they had always been victorious. That they had paſſed the Iberus, with a view to deliver the univerſe from the tyranny of the Romans, and to extirpate from the earth the very name of that haughty people. That then none of them thought the way too long, though it were to be from one extremity of the world to the other. That now, when they had marched the greateſt part of it; had paſſed the Pyrenees, in the midſt of the moſt ſavage nations; had paſſed the Rhone, and ſtemmed the waves of that rapid river, in ſight of ſo many thouſand Gauls, who had in vain diſputed the paſſage with them: now, when they found themſelves cloſe to the Alps, of which the ſide oppoſite to that before them was part of Italy, they wanted ſpirit and reſolution. What opinion, then, did they form of the Alps! Did they believe them to be any thing but high mountains? That though they were higher than the Pyrenees, there certainly was no land that touched the ſky, or was not to be paſſed by mankind. That it was certain the Alps were inhabited; that they were cultivated, and ſubſiſted men, and other animals, to whom they had given birth."

THE ſoldiers were ſo tranſported with this ſpeech, that they would hardly allow Hannibal time to conclude; but holding up their hands altogether, they declared their fixed reſolution of following wherever he thought proper to lead. He accordingly fixed upon the next day for his departure, and then ſetting out, he began to aſcend the mountains, which he did very ſlowly, and with great difficulty, his progreſs being interrupted not only by the ſteepneſs of the road, but likewiſe by repeated petty attacks he met with from the mountaineers.

AT length, however, he reached the ſummit, after having encountered and overcome a number of hardſhips. It was then about the end of October, and abundance of ſnow had lately fallen, which covered all the roads, and very much troubled and diſcouraged the ſoldiers. Hannibal perceived

it; and ſtopping upon an eminence, from whence all Italy might be ſeen, he ſhewed them the fertile countries watered by the Po, where they were almoſt arrived, adding, that they had now only one ſlight effort to make; that a battle or two would ſoon put a period to all their labours, and would enrich them for ever, by making them maſters of the capital of the Roman dominions.

THIS diſcourſe, full of ſuch argeeable hopes, inſpired the troops with freſh alacrity. They accordingly continued their march with tolerable ſpirit; but met with more difficulty and danger in deſcending the mountains than they had done in coming up them; for it is to be obſerved, that the declivity of the Alps is much greater on the ſide of Italy than on that of Gaul. They could hardly find any thing but broken, crooked, and ſlippery ways; ſo that the ſoldiers could not keep their feet in walking, nor ſtop themſelves when they made a falſe ſtep, but fell againſt and threw down one another. In a little time they arrived at a place more difficult than any they had yet paſſed. The ſoldiers, though without arms or baggage, were ſcarce able to get down, by feeling for, and laying hold of the buſhes and brambles, that grew there, with their feet and hands. The place was extremely ſteep of itſelf, but was rendered more ſo by a late falling in of the earth, in conſequence of which there was a precipice before them of above a thouſand feet in depth. Here, therefore, the cavalry ſtopt ſhort. Hannibal, ſurpriſed at their ſtand, ran thither, and ſaw, that it was abſolutely impoſſible to go on. He had once ſome thoughts of taking a long compaſs; but that was found to be equally impracticable. As ſome few days before new ſnow of no great depth had fallen upon the old, the feet, piercing it, ſupported themſelves with eaſe. But when this new ſnow was melted, by the paſſing of the firſt troops and beaſts of burthen, the reſt had nothing to march upon but ice, where every thing was ſlippery; where there was no hold for the feet; and where, in caſe of the leaſt falſe ſtep, in which the hands and knees might be neceſſary for getting up on one's legs, there was no longer either branches or roots to lay hold of. Add to this, that the horſes ſtriking the ice hard, in order to keep their footing upon it, plunged their feet into it in ſuch a manner, that they could not draw them out, and continued there as if catched in a gin. It was therefore time to have recourſe to ſome other expedient.

HANNIBAL choſe to make his army encamp, and reſt itſelf for ſome time, upon the ſummit of this hill, which was broad enough, after the ground was cleared, and the ſnow removed,

removed, which coſt a great deal of pains. A way was afterwards cut by his order through the ſolid rock, and that work performed with amazing vigour and diſpach. To open and enlarge this way, all the trees round it were cut down, and as faſt as that was done, the wood was laid round the rock, after which it was ſet on fire. Happily the wind was very high, which ſoon kindled a vaſt flame, ſo that the rock itſelf became as red as the fire around it. Hannibal then, if we may believe Livy, cauſed vinegar to be poured upon it, which inſinuating itſelf into the clifts of the rock, ſplit it by the force of the fire, and calcined, and ſoftened it. In this manner, taking a compaſs ſo as to abridge the declivity, a way was cut along the rock that afforded an eaſy paſſage for the troops, baggage, and even elephants. Four days were employed in this work. The beaſts of burthen died of hunger; for there was nothing to ſubſiſt them on the mountains, which were entirely covered with ſnow. At length the army arrived at fertile, cultivated places, which ſupplied the horſes with plenty of forage, and the men with all kind of proviſions. In this manner Hannibal arrived in Italy, after having ſpent fifteen days in paſſing the Alps, and five months in his whole march from Spain to his quitting theſe mountains. His army was now greatly reduced in its numbers, not amounting to above one half of what it was when he firſt ſet out.

As ſoon as it was known at Rome, that Hannibal was croſſing the Alps, Scipio was ſent to oppoſe him. The two armies came in ſight of each other near the river Ticinus in Lombardy. Before they engaged, Hannibal thought it neceſſary to harangue his army; but in order to be the better underſtood by men of ſuch groſs apprehenſions, he ſpoke to their eyes firſt, before he would addreſs himſelf to their ears; and did not think of purſuading them by reaſons, till he had prepared them for it by objects. He gave arms to many of the mountaineers whom he had taken on the Alps, and made them fight two and two in ſight of his army; promiſing liberty and a complete ſuit of armour, with a war-horſe, to ſuch of them as came off victorious. The joy, with which thoſe barbarians ran to fight, on ſuch a condition, gave Hannibal an opportunity of preſenting to his troops a more lively picture of their own ſituations, which, leaving them no means of going back, laid them under an abſolute neceſſity of conquering or dying, in order to avoid the miſeries and diſgraces prepared for thoſe who ſhould be baſe enough to yield before the Romans. He ſet before their eyes the mighty objects they had in view, the conqueſt of all Italy, and the plunder of Rome itſelf, by which they would acquire not only im-

menſe wealth, but immortal glory. As to what regarded him perſonally, he ſcorned to compare with a general of only ſix months ſtanding, (ſo he ſtiled Scipio) himſelf, who had been almoſt born, at leaſt nurtured and brought up in the tent of his father Hamilcar; who had been conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and, what was ſtill more, of the Alps themſelves. He excited their indignation againſt the inſolence of the Romans, who had preſumed to demand, that himſelf, and the ſoldiers, who had taken Saguntum, ſhould be delivered up to them; and he inflamed their reſentment againſt the pride of thoſe imperious maſters, who believed that every thing was to yield to them, and that they had a right to preſcribe laws to the whole world.

SCIPIO ſeems to have entertained too mean an opinion of his antagoniſt. The conſequence was, that he ſuffered a defeat, himſelf being wounded in the action, and even his life expoſed to the moſt imminent danger; but he was ſaved by the bravery of his ſon Scipio, (afterwards the famous Scipio Africanus) who then made his firſt campaign, and was only in the ſeventeenth year of his age. Hannibal, having gained this firſt victory, took the moſt prudent precautions to increaſe his army. With this view, he gave orders to ſpare the poſſeſſions of the Gauls, while depredations were permitted upon thoſe of Rome; and this ſo pleaſed that ſimple people, that they declared for him in great numbers, and flocked to his ſtandard with alacrity.

THE ſecond battle was fought upon the banks of the river Trebia. Hannibal, being appriſed of the natural impetuoſity of the Romans, of which he availed himſelf in almoſt every engagement, had ſent off a thouſand horſe, each with a foot ſoldier behind, to croſs the river, to ravage the enemy's country, and provoke them to engage. The Romans quickly routed this force, and happy had it been for them if they had been ſatisfied with that advantage. But Flaminius, the conſul, who commanded them, (the other conſul, Scipio, not yet being ſufficiently recovered of his wound to appear in the field) was eager to bring on a general engagement, and diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome ſignal exploit before the expiration of his office. He accordingly ordered his men to purſue the runaways acroſs the river, which they did; but no ſooner had they arrived upon the oppoſite bank, than they perceived the whole Carthaginian army regularly drawn up, and ready to receive them. The conſequence was ſuch as might have been expected. The Romans were routed at the very firſt onſet. Many of them were killed in the action; more periſhed in repaſſing

repaſſing the river; the reſt with great difficulty forced their way through the enemy's ranks, and effected their eſcape to the city of Placentia, which was at no great diſtance.

HANNIBAL paſſed the winter in Gallia Ciſalpina, where he treated the priſoners of war in a very different manner, according to their being Romans or allies. The former he kept in priſon, and ſcarce allowed them the neceſſaries of life; whereas he acted with all poſſible lenity towards the latter. He aſſembled them one day, and told them, "that he did not come thither to make war upon them, but on the contrary to defend them againſt the Romans; that therefore, if they underſtood their own intereſt, they ought to eſpouſe his cauſe, as he had paſſed the Alps with no other view than to reſtore them to their liberties, and enable them to recover thoſe places, of which the Romans had deprived them. He then ſent them home to their reſpective countries without ranſom. This, however, was not done from a ſpirit of generoſity, as he pretended, but with the artful deſign of detaching them from the Romans, and inducing them to declare in his favour.

IT was in the ſame winter-quarters, that Hannibal employed a very ingenious device to ſecure his own perſon. As his army was compoſed of men picked out of different nations, and who followed him merely from the hopes of plunder, he was juſtly apprehenſive, leſt when theſe hopes began to ceaſe, they might be tempted not only to deſert his ſtandard, but even to form deſigns againſt his life. To protect himſelf, therefore, from this imminent danger, he cauſed dreſſes to be made for perſons of all ages; and wearing ſometimes one of theſe, and ſometimes another, diſguiſed himſelf ſo frequently and ſo artfully, that not only thoſe who ſaw him merely going backwards and forwards, but even his moſt intimate friends, could hardly diſtinguiſh him from any other perſon.

HANNIBAL knowing that the ſpirits of his men could only be kept up by a continued ſeries of action, and a ſucceſſion of victories, determined to go in queſt of the Roman army. But this, he plainly ſaw, could not be done without marching through the marſhes of Cluſium, which were extremely difficult to paſs at all times, but particularly at that period, as they had been lately overflowed by the river Anio. The difficulty, however, of any undertaking, provided it was at all practicable, was only a ſtronger recommendation to Hannibal. He accordingly entered the marſhes; and after ſpending four days and three nights in croſſing them, during which neither he nor his men had an opportunity of taking the leaſt repoſe,

and he was even deprived of the ſight of one of his eyes by a defluxion that fell upon it, he at laſt reached the other ſide.

HE then employed every art to provoke the Conſul Flaminius to a battle; and as this general was naturally of a hot and fiery temper, he was eaſily drawn into the ſnare which Hannibal had laid for him. He was tempted to enter a long valley, which lay between the lake Thraſymene and ſome neighbouring hills; and Hannibal attacking him in that ſituation, not only put him to flight, but killed fifteen thouſand of his men, and took ſix thouſand priſoners: the reſt, amounting to about ten thouſand, made their eſcape to Rome. The Conſul himſelf periſhed in the action.

THE news of this third defeat excited the greateſt terror and conſternation at Rome; but after the people had, in ſome meaſure, recovered their ſpirits, the ſenate reſolved to create a dictator; and the chance fell upon Fabius Maximus, a man of great courage, with a happy mixture of caution. He knew that the only ſucceſsful way of oppoſing the Cathaginians at ſuch a diſtance from home was rather by harraſſing than fighting them. Accordingly he always encamped on the higheſt grounds, inacceſſible to the enemy's cavalry. Whenever they moved he watched their motions, ſtraitened their quarters, cut off their proviſions, and, without ever coming to a battle, kept them in perpetual alarm. This cautious conduct of Fabius got him the ſurname of *Cunctator*.

HANNIBAL intending to march for Caſinum was by a miſtake of his guide conducted to Caſilinum near Campania. He there entered a valley ſurrounded with hills, and Fabius ſeeing the advantage he had now over him, ſent four thouſand men to ſeize the paſs, while he himſelf with the reſt of his army took poſt on the riſing grounds on the ſide of the road. In this difficulty Hannibal had recourſe to a very ſingular, but at the ſame time a very ſucceſsful ſtratagem. He ordered ſmall bundles of wine-branches and other dry wood to be tied to the horns of two thouſand oxen, and the bundles being ſet on fire, he cauſed the cattle to be driven towards the enemy. Theſe toſſing their heads, and running up the ſides of the mountains, ſeemed to fill whole neighbouring foreſts with fire; while the ſentinels that were placed to guard the entry into the defile, ſeeing ſuch a number of flames advancing towards their poſt, fled in conſternation, imagining that the whole Carthaginian army was coming to attack them. By this ſtratagem Hannibal drew off his forces, and eſcaped, though not without loſs, part of his rear being attacked and cut off by the Romans.

As

As Fabius had now occaſion to return to Rome, he ſtrictly enjoined Minucius Rufus, his maſter of horſe, not to venture an engagement during his abſence. Minucius, however, who had a high opinion of his own abilities, was ſo far from obeying this order, that he attacked a body of the Carthaginians, and gaining ſome advantage over them, rendered himſelf thereby ſo very popular at Rome, that the people gave him an equal authority with the dictator, who was now accuſed of being too timorous, and even charged with downright cowardice.

MINUCIUS having received, as he imagined, this merited reward of his military talents; reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of diſplaying them in a more ſignal manner. Accordingly ſoon after the return of Fabius, he ventured with that part of the army, he commanded, to attack the Carthaginians, but with ſuch bad ſucceſs, that he was juſt upon the point of being defeated, when Fabius very ſeaſonably ſtept in to his relief, and ſaved him from the diſgrace he had like to have incurred. Minucius, who, though naturally forward and aſſuming, was by no means deficient in good ſenſe, was ſo ſtruck with this proof of the ſuperiority of Fabius both in military knowledge and in greatneſs of mind, that he inſtantly reſigned the high authority with which the people had lately inveſted him, and returned to his original ſtation of maſter of the horſe.

FABIUS was now obliged to reſign his dictatorſhip, the time for which he had been choſen being expired. He was ſucceeded in the command of the army by the two new conſuls Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro; the former a perſon of great wiſdom, valour, and experience; the latter a raſh, headſtrong, and inconſiderate man, with nothing but his wealth to recommend him to public favour. Fabius was abundantly ſenſible of the danger that might ariſe to the republic from the conduct of two generals of ſuch oppoſite characters; and he therefore endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to prevent it by addreſſing Æmilius in the following terms.

"IF you had a colleague like yourſelf, which I wiſh indeed you had; or if yourſelf were like your colleague, which you certainly are not; it would be in vain for me to ſpeak to you. For two good conſuls would not need my advice, in order to their taking proper meaſures for the advantage of the commonwealth; and two bad generals, far from following my counſels, would not ſo much as hear. But knowing the difference between you and Varro, I addreſs myſelf to you only; and I am very much afraid, that as good a citizen, and as able a captain as you are, you will in vain endeavour to ſupport

port the commonwealth while it is ſo ill ſupported by your colleague. Both the good and bad meaſures, that are taken, will have the ſanction of conſular authority. For, do not deceive yourſelf, Æmilius; you muſt expect to find a no leſs inſuperable bar to your ſucceſs in the perſon of Varro, than in that of Hannibal; and I do not know, whether the former will not prove a more formidable opponent to you than the latter. You will have to do with the one only in the field of battle; but with the latter you will have to ſtruggle at all times and in all places. Againſt Hannibal you will have the ſupport of your legions; Varro will attack you with your own ſoldiers. We know what the imprudence of Flaminius has coſt the commonwealth. If Varro put his deſign in execution, and give battle, as ſoon as he ſees the enemy, either I am entirely ignorant of the art of war, and know neither Hannibal nor the Carthaginians, or there will ſoon be a place in Italy more famous for our defeat than the lake of Thraſymenus.

"I can affirm, without fearing the imputation of vain glory, that the only means for foiling the deſigns of Hannibal, is to purſue the method I obſerved in making war againſt him. Nor is this to be judged of by the event, (which is the inſtructor of fools) but by reaſon, and which has been, and always will and muſt be the ſame, while things continue in the ſame ſituation. We are carrying on war in the heart of Italy, in the very boſom of our country. We are ſurrounded on all ſides by our citizens and allies. They aſſiſt us with men and horſes, with arms and proviſions: we have too many proofs of their zeal and fidelity to be capable of entertaining a doubt on that head. We every day become more ſtrong, more prudent, more reſolute, and more experienced. Hannibal, on the contrary, is in a foreign and a hoſtile country, ſeparated from his own by great tracts of land and water. He has not a city that will receive him within its walls, nor any fund upon which he can rely. He lives from day to day upon what he can procure by plunder. He has ſcarce been able to preſerve a third part of the troops, with which he croſſed the Iberus. Famine has deſtroyed more of them than the ſword; and he knows not how to ſubſiſt the few that remain. Can it then be doubted, that by protracting the war, we muſt ruin an enemy that grows weaker every day, and who receives no ſupplies either of men, money, or proviſions. How long has he been dancing about the walls of Geraunium, and defending that miſerable fortreſs, as if it were the walls of Carthage. But not to propoſe to you only my own example, you know in what manner the laſt conſuls, Atilius and Servilius, eluded all his efforts by keeping on the defenſive.

"THIS

"THIS, Paulus Æmilius, is the only method you have of ſaving the republic. But unhappily you will find greater difficulty from your own people than from the enemy, in putting it in practice. The Romans deſire the ſame thing as the Carthaginians, and Varro is of the ſame opinion with Hannibal. You therefore ſingly have two generals to reſiſt, and you will do it effectually, if you know how to deſpiſe the idle talk and opinions of men; and if you neither ſuffer yourſelf to be dazzled by the vain glory of your colleague, nor terrified by the groundleſs accuſations they will endeavour to bring againſt you. It is commonly ſaid, that truth may ſometimes, and even too frequently ſuffer an eclipſe; but that it is never totally extinguiſhed. To know how to deſpiſe glory upon a proper occaſion, is the means of acquiring the moſt ſolid fame. Suffer your prudence to be called timidity, your wiſe circumſpection ſlowneſs and inactivity, and your ability in the art of war incapacity and cowardice. I had rather a wiſe enemy ſhould fear you, than fooliſh citizens praiſe you. Hannibal will deſpiſe you, if he ſees you venture upon every thing, and fear you, if he ſees you do nothing raſhly. Upon the whole, I am not for your continuing entirely inactive, but would have all your enterprizes to be guided by reaſon, and not left to chance. Be always prepared for every event. Be always armed, and ever upon your guard. Never let ſlip a favourable opportunity, nor ever give the enemy one for taking you by ſurprize. If you proceed with deliberation, you will ſee clearly what you are about, and all your undertakings will be crowned with ſucceſs; but from hurry and confuſion ruin muſt enſue."

ÆMILIUS, of his own accord, was ſufficiently diſpoſed to follow this advice of Fabius, which he plainly perceived to be the beſt that could be given; and he ſtrictly obſerved it, as far as depended upon him. On the day, when it fell to his lot to command the army, he ſtudiouſly avoided every thing that could bring on an engagement. But the caſe was very different with his colleague Varro, who no ſooner, in his turn, received the command of the forces, than he gave the ſignal for battle; and the event was ſuch as might have been expected.

THE Romans were defeated with the moſt terrible ſlaughter: fifty thouſand of them were left dead upon the ſpot; and the number of Knights that periſhed was ſo great, that Hannibal is ſaid to have ſent to Carthage three buſhels of gold rings, taken from the fingers of thoſe of this order. This, which was one of the moſt terrible defeats that ever the Romans ſuſtained, was called the battle of Cannæ, from a town of that

name in the neighbourhood of which it was fought. Such was the carnage the Carthaginians committed even after the victory was gained, that Hannibal was obliged to reſtrain their fury, by calling out to them ſeveral times, "Stop, ſoldiers, ſpare the vanquiſhed."

ÆMILIUS, though wounded in the beginning of the action, continued for a long time to perform all the duties of a great captain, till at length victory having entirely declared in favour of the Carthaginians, thoſe who had fought around him, abandoned him, and fled; unable to keep his horſe any longer, he was forced to diſmount. It was in theſe deplorable circumſtances that one Lentulus, a military tribune, flying on horſeback from the enemy, who at ſome diſtance purſued him, found Æmilius ſitting upon a ſtone all covered over with his blood, and waiting for the coming up of the purſuers. "Æmilius," cried the generous tribune, "you, at leaſt, are guiltleſs of this day's ſlaughter: take my horſe, and fly." "I thank thee, Lentulus," cried the dying conſul, "all is over; my part is choſen. Go and tell the ſenate to fortify Rome againſt the approach of the conqueror. Tell Fabius, that Æmilius, while living, ever remembered his advice; and, now dying, approves it." While he was yet ſpeaking, the enemy approached; and Lentulus, at ſome diſtance, ſaw the conſul expire, feebly fighting in the midſt of hundreds. As to the other conſul, Varro, he returned to Rome with the ſhattered remains of the army; and inſtead of being reproached with his raſhneſs, which had been the real cauſe of the late calamity, he was ſolemnly thanked by the ſenate and people, "for not having deſpaired of the commonwealth." Such was the lofty and unconquered ſpirit of thoſe ancient Romans, that their courage always roſe higher in proportion to their diſtreſs!

SUCH, however, was the general conſternation, that many began to entertain thoughts of abandoning their country, and ſettling elſewhere. This was particularly the caſe with ſome young Romans, who, after the battle, had fled to Canuſium, a city of Italy. But Scipio, afterwards ſurnamed Africanus, being informed of their deſign, repaired to the houſe, where they were aſſembled, and drawing his ſword, threatened them all with inſtant death, unleſs they would lay aſide their inglorious reſolution, and take an oath to fight to the laſt in defence of their country.

ABOUT ſixty ſenators had fallen in the battle of Cannæ; but thoſe that ſurvived, and were now aſſembled at Rome, behaved, on this occaſion, with equal ſpirit. They inſtantly reſolved to create a dictator, and raiſe a freſh army. They enliſted

liſted all their young men about ſeventeen years, as alſo a multitude of ſlaves who were ſet at liberty on purpoſe; and they releaſed debtors upon the expreſs condition of their giving in their names to be enrolled among the troops. Before the ſlaves enliſted, they were ſeverally aſked whether they were willing to ſerve. They anſwered *Volo*, that is, I am willing; and hence they got the name of *Volones*. This queſtion was not aſked the citizens, becauſe they were obliged to ſerve. To pay their new levied forces, not only the ſenators, and knights, but even the very loweſt of the people, brought into the treaſury all the money they had, and this they did with ſuch alacrity, that the clerks were quite fatigued ſetting down the names of thoſe who contributed.

HANNIBAL, inſtead of marching forward directly to Rome, and laying ſiege to that city, in which caſe, it is generally ſuppoſed, it would have fallen into his hands, turned aſide into Campania, and took up his winter quarters at Capua; and as the inhabitants of that place were noted to a proverb for their luxury and diſſipation, the Carthaginians could not avoid being corrupted by their example; ſo that, in a little time, they ſunk from an army of hardy warriors into a ſet of effeminate rakes. This change in the character of his forces produced an equal change in the fortunes of Hannibal. He now became as remarkable for his loſſes and diſappointments as ever he had been for his proſperity and ſucceſs. The firſt check he received was at the town of Nola, which he had inveſted; but Marcellus, the prætor, who commanded the garriſon, ſallying out upon him, compelled him to return with the loſs of two thouſand men. He next endeavoured to raiſe the ſiege of Capua, which the Romans had blockaded, and he even attacked that people in their trenches, but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. He at laſt formed a ſcheme for beſieging Rome itſelf, to the very walls of which he advanced with his cavalry; but ſeeing he ſhould be oppoſed by a ſuperior army, he ſoon found the neceſſity of giving over the attempt. His great opponent, in all theſe enterprizes, was Marcellus, who had lately been raiſed to the dignity of conſul, and who, from his various ſucceſſes againſt Hannibal, was uſually denominated the ſword of Rome, in the ſame manner as Fabius had been formerly called its buckler. Nor was it only againſt Hannibal, that Marcellus diſplayed his military talents. He likewiſe did ſo in the ſiege of Syracuſe, which he at laſt contrived to take, after it had been long defended by the wonderful engines of Archimedes, the geometrician. Marcellus, though he had ſuffered ſo much from the ingenuity of this man, was extremely deſirous of ſaving his life. But he

was

was unhappily cut off in the general maſſacre that enſued of the inhabitants. He was killed by a Roman ſoldier, who did not know him, and who found him ſo deeply engaged in his ſtudies, that he ſeemed to be inſenſible of the noiſe occaſioned by the ſtorming of the town. Marcellus was greatly affected when he heard of his death, and, as a proof of his eſteem, he cauſed his body to be honourably interred, and a monument to be erected to his memory.

A LITTLE after, Marcellus himſelf was killed in an ambuſcade that had been laid for him by Hannibal, and into which he had unluckily fallen, to the infinite regret of his countrymen, who juſtly conſidered him as one of the greateſt generals that ever Rome produced. But this loſs was, in ſome meaſure, compenſated by a ſimilar fate that befel Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian general, who was conducting a large army into Italy to the aſſiſtance of his brother Hannibal; for being deſignedly led by the artifice of his guides into a diſadvantageous ground, he was ſuddenly attacked by the two conſuls Livius and Nero, who, after a ſhort but obſtinate engagement, gave him a moſt terrible overthrow, putting himſelf and fifty-ſix thouſand of his men to the ſword, taking five thouſand four hundred priſoners, and even retaking about four thouſand Romans that had fallen into the hands of the enemy. This was the moſt bloody battle that was fought in the courſe of this war, and ſeemed to be ſome kind of conſolation to the Romans for the loſs they had ſuſtained at Cannæ. Nero cut off the head of Aſdrubal, and threw it into Hannibal's camp, which made that general exclaim, that he conſidered this as a ſure preſage of the approaching ruin of his country, and of his own inability finally to prevail againſt the Romans in Italy.

THE arms of the Romans were no leſs ſucceſsful in Spain, than they had been in other quarters. For ſome time, indeed, the enemy had the advantage. They not only defeated, but even killed the two Roman generals, Cneius and Cornelius Scipio. But young Scipio, afterwards ſurnamed Africanus, ſon of Cneius, and nephew of Cornelius, being now appointed to the command in Spain, ſoon found means to revenge the death of his father and uncle, and retrieve the honour of his country. In a word, he proceeded in his conqueſts with ſuch rapidity, that, in a little time, he drove the Carthaginians entirely out of Spain, and brought every part of the country under the dominion of the Romans. At the taking of Carthagena, his continence was put to a ſevere trial, and he gave ſo ſtriking and amiable a proof of it as deſerves to be recorded. Among the priſoners was a young lady of exquiſite beauty, betrothed to Allucius, a Celtiberian prince.

prince. Scipio was no ſooner informed of this, than he ſent for Allucius, and not only reſtored to him his accompliſhed bride, but beſtowed upon, as a marriage portion, the large ſum of money which her relations had brought for her ranſom.

UPON his return to Rome he was advanced to the conſulſhip, though only twenty-nine years of age. Being now entruſted with the management of the war againſt Hannibal, he thought the moſt honourable as well as the moſt effectual way of putting an end to it, and driving from Italy ſo formidable an enemy, was by carrying his arms into Africa, and obliging the Carthaginians to exert their whole force in defending their own capital, inſtead of threatening that of others. He accordingly went over to that country, with a large fleet and army. The inhabitants of Carthage, alarmed at ſo unexpected an invaſion, ſent out Hanno with about five hundred horſe to reconnoitre the enemy; but this general advancing too far, was ſuddenly ſurrounded by a body of horſe, which Scipio had detached, and cut in pieces with his whole party. After this, Scipio ordered Lælius to ſail and beſiege Utica by ſea, whilſt he himſelf marched thither, and inveſted it by land. Here he was joined by Maſiniſſa, who had been ſtript of his dominions by Syphax, and who now reinforced him with his Numidian cavalry. Mean while the Carthaginians exerted themſelves with great ſpirit in aſſembling an army, which they at laſt did. It conſiſted chiefly of horſe, and the command of it was given to another Hanno, who is thought to have been one of Hannibal's brothers; but this general engaging unwarily with Scipio, not only loſt his life, but twelve thouſand of his men were killed, and five thouſand taken priſoners. For this loſs, however, the Carthaginians were, in ſome meaſure, conſoled by the arrival of Aſdrubal, and ſoon after of Syphax (the uſurper of Numidia), each of them at the head of a large army. Scipio, after worſting both of them in ſeveral petty ſkirmiſhes, at laſt formed a deſign of burning their camps, which, he thought, might be the more eaſily done, as their tents, he was told, were compoſed entirely of wood, and covered with nothing but ſtraw or ruſhes; and the better to amuſe them, while he was executing the project, he ordered his fleet to draw nearer to Utica, and placed a ſmall body of troops upon the adjacent hills, as if his ſole deſign had been to take that city by ſtorm. He then commanded Lælius and Maſiniſſa to ſet fire to Syphax's camp, while he himſelf advanced, at the head of his troops, to burn that of Aſdrubal. In a moment both camps were in a blaze; and the Carthaginians and Numidians were ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that,

far

far from thinking of fighting, they were glad to eſcape the flames by a precipitate flight. Scipio took advantage of this opportunity, and falling upon the enemy, while they were yet in confuſion, he put forty thouſand of them to the ſword, and made ſeven thouſand priſoners. In a few months, however, they recruited their armies; but being defeated a ſecond, and even a third time by Scipio, Syphax at laſt fell into the hands of the Romans. Maſiniſſa now laid ſiege to Ciſta, his capital, and took it. But here he met with a more formidable enemy than either of the generals he had lately engaged; for the ſword of a brave man may be oppoſed or eluded; but the charms of a fine woman are ſometimes irreſiſtible. This was particularly the caſe with the famous Sophoniſba, daughter of Aſdrubal, and wife of Syphax, and to whom Maſiniſſa himſelf had formerly paid his addreſſes. She now inſpired that prince with ſuch an ardent paſſion, that he married her the very day on which ſhe became his captive. To this connection, however, ſhe would not agree, until he had given her a promiſe, that he would never deliver her into the hands of the Romans. But this was a promiſe he was not able to keep. Scipio was highly offended at the match, and inſiſted upon her being ſent to Rome among the other priſoners. Maſiniſſa, therefore, not to break his promiſe entirely to his conſort, and at the ſame time to ſeem to comply with the deſire of Scipio, ſent a doſe of poiſon to Sophoniſba, which ſhe honourably drank off, and thus ſaved her own honour and that of her huſband. This is certainly a moſt affecting incident, and has been made the ſubject of many a fine tragedy.

THE Carthaginians were now ſo alarmed at the rapid progreſs of Scipio's arms, that they reſolved to recal Hannibal out of Italy in order to oppoſe him. They accordingly ſent deputies to him for that purpoſe; and with this order he was obliged to comply, though in doing ſo he ſeemed almoſt as unhappy as any other man would have been in being driven into exile from his native country. Upon his arrival at Leptis, on the coaſt of Africa, he ſet out for Adrumetum, and afterwards for Zama, within five days journey of Carthage. There he had an interview with Scipio; and conſcious of the advantage which that general had over him, he would willingly have concluded a peace, had it been poſſible. With this view he addreſſed the Roman in the following terms.

"SINCE it is the will of heaven, that after having been the firſt cauſe of the preſent war, and after having had victory ſo often in my hands, I ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of taking the firſt ſteps for concluding a peace, I am glad that I have to deal with ſuch a general as you. You have ſignalized

lized yourself by many famous exploits; but it will not be the least glorious circumstance of your life, that Hannibal, to whom the gods have so often granted victory over Roman generals, hath been obliged to give place to you; and that you have terminated a war, that was rendered memorable by your defeats before it was so by our overthrows. And, what may be considered as a kind of caprice and sport of fortune is, that your father was the first of the Roman generals that I met in arms; and that I am now come without arms to meet his son, in order to entreat him to grant us a peace.

"IT were to be wished, that the gods had inspired our forefathers with a spirit of moderation, and that you had confined yourselves within the bounds of Italy, and we within those of Africa. For indeed Sicily and Sardinia, of which fortune made you masters, are but small amends for the many considerable fleets, numerous armies, and great captains they have cost us. But let us forget the past, which may be blamed, but cannot be altered. Our successes have hitherto been nearly equal, and by attacking each other in our respective countries, we have run the risk of perishing in our own. Rome has seen Carthaginian armies encamped at her gates and at the foot of her walls; and we now hear a Carthage the noise of the arms and camp of the Romans.

"WE now treat of peace at a time when you enjoy the smiles of fortune; that is, at a conjuncture which is as favourable to you as it is unfavourable to us. You and I, who treat of it, are certainly the persons most deeply interested to see it concluded, and possessed of most authority to have it accepted by our respective states. In order to conclnde it, we want only a disposition of mind not to retard it. As to me, who return in an advanced age into my country, after having left it almost in my infancy, during so great a space of time, I have learnt from the different successes I have had, to confide more in reason and prudence than in chance and fortune. I am afraid, that you have not the same sentiments; and that your youth, and the good fortune that has hitherto attended you, inspire you with lofty thoughts, and such as are averse to peace and moderation. Adversity seldom affects the minds of those, who have never been unfortunate. You are at this time, what I was formerly at Thrasymene and Cannæ. You had scarce learnt to obey, when the command of armies was entrusted to you; and since that you have succeeded beyond your hopes in all the enterprizes you have undertaken. The very calamities of your family you have made conduce to your glory: you have avenged the deaths of your father and uncle, and given the world a shining proof of your valour and piety.

After

After having driven four Carthaginian armies out of Spain, you have recovered thoſe provinces, which the Romans had left but a little before. You have been made conſul; and at a time when no other general had courage enough to defend Italy, you have been ſo bold as to come into Africa, where you no ſooner arrived, but after having ſucceſſively defeated two armies, after having burnt and taken two camps at the ſame inſtant, after having taken Syphax, the moſt powerful king of the whole country, and reduced a great number of cities, as well in his dominions as ours, into ſubjection; you at length have forced me from Italy, after having been in poſſeſſion of it for fifteen years.

"YOU, therefore, may be more allured by the charms of victory than the ſweets of peace. I know the character of the Romans: you are more affected with the glorious than the ſolid. And as to myſelf, in happier times I was ſoothed with the ſame illuſions. If with good fortune the gods gave us alſo right reaſon and ſound underſtanding, we ſhould think of what may happen hereafter, as well as of what has happened already. Not to propoſe the example of ſo many other captains, mine alone may teach you the various revolutions of fortune; me, whom you lately ſaw encamped between Rome and the Anio, ready to ſcale the walls of that city. You ſee me now, after having loſt two illuſtrious brothers, trembling for the fate of Carthage, already almoſt beſieged, and emploring you to ſpare my country the alarms which I have given yours.

"THE more fortune ſmiles upon us, the leſs ought we to truſt her. Now when you enjoy the greateſt proſperity, and our condition is doubtful, peace will be glorious to you who give it; whereas to us, who aſk it, it will be more advantageous than honourable. A certain peace is better than an uncertain victory. The firſt depends on you; the other is in the power of the gods. Do not expoſe yourſelf to loſe in one moment what you have been ſo many years in acquiring. To prevent your being puffed up with your great ſtrength, conſider the extreme inconſtancy of fortune, and the uncertainty of battle. There will be arms and men on both ſides. In war eſpecially, events leaſt anſwer the ſanguine hopes we are apt to entertain. Victory, ſuppoſing it declares for you, will not add ſo much to the advantages that peace ſecures you, as bad fortune will diminiſh them: and a ſingle moment may deprive you, both of all your paſt acquiſitions, and all you may hope for the future. In making peace, Scipio, it is you who decide your own fate: in fighting, the gods will diſpoſe of it. Regulus had been, in the very country where we now are, one

one of the moſt glorious examples of valour and good fortune, if, after having overcome our fathers, he had granted them peace. But, by ſuffering himſelf to be dazzled by proſperity, and neglecting to make a moderate uſe of his good fortune, his fall was only the more dreadful in proportion to the height to which he had been raiſed.

"I KNOW it properly belongs to him, who grants a peace, to preſcribe the conditions of it; but perhaps we may not be thought unworthy of determining the degree of puniſhment we ought to undergo. We therefore conſent, that you remain maſters of all the countries, which have given occaſion for the war; namely, of Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the iſlands between Africa and Italy. Confined within the narrow bounds of Africa, we ſhall ſee, ſince it is the will of the gods, the Romans extend their ſway, both by ſea and land, over many foreign nations.

I ACKNOWLEDGE, that, in conſequence of the little ſincerity ſhewn during the truce, and of the ſteps taken for obtaining peace, the faith of the Carthaginians may be ſuſpected by you. But the obſervance of a peace depends very much upon the authority of thoſe that conclude it. I am informed, that what principally reſtrained your ſenators from granting it to us, was the want of dignity in the ambaſſadors who went to treat about it. At preſent, it is Hannibal who aſks it, becauſe he thinks it advantageous; and the ſame advantages that induce him to aſk it, will alſo induce him to keep it. And, as I have always acted in ſuch a manner, as to give no man reaſon to complain of a war that I had undertaken, till the gods themſelves ſeemed to envy my glory; ſo neither will I, on the preſent occaſion, ſuffer any one to have juſt cauſe to complain of a peace that I have obtained."

To this ſpeech Scipio made the following reply. "I well knew, Hannibal, it was the hope of your return that induced the Carthaginians to break the truce which had lately been made, and to reject the peace, which was upon the point of being concluded. Nor do you yourſelf deny this, inaſmuch as you retrench, from the conditions now offered, all that was at firſt granted, and leave us only that which has long been in our poſſeſſion. For the reſt, as you have made your countrymen ſenſible of the load you have taken off their ſhoulders, it is my part to prevent the advantages they offered to give us by the intended treaty, and which they now refuſe, from being the reward of their perfidy. Your Carthaginians do not deſerve, that the firſt conditions ſhould be granted them, and they have the impudence to expect that they profit by their treachery. It was not the deſire of poſſeſſing Sicily

that

that induced our fathers to carry their arms thither; nor was it with a view of conquering Spain, that they went to that country. It was, on one ſide, the preſſing danger of the Mamertines, our allies; and, on the other, the cruel deſtruction of Saguntum, that juſtly and equitably armed us. You yourſelf confeſs, that you were the aggreſſors; and the gods have fully atteſted it, by granting thoſe who had juſtice on their ſide, the advantage in the firſt war, as they now do, and, it is hoped, will continue to do in this.

"As for me, I am neither forgetful of human frailty, nor of the inconſtancy of fortune; and I likewiſe know that our beſt laid ſchemes may fail of ſucceſs. I further admit, that if you had voluntarily quitted Italy before I came to Africa, and had applied to me for an equitable peace, in that caſe I ſhould not have been able to reject your propoſals, without giving you room to accuſe me of haughtineſs and pride. But as it is againſt your will, and after a long reſiſtance, that I have forced you to quit your prey, and return to Africa, ſuffer me to tell you, that I cannot ſee any reaſon to induce me to comply with your deſire. If, indeed, you have any new conditions to offer beſide thoſe you have mentioned, I will conſult my council of war about them; but if you have not, we had better put an end to this conference, and prepare for a battle, which alone can decide the controverſy between us."

THEY accordingly returned to their reſpective camps, and drew up their forces in batttle array. Hannibal is ſaid to have marſhalled his men in a more maſterly manner, than ever he had done upon any former occaſion; but notwithſtanding all his ſkill as a general, and his courage as a ſoldier, in which he was never excelled, and hardly ever equalled by any other officer, he had the misfortune to be defeated with the loſs of twenty thouſand men killed, and as many taken priſoners. The Carthaginians having now loſt all hopes of being able to make any farther reſiſtance, and dreading every moment to ſee their city beſieged, were glad to agree to the conditions of peace preſcribed to them by Scipio. Theſe were, that they ſhould be permitted to retain their laws and liberties: that they ſhould poſſeſs in Africa the ſame cities and territories they occupied before the war: that they ſhould give up to the Romans all priſoners and deſerters: that they ſhould deliver up all their great ſhips, except ten galleys, and all the tame elephants they had, and ſhould tame no more for the future: that they ſhould not make war either in Africa or elſewhere, without the conſent of the Roman people: that they ſhould reſtore to Maſiniſſa all that had formerly belonged to him or his anceſtors: that they ſhould ſupply the Roman army with

proviſions

proviſions for three months, and furniſh them with pay till the deputies returned from Rome: that, in fifty years, they ſhould pay the Romans ten thouſand talents of ſilver (about fifteen thouſand pounds) divided into equal payments, that is two hundred talents every year: that to bind them to the performance of theſe articles, they ſhould give an hundred hoſtages, ſuch as the conſul ſhould think proper to chuſe from among their young men, between the age of fourteen and thirty: that the truce they aſked ſhould be granted them, provided the barks they had ſurpriſed during the firſt truce were reſtored to the Romans, together with all that was in them when taken; but that without this reſtitution, they muſt not expect either truce or peace. The Carthaginians having no other alternative left than either the acceptance of theſe articles, or the ſeeing their city immediately beſieged, and perhaps in a little time taken by ſtorm, were glad to agree to them; and thus ended the ſecond Punic war, which had laſted for the ſpace of ſeventeen years. Scipio, upon his return to Rome, had a magnificent triumph decreed him, and in memory of the war he had ſo happily concluded, he was honoured with the ſurname of Africanus.

CHAP. XVII.

From the End of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, *to the End of the* THIRD, *which terminated in the Deſtruction of* CARTHAGE.

[ANN. ROM. 553.]

THE Carthaginians were not the only people, with whom the Romans had lately been at war. They had likewiſe been ſo with ſeveral other enemies, and particularly with Philip, king of Macedon. That prince had invaded Attica, and ravaged it with fire and ſword. He had even attempted to lay ſiege to Athens, the inhabitants of which were ſo much alarmed at the danger that threatened them, that they implored the protection of the Romans, who readily undertook their defence. With this view they declared war againſt Philip; and after defeating him in ſeveral engagements, they

at laſt reduced him to ſuch extremity, that he was glad to accept of a peace upon the terms that were offered him. Theſe were, that he ſhould withdraw his garriſons from all the cities he poſſeſſed in Greece; that he ſhould reſtore to the Romans all the priſoners and deſerters; that he ſhould deliver up to them all his ſhips (excepting five) and the grand galley, having ſixteen banks of oars; and, finally, that he ſhould pay, by way of tribute, a thouſand talents, one half down, and the other half in ten years, at the rate of fifty talents a year. The Romans made a generous uſe of the advantage they had gained upon this occaſion: they reſtored all the Grecian ſtates to the poſſeſſion of their ancient liberty.

THE next prince that drew upon him the reſentment of the Romans, was Antiochus, king of Syria. The firſt cauſe, or at leaſt pretence of the quarrel between them, was as follows. Philopater, king of Egypt, having left behind him an only ſon, who was but five years of age, put him under the protection of the Romans. Antiochus, thinking this a favourable opportunity for extending ſtill farther the limits of his kingdom, began to form a deſign for ſtripping the young prince of his territories, and adding them to his own.

THE Egyptians, informed of this wicked project, applied to the Romans for friendly aſſiſtance. The ſenate accordingly ſent ambaſſadors to Antiochus, commanding him not only to lay aſide his deſign, but even to reſtore thoſe places which he had already taken in Egypt. With this order Antiochus refuſed to comply, and war, of conſequence, was immediately declared againſt him. But that prince was as remarkable for his indolence and effeminacy, as the Romans were for their ſpirit and activity. After taking poſſeſſion of the iſland of Eubœa, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far carried away by his ruling paſſion, that, though fifty years of age, he fell deſperately in love with a young girl, whom he married, and paſſed the whole winter in pleaſure and diverſion.

HEARING, however, that the Romans were advancing againſt him, he ſuddenly ſeized the ſtraits of Thermopylæ; but from theſe he was driven with conſiderable loſs; and retreating thence from one poſt to another, he at laſt found himſelf ſo hard preſſed near the city of Magneſia, that he was under the neceſſity of drawing up his army in battle array. It amounted to ſeventy thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe. Scipio, who oppoſed him, had not above half that number. Yet, with great inferiority of force, he eaſily put Antiochus to flight, killing about fifty thouſand of his men, and making fourteen hundred priſoners. Antiochus's chariots, which were armed with ſcythes, being driven back upon his own men,

men, are ſuppoſed very much to have contributed to his overthrow. Being now reduced to the laſt extremity, he had no other alternative left than to throw himſelf upon the mercy of the Romans. Peace was accordingly granted him on condition, that he ſhould pay fifteen thouſand talents as the expence of the war; ſhould quit all his poſſeſſions in Europe, and even thoſe in Aſia to the weſt of Mount Taurus; ſhould give twenty hoſtages, as a pledge of his fidelity; and deliver up Hannibal, who had taken refuge at his court.

UPON his firſt arrival there, Hannibal had met with a very favourable reception. He had even been appointed admiral of Antiochus's fleet; but having, in that capacity, loſt two naval battles, he began to ſink very much in the Syrian's eſteem, who not only entertained a meaner opinion of his abilities than he had at firſt conceived, but even was inclined to ſuſpect his fidelity; as if he meant to betray his intereſt, and by that means make his peace with the Romans. Upon this occaſion, Hannibal is ſaid to have ſpoke to him as follows. "The hatred, which I bear the Romans, is known to the whole world. I took an oath to that purpoſe in my moſt tender infancy. It was this hatred, that has prompted me to draw my ſword againſt them for theſe thirty-ſix years and upwards. It was this, even in time of peace, that drove me from my native country, and forced me to ſeek an aſylum in your dominions. For ever guided and fired by this hatred, (ſhould my hopes here be diſappointed) I will fly to every part of the globe, and rouze up all nations againſt the Romans. I hate them; will do ſo eternally; and know that they regard me with the ſame deteſtation. So long as you continue an enemy to the Romans, you may ſafely rank Hannibal among your firmeſt friends; but if you are inclined to make peace with them, you muſt conſult other counſellors."

Hannibal, however, finding that he could no longer expect protection of Antiochus, retired from his court to that of Pruſias, king of Bithynia. Here he continued for ſome time; and Pruſias engaging in a war againſt Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was enabled, by Hannibal's means, to gain ſeveral victories both by ſea and land. Services of ſo important a nature ſeemed for ever to ſecure Hannibal an undiſturbed aſylum in Pruſias's court. But the Romans, with a vindictive ſpirit unworthy of their character, would not ſuffer him to be quiet even there. They ſent Q. Flaminius, one of their moſt celebrated generals, to complain to Pruſias of the protection he afforded Hannibal. The latter eaſily gueſſed the motive of this embaſſy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up. He at firſt attempted to

fly; but perceiving that the ſecret outlets he had contrived in his palace, were all ſeized by the ſoldiers of Pruſias, who, by this act of treachery, intended to make his court to the Romans, he ordered the poiſon, he had long kept by him, to be brought, and taking it in his hand: "Let us (ſaid he) free the Romans from a diſquietude, with which they have been long tortured, ſince they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. The victory, which Flaminius gains over a naked, betrayed man, will not do him much honour. This ſingle day will be a laſting teſtimony of the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their forefathers ſent a meſſenger to Pyrrhus to deſire him to be upon his guard againſt a traitor, who intended to poiſon him, and that too at a time when Pyrrhus was carrying on a war againſt them in the very heart of Italy: but their ſons have deputed a perſon of conſular dignity to ſpirit up Pruſias to murder me, who is not only his friend but his gueſt." After calling down curſes upon Pruſias, and invoking the gods, the protectors and avengers of the ſacred rights of hoſpitality, he ſwallowed the poiſon, and expired with the ſame intrepidity as he had lived. He was then in his ſeventieth year.

THOUGH the king of Macedon had been overcome by the Romans, he ſtill meditated a new war againſt them. He had two ſons, Perſeus and Demetrius. The latter had been given as a hoſtage to the Romans at the concluſion of the peace between them and his father. During his reſidence at Rome, he had not only endeared himſelf to the inhabitants of that city, but had rendered himſelf ſo very accompliſhed, that upon his return to his father's court, which was ſoon after the overthrow of Antiochus, he was univerſally regarded by the Macedonians as more worthy of ſucceeding to the throne than his elder brother Perſeus. This naturally excited the jealouſy of the latter, who found means to make the old king believe that Demetrius had formed a deſign againſt his father's life. Philip therefore cauſed the young prince to take a doſe of poiſon, of which he expired. But being convinced, after Demetrius's death, of his entire innocence, and of the guilt of Perſeus, he judged the latter to be altogether unworthy of ſucceeding to the throne, and intended to raiſe to it Antigonus, the ſon of Doſon. Philip's death, however, which happened ſoon after, broke all his meaſures; and Perſeus being now firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, not only by the death of his brother, but by that of his rival, Antigonus, declared againſt the Romans. At firſt he met with ſome ſucceſs, having defeated a Roman army on the banks of the river Peneus, and gained an advantage in a naval engagement. But at laſt

laſt coming to a general action with Æmilius Paulus, ſon of the famous Paulus, who loſt his life at the battle of Cannæ, his army was not only routed, but he was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and flee for refuge to the iſland of Crete. There, however, he was ſeized with his wife and children by the Roman admiral, Cneius Octavius, who brought him to the camp of Æmilius. Æmilius, on his return to Rome, had a moſt magnificent triumph, Perſeus and his two ſons being led in ſtate before his chariot. This prince, and his two ſons, died in captivity. The youngeſt, named Alexander, acquired ſome knowledge in the joiner's art. He likewiſe learned to write a fine hand, and became clerk to an officer in Rome. Such was the wretched deſtiny of the laſt ſucceſſor of Alexander the Great.

But all theſe petty wars were of very little conſequence, when compared with that which the Romans now undertook againſt Carthage. The real cauſe of this war was the jealouſy and ambition of the Romans, who thought they could never be eaſy, while ſo powerful a rival exiſted. They were willing, however, to cover their hoſtilities with ſome plauſible pretence or other; and the one they made uſe of on this occaſion, was that the Carthaginians had kept ſhips at ſea, contrary to treaty, and had taken up arms againſt Maſiniſſa, king of Numidia, an ally of the Romans. Maſiniſſa having attacked ſome nations that were under the protection of the Carthaginians, theſe had made an inroad into his territories.

Masinissa making complaints of this at Rome, and the Carthaginian deputies anſwering them there, the deciſion of the quarrel was, by appointment of the ſenate, removed to Africa, where, however, the Carthaginians could obtain no redreſs. This people, ſhocked at the injuſtice which was done them, and fearing that the king might renew his attempts, began to build ſhips, to fortify their ſtrong holds, and to put themſelves into ſuch a warlike poſture as to ſhew, that he ſhould not inſult them a ſecond time with impunity. Maſiniſſa growing every day more haughty and daring, began to ſeize upon a conſiderable province, belonging to the Carthaginians, and theſe making freſh complaints on that account to the ſenate, new commiſſioners were appointed, with Portus Cato at their head, to go to Africa, and ſettle the diſpute. Upon their arrival, they aſked both parties whether they would ſtand by their determination. Maſiniſſa (as may be ſuppoſed) very readily agreed; but the Carthaginians replied that they would certainly ſtand by it, provided they were put in the quiet poſſeſſion of the territories, as limited by Scipio.

THE commiſſioners, therefore, made no deciſion, but returned to Rome, where they gave an account of the preſent ſtate of Carthage, its ſituation, fortifications, and populouſneſs, all of which they greatly exaggerated. Cato eſpecially ſhewed always great warmth when he talked on the ſubject, and he concluded every ſpeech he made on the occaſion with this remarkable expreſſion; *Delenda eſt Carthago*—Carthage muſt be deſtroyed. And one day, throwing out of the lappet of his robe, in the midſt of the ſenate, ſome African figs, and the ſenators admiring their ſize and beauty; "Know," ſays he, "that it is but three days ſince theſe figs were gathered: ſuch is the diſtance between us and the enemy."

CATO thought, that the Roman grandeur could never be ſecure till Carthage was entirely raſed to the ground, and that as long as that city exiſted, the Romans would always have a formidable rival. But Scipio Naſica was of a quite contrary opinion. Both he and Cato advanced very ſpecious arguments in ſupport of their different ſentiments. Scipio ſaid, that as the people were now become ſo debauched as openly to indulge themſelves in every kind of exceſs; as their proſperity had inſpired them with a pride, which ſet even the ſenate at defiance; and as their power was already become ſo great, as to enable them to force the ſtate into any ſcheme they liked, however ruinous it might prove to the public; as this, he ſaid, was the caſe, he was deſirous they ſhould ſtill live in fear of Carthage, in order that it might ſerve as ſome kind of check upon their unruly paſſions. For it was his opinion, that the Carthaginians were too weak ever to endanger the ſafety of Rome; and yet too powerful to be juſtly conſidered as an object of contempt. Cato, on the other hand, alledged, that as the Romans were now become rich, and conſequently effeminate, and the Carthaginians, from being rich, were become poor, and perhaps in time might acquire the virtue of hardineſs, by means of which the former had triumphed over the latter, it was not impoſſible that the character of the two nations might ſoon be inverted, and Carthage, in point of courage, might become as much ſuperior to Rome, as ever Rome had been to Carthage. He was, therefore, for the total annihilation of a city, which muſt ever bear Rome an implacable hatred, and threatened it evidently with the moſt imminent danger; and his opinion, as being moſt agreeable to popular prejudices, was immediately adopted.

BUT before they would proceed to the entire deſtruction of Carthage, the Romans thought it moſt prudent, at leaſt moſt decent, that it ſhould be ſtill farther provoked by the war with Maſiniſſa. That prince, accordingly, levied a ſtrong army, as did likewiſe

likewiſe the Carthaginians, who gave the command of theirs to Aſdrubal. When they were juſt upon the point of coming to an engagement, Scipio arrived in Maſiniſſa's camp; and both parties agreeing to refer the diſpute to him, they were ſeemingly reconciled; notwithſtanding which Maſiniſſa's eldeſt ſon cut to pieces the greateſt part of the Carthaginians, with Aſdrubal their general. Rather than give offence to the Romans, the Carthaginians put up even with this cruel outrage. They likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, promiſing an entire ſubmiſſion to the Romans. Theſe laſt, however, ſtill perſevered in their former reſolution of raſing Carthage to the ground. Accordingly with this ſecret view, but under the ſpecious pretence of aſſiſting their ally, the king of Numidia, they declared war againſt the Carthaginians, and invaded their country with an army of eighty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. The Carthaginians were equally ſurpriſed and alarmed at this hoſtile onſet, for which, they thought, they had given no occaſion. They ſent ambaſſadors to the conſuls, complaining of their wanton violation of a peace, which had been ſo ſolemnly ſworn to, and ſo religiouſly obſerved on their part; and offering to obey the Romans in whatever they ſhould command. Anſwer was made them, "that the ſenate of Rome granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, all their territories, and other poſſeſſions, provided that, within thirty days, they ſhould ſend, as hoſtages to Lilybæum, three hundred young Carthaginians of the firſt diſtinction; and comply with the orders of the conſuls."

WITH theſe terms, hard as they were, the Carthaginians were obliged to comply. But even with theſe the Romans were not ſatisfied. They ſtill continued to riſe in their demands. They next inſiſted, that the Carthaginians ſhould immediately deliver up their arms, for which, they ſaid, they had no farther occaſion, as they were now under the protection of the Romans. Even this order the Carthaginians obeyed. They were then told, that they muſt quit their city, which the Romans were determined to level with the ground, though they were informed, at the ſame time, that they might build a city in any other part of their territories, provided it were at leaſt ten miles from the ſea.

BUT here the Carthaginians ſtopt ſhort in their conceſſions; their patience was now totally exhauſted. To this laſt command they refuſed to ſubmit. To leave a city that was at once the place of their birth and the ſeat of their empire, and to have the additional mortification of ſeeing it raſed to the ground, was ſuch a ſacrifice as they could not think of making

even to their extreme deſire of living at peace with the Romans. They therefore reſolved to defend their city to the very laſt extremity. Though deprived of their arms, they ſoon contrived to fabricate new ones. The temples, palaces, and public ſquares were inſtantly converted into ſo many arſenals. The men worked inceſſantly day and night; and the women, no leſs zealous than the men, parted with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair, to be converted into ſtrings for the bowmen. Aſdrubal, who had been lately condemned for oppoſing the Romans, was now taken from priſon to head their army; and ſuch preparations were every where made as diſcovered in the people a determined reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt.

THE conſuls thinking that a city without arms could make no long reſiſtance, were in no hurry to come before it; when they did ſo, they met with ſuch a reception as convinced them of their miſtake. Several battles were fought, and all to the diſadvantage of the Romans, till at laſt Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted grandſon of Africanus, arrived in the camp, and took upon him the conduct of the ſiege; but even he, with all his abilities, would have found it difficult to ſucceed, had he not contrived to draw over to his ſide Himilco Phameas, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, who deſerted to him with about two thouſand horſe.

FROM that time forward all his operations were crowned with ſucceſs. He immediately attacked the city; firſt made himſelf maſter of that part of it called Megara, and then took the Forum, where he beheld a moſt miſerable ſpectacle; multitudes of the dead, dying, and wounded, lying together in one confuſed heap. The people had taken refuge in the citadel, where being now deprived of all hopes of relief, they ſent a deputation to Scipio, offering to ſurrender, provided they might be allowed to retire with their lives. This favour was readily granted, and about 50,000 men and women marched out into the fields under the protection of a ſtrong guard.

NOTHING now remained to be ſubdued but the temple of Æſculapius, where the Roman deſerters, to the number of nine hundred men, had ſhut themſelves up, with Aſdrubal and his family. The former knew they had no mercy to expect, as indeed they deſerved none; and the latter ſeemed inſpired with an heroic reſolution of periſhing only amidſt the ruins of their country. But Aſdrubal's love of life overcame his deſire of glory. He privately came down, and ſubmitted to the Romans. Scipio inſtantly ſhewed him to the deſerters, and thoſe were ſo enraged at the ſight, that they ſet fire to the temple. While the flames were ſpreading, Aſdrubal's wife, who

who appears to have been more courageous than her huſband, dreſſing herſelf as ſplendidly as ſhe could, and placing herſelf with her children in the ſight of Scipio, thus exclaimed; "I call not down the curſes of heaven upon thee, O Roman; for thou only uſeſt the privilege allowed thee by the laws of war. But may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, puniſh, as he deſerves, the falſe wretch, who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, and his children." Then turning to Aſdrubal, ſhe ſaid, "Perfidious wretch; thou baſeſt of men! This fire will preſently conſume me and my children: but as to thee, go, as thou now muſt; adorn the triumph of thy haughty conqueror; and ſuffer, in the ſight of all Rome, the torments thy crimes ſo juſtly merit." Thus ſaying, ſhe ſnatched up her children, and having cut their throats, and thrown them into the flames, ſhe ruſhed into them herſelf, and was immediately followed by all the deſerters.

WHEN the news of this conqueſt were brought to Rome, the people were filled with the moſt extravagant joy. All men ſtrove who ſhould moſt zealouſly expreſs their gratitude to the gods for ſo ſignal a favour. The ſenate deputed ſome of its members to go to Africa, and aſſiſt Scipio in regulating the affairs of that country, and particularly of Carthage, which was ordered to be levelled with the ground. It was accordingly ſet on fire; and ſo extenſive was it, being twenty-four miles in compaſs, that it continued burning for the ſpace of ſeventeen days. It was, indeed, ſo completely demoliſhed, that travellers are now at a loſs to determine where it actually ſtood. Some think that it was either upon, or very near the ſpot where now ſtands Tunis, which is ſaid to be one of the moſt poliſhed of all the Barbary ſtates.

ALL the cities, which had aſſiſted Carthage in this war, were ordered to ſhare the ſame fate, and the lands belonging to them were given to the friends and allies of the Romans. The other towns of Africa became tributary to Rome, and were converted into a Roman province, called the Province of Africa, which was governed by an annual prætor; while the numberleſs priſoners that had been taken in the courſe of this war, were ſold as ſlaves, with a very few exceptions. Such was the end of one of the moſt famous cities in the world, the great rival of Rome, with whom ſhe had long maintained a conteſt for univerſal empire, and who, at one time, ſeemed to have as good a chance for obtaining this envied diſtinction as even Rome herſelf. Scipio now received the ſurname of Africanus, being called Africanus the younger, to diſtinguiſh him from Africanus the elder, his grandfather by adoption.

NOTHING of any conſequence happened during the Carthaginian war that we have not mentioned, except the trial of Scipio Africanus the elder, whoſe great merit and popularity had expoſed him to the reſentment of the tribunes of the people, always envious of ſuperior worth. They had the preſumption to accuſe him of having ſecreted the treaſure taken in the war with Antiochus, and of his too cloſe correſpondence with that prince. Scipio appeared at the time appointed; but inſtead of deſcending to the character of a culprit, he put on his triumphal crown, and addreſſing himſelf to the people, ſaid; "On this day I conquered the fierce Hannibal and the Carthaginians in the battle of Zama; let all who love their country attend me to the capital, and return our annual thanks to the gods for ſo ſignal a victory." The whole aſſembly accordingly accompanied him thither, and left the tribunes ſitting by themſelves an object of contempt, and even of hatred to every feeling mind. They then reſolved to accuſe him in the ſenate, and ordered him to bring his accounts to anſwer to their charge; but far from obeying this command, he tore his accounts before them, and ſoon after withdrew to Linturnum, a town on the coaſt of Campania, where he ſpent the reſt of his days in cultivating the arts of peace, and converſing with learned men, particularly with the poet Ennius, for whom he had a great regard. He ſeems, however, to the laſt to have been ſenſible of the bad treatment he met with; for at his death, which happened about three years after, he ordered the following epitaph to be inſcribed on his tomb; *Ingrata Patria! ne oſſa quidem mea habes*; "Ungrateful country! thou ſhalt not even poſſeſs my bones."

CHAP. XVIII.

From the Deſtruction of CARTHAGE, *to the Beginning of the* JUGURTHINE WAR.

[ANN. ROM. 608.]

THE Romans had now acquired ſuch an evident ſuperiority over the reſt of the world, that they began to conſider all thoſe who dared to oppoſe their arms, or even to diſobey their orders, not as open enemies, but as rebels; and they

they therefore inflicted a puniſhment upon them, which, in other circumſtances, would have been (we do not ſay inexcuſable, for that it would ſtill have continued, but) altogether inexplicable. This was particularly the caſe with the Corinthians, againſt whom they now declared war, becauſe they had inſulted the Roman ambaſſadors, who were ſent into Greece, to ſettle ſome diſputes among the different ſtates of the country. Two ſucceſſive victories were obtained over theſe people, the firſt by Metellus, the other by Mummius, who at laſt took Corinth, and raſed it to the ground. Mummius diſplayed as diſintereſted a ſpirit in collecting the ſpoils of this celebrated city, as he diſcovered want of taſte in eſtimating their value; for when he was committing the moſt incomparable paintings, ſtatues, and other works of art to certain perſons to carry to Rome, he deſired them to be particularly careful not to loſe or ſpoil any of them; for that, if they did, they ſhould be obliged to find new ones at their own charge.

CARTHAGE and Corinth were not the only places that now ſuffered from the ſeverity of the Romans; Numantia, one of the fineſt cities of Spain, ſoon had the misfortune to undergo the ſame fate. The Roman arms in that part of the world had lately been very unſucceſsful. Viriathus, originally a ſhepherd, and afterwards a robber, and who ſoon became geral of a large body of men like himſelf, excited great diſturbances. He reduced Fabius, the conſul, to ſuch extremities, as obliged him to accept of a peace upon very diſadvantageous terms. He himſelf, however, was ſoon taken off by the treachery of two of his own men, whom Cæpio, the ſucceeding conſul, had bribed for the purpoſe; a circumſtance that drew upon Cæpio no ſmall ſhare of popular odium, and reflected the greateſt honour upon Viriathus, as it ſhewed him to be a man, who, though of the meaneſt extraction, was ſo excellent a commander, as to be formidable even to the Romans themſelves.

THE ſpirit of revolt, however, which he had raiſed, did not die with him. Several of the petty ſtates of Spain threw off their dependance on the Romans; and one of them, in particular, the inhabitants of Segeda, put themſelves under the protection of the Numantines. Theſe laſt ſent ambaſſadors to the conſul Metellus, who then commanded in Spain, beſeeching him to grant a pardon to the revolters; and not being able to obtain it, they choſe rather to incur the reſentment, and even encounter the arms of the Romans, than abandon thoſe who had ſolicited their aſſiſtance. Numantia, in conſequence, was immediately inveſted, and the ſiege car-

ried on for ſeveral years with various ſucceſs. At laſt the care of it was committed to Scipio Africanus, the deſtroyer of Carthage; and he, by his great military talents, ſoon reduced the enemy to ſuch diſtreſs, that ſeeing no hopes of receiving any, and perhaps expecting little mercy, if they ſurrendered at diſcretion, they ſet fire to the city, and periſhed amidſt the flames.

THE Romans, about this time, were engaged in a war of a very ſingular nature. This was a war with their own ſlaves in Sicily. Theſe unhappy men, after having been long oppreſſed by their cruel maſters, broke out into open rebellion, to the number, it is ſaid, of two hundred thouſand. They even ventured to meet the regular Roman armies, and defeated them in ſeveral engagements. At laſt, however, they were totally ſuppreſſed by the conſuls, who reduced them to their former ſtate of ſubjection.

THE deſtruction of Carthage, Corinth, and Numantia, having now raiſed the Romans above all apprehenſions of danger from abroad, they began to exerciſe their animoſities againſt one another; and this they did the more readily, as from a plain, honeſt, and ſimple people, they were now become rich, luxurious, and corrupt. Their Aſiatic conqueſts had introduced a deluge of wealth into Rome, which the great had ſeized chiefly as their own property. The conſequence was, that the rich were poſſeſſed of immenſe fortunes: the poor had nothing but a mere pittance; and hence it aroſe, as it generally does in the like circumſtances, the former were proud, haughty, and imperious; the latter reſtleſs, factious, and diſcontented.

In order to remedy this growing evil, and introduce ſome greater equality of fortune among the citizens of the ſame ſtate, a plan was formed by the two brothers, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, grandſons of the elder Scipio Africanus by his daughter Cornelia, one of the moſt accompliſhed ladies of Rome, who is ſaid to have had a capital hand in directing the education of her ſons, and rendering them the ornament of their age and country. The ſcheme was firſt broached by Tiberius Gracchus, who was elder than his brother by about nine years. He propoſed the revival of the Licinian law, by which it was prohibited that any one ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land. But willing to prevent the complaints of the rich as much as poſſible, he took care to propoſe an additional clauſe, importing, that none ſhould be obliged to part with the lands they illegally poſſeſſed without receiving a compenſation from the public.

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THE law, however, even thus guarded, gave great offence to the opulent, who therefore employed every art to prevent its paſſing. With this view they prevailed upon Octavius, the other tribune, to oppoſe it; and Tiberius, for the preſent, was obliged to drop his project. In a few days, however, he found means to get Octavius depoſed, and Muſius ſubſtituted in his room. He then renewed his endeavours for paſſing of the law in more rigorous terms than before. It now decreed, that all thoſe who poſſeſſed more lands than the ancient laws allowed, ſhould immediately quit them without mentioning any ſatisfaction or compenſation whatever. In ſupport of this law Tiberius made uſe of the following ſtrong expreſſions:—"The wild beaſts, that roam in the mountains and foreſts of Italy, have each their hole and den to retire to; but theſe brave Romans, who fight and expoſe their lives for the defence of Italy, enjoy only the light and air of heaven, of which they cannot be deprived, and poſſeſs neither houſe nor cottage to ſcreen them from the ſeverity of the weather. Without homes, without habitations, they wander about in the very heart of their country, with their wives and children, like miſerable exiles. Their generals in battle exhort them to fight for the tombs of their fathers and their houſehold gods; and yet amongſt all this great multitude of Romans, there is not one who has either a paternal altar or tomb of his anceſtors. They go to war and die, only to ſupport the luxury, and to increaſe the riches of others; and yet ſome do not bluſh to call them the lords and maſters of the univerſe, when in reality they have not a ſingle inch of land in their poſſeſſion." The law, accordingly, was now paſſed; and in order to ſee that it was properly executed, three officers, called triumviri, were appointed to examine and determine the quantity of land poſſeſſed by every perſon.

A NEW cauſe concurred, with the above incident, ſtill farther to inflame the indignation of the ſenate. Attalus, king of Pergamus, having lately died, had bequeathed his immenſe riches to the Roman people. Tiberius propoſed that the money thus left ſhould be divided among the poor, to enable them to purchaſe proper utenſils, for cultivating the lands which became theirs by the late law of partition. This raiſed the reſentment of the great to a ſtill higher pitch than ever. The ſenate aſſembled on the occaſion, in order to concert meaſures for ſecuring theſe riches to themſelves; which they were determined to do, as well as to prevent the execution of the Licinian law, if not by any other means, even by laying violent hands on the tribune. With this view, attended by a large party of their friends and clients, they repaired

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to a temple in the neighbourhood of the capitol, where Tiberius was then haranguing the people. This place being now full of tumult and confuſion, he found it impoſſible to make himſelf heard; and having received ſome previous intimation of the deſigns of the ſenate, he lifted his hand to his head, in order to ſignify to the multitude that his life was in danger. His enemies affecting to miſconſtrue this innocent geſture, cried out that he publicly demanded a crown. Some of them had already made way for that calumny by alledging, that the perſon, who brought the will of Attalus to Rome, had delivered the royal purple and diadem to Tiberius, which he had very readily accepted, as intending ſoon to make uſe of them himſelf.

THOUGH nothing could be more falſe than this accuſation, the ſenate reſolved to lay hold of ſuch a favourable opportunity for effecting their bloody purpoſe. Accordingly iſſuing out from the temple where they were, they ruſhed towards the capitol, and entering that place, knocked down all they met. Tiberius now ſeeing the danger he was in, attempted to fly; but falling over a perſon already on the ground, Saturninus, one of his colleagues in the tribuneſhip, who was of the oppoſite faction, overtook him, and with the foot of a ſtool beat out his brains. Many of his adherents ſhared the ſame fate: about three hundred of them were killed upon the ſpot, and ſome of them were afterwards put to death by the forms of law, or were baniſhed from their country. Thus periſhed, in the flower of his age (for he had but juſt then attained to his thirtieth year), one of the moſt illuſtrious youths, and who, had he lived, would probably have become one of the moſt accompliſhed men, that ever appeared in Rome. Perhaps, indeed, the warmth of his temper, and his love of popularity, which is ſo natural, and when properly regulated, is ſo commendable, might carry him too far. His conduct, however, at the worſt, could only make him an object of pity; but the conduct of the ſenate rendered them objects of deteſtation.

CAIUS Gracchus was but twenty-one years of age when Tiberius periſhed, and conſequently was too young either to excite the jealouſy of the great, or to induce him to think himſelf qualified for revenging his brother's death, or carrying into effect the plans he had formed. He therefore continued, for ſome time, to live in privacy and retirement; but while he ſeemed to be dead to the world, he was every day improving himſelf in that art which was moſt likely to enable him to make a figure in it when he appeared: he was deeply engaged in the ſtudy of eloquence; and the firſt

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ſpecimens he gave of his talents in that way were ſuch as at once ſurpriſed and alarmed his enemies.

THE firſt office he ſtood for was that of queſtor to the army in Sardinia, which he eaſily obtained. He there rendered himſelf ſo popular among all ranks of men, that when the king of Numidia ſent a preſent of corn to the Romans, he ordered his ambaſſadors to declare, that it was entirely in compliment to the virtues of Caius Gracchus. The ſenate, who with their uſual pride and jealouſy of ſuperior merit, conſidered the exaltation of his character as a degradation of their own, received the meſſage with ſcorn, and ordered the ambaſſadors to be diſmiſſed with contempt as ignorant barbarians. This ſo enraged Caius, that he left the army, and came to Rome; and offering himſelf a candidate for the tribuneſhip, was immediately elected into it, in ſpite of all the oppoſition of his enemies.

THE firſt thing he did in this new office, was to have Popilius, one of the moſt inveterate of his brother's enemies, cited before the people; but this man, rather than ſtand the iſſue of a public trial, choſe to go into voluntary baniſhment. He renewed his brother's law for the diviſion of lands, and cauſed himſelf to be appointed one of the triumvirs. He decreed, that the ſoldiers ſhould be furniſhed with cloaths by the public, without any deduction from their pay; and that no citizen ſhould be enliſted, till he had attained the age of ſeventeen. He ordered that corn ſhould be ſold at a moderate price, and procured a monthly diſtribution of it among the poor citizens. He then made an enquiry into the late conduct of the ſenate; and finding that the whole body had been guilty of bribery, extortion, and the ſale of offices, he cauſed a law to be enacted, transferring the power of judging corrupt magiſtrates from the ſenate to the knights, which made a great alteration in the conſtitution. The Roman citizens were now made to conſiſt of three orders, the ſenatorian, the equeſtrian, and plebeian. But what chiefly engaged the attention of Gracchus was the improving of the highways. Theſe he cauſed to be carried on from the different gates of the city, to a great diſtance into the country, paving them with hewn ſtone where neceſſary, and dividing them into equal ſpaces, each conſiſting of a thouſand paces. At the end of each of theſe a ſtone was erected, on which was inſcribed the number of miles it was from the city; and hence the expreſſion ſo common in Latin authors, *Tertio, quarto, quinto,* &c. *ab urbe lapide,* that is the third, fourth, or fifth mile from the city. On both ſides of the road, likewiſe, he

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cauſed ſtones to be erected, to aſſiſt travellers in getting on horſeback; for the uſe of ſtirrups was not then known.

IN a word, by theſe and other means, he became, in a little time, ſo popular, and conſequently ſo powerful, that the ſenate began to dread him, even more than they had done his brother; and they therefore reſolved to get rid of him in whatever way they could. Convinced, however, that open force was vain, they determined to proceed in a clandeſtine manner. With this view they contrived to bring over to their ſide Livius Druſus, one of his colleagues in the tribuneſhip. This man they perſuaded to counteract the deſigns of Gracchus, not by directly oppoſing him, but, on the contrary, by ſeeming to eſpouſe the intereſt of the people with ſtill greater zeal than even Gracchus himſelf, and thereby dividing with him, or rather indeed robbing him entirely of the good will of the lower ranks of the community. And this artful ſcheme proved ſo ſucceſsful, that when Gracchus returned from Carthage, whither he had gone to ſettle a colony, which, however, did not proſper, he found it impoſſible to get himſelf re-elected into the tribuneſhip, though he had been choſen into it the ſecond time without ſo much as aſking it. At the ſame time he had the mortification to ſee his mortal enemy, Opimius, advanced to the conſulſhip, out of which he had been kept the preceding year by the intereſt of Gracchus; ſo that every thing now turning againſt him, and in favour of his enemies, he began to be apprehenſive for his perſonal ſafety.

SUCH, however, was his averſion to diſturb the public peace, that he refuſed to have recourſe to any violent meaſures, even to defend himſelf from the danger that threatened him. But his friend Fulvius, the tribune, was not ſo ſcrupulous, or rather ſo imprudent. He thought it but reaſonable, that the ſame means ſhould be employed in protecting the life of Gracchus, which his enemies meant to uſe in taking it away; for it now appeared from the whole conduct of Opimius, that nothing leſs would ſatisfy him than the death of Gracchus.

THE firſt ſtep he took for this purpoſe was to propoſe the repeal of moſt of the laws enacted by Gracchus, and he appointed a day for taking the matter into conſideration. When that day arrived, and Opimius was employed in ſacrificing according to cuſtom, one of his lictors, taking up the entrails of the beaſt that was ſlain, in order to remove them, had the impudence to call out to Fulvius and his party; "Make way, ye factious citizens, for honeſt men." This inſult ſo enraged them, that they inſtantly fell upon him, and killed him with

with the inſtruments they uſed in writing, which they happened then to have in their hands.

THIS murder was conſidered by the two parties in a very different light. By Opimius and his adherents it was regarded as a moſt fortunate circumſtance, as it would furniſh them with a plauſible pretence for proceeding to thoſe extremities they had long wiſhed to employ. By Gracchus and his friends, for the very ſame reaſon, it was looked upon as a moſt unlucky incident, as they knew themſelves to be altogether incapable of oppoſing the force which their enemies could bring againſt them.

GRACCHUS, therefore, highly blamed his party for killing the lictor, which immediately raiſed ſuch a diſturbance, that when he attempted to ſpeak in his own vindication, he could not be heard, and he was, therefore, obliged to retire homeward, and wait the event. As he was going through the Forum, he ſtopped before a ſtatue that was raiſed to his father, and regarding it for ſome time with fixed attention, he at laſt burſt into tears, as if deploring the ſpirit of the times, and the fate which he ſaw muſt ſoon overtake himſelf. His followers were no leſs moved than he, and all of them partaking moſt ſincerely in his ſorrow, vowed never to abandon a man who had incurred the diſpleaſure of the great, merely by his zeal for the intereſt of the people.

IN the mean time the ſenate took every method to alarm the citizens, and increaſe their apprehenſions. They directed the conſul to take care that the commonwealth ſhould receive no injury; and by this form they inveſted him with an abſolute and unlimited power. Nor was it long before he began to uſe it. He commanded the whole body of ſenators and knights to take arms, and to attend him the next day with their ſlaves and dependents.

As to Gracchus, he reſolved to employ no force in oppoſing the deſigns of his enemies. But Fulvius, who ſaw the abſolute neceſſity for doing ſo, drew his friends and adherents together, and took poſt upon Mount Aventine. Gracchus, though conſcious of the inferiority of his force, could not think of abandoning his friends in this deſperate extremity; and he therefore determined to join them. But juſt as he was going out of his houſe, his wife coming up to him, and claſping him in her arms, cried out, "Deareſt Gracchus, whither art thou going, and why doſt thou leave thy houſe ſo early? Doſt thou not know, that the ruffians, who murdered thy brother, are preparing the ſame fate for thee; and that thy only defenders are a vile populace, who will deſert thee at the leaſt proſpect of danger? Remember that Rome is no longer what it was;

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for virtue is totally baniſhed from thence, and every thing there is now governed, not by eſtabliſhed laws, but by arbitrary will. Beſides, how canſt thou truſt in the authority of the laws, or even in the juſtice of the gods; thoſe blind or impotent gods, who permitted thy brother Tiberius to be aſſaſſinated?"

GRACCHUS, however ſtrongly moved by her remonſtrances, gently diſengaged himſelf from her arms, and went on to Mount Aventine. There he had no ſooner arrived, than he learned that a proclamation had been publiſhed, offering to any one who ſhould bring either his head, or that of Fulvius, its full weight in gold as a recompence. Willing ſtill, however, to prevent the effuſion of Roman blood, he ſent two meſſages to the ſenate with propoſals of peace, and theſe being rejected, he intended, it is ſaid, at one time, to have appeared before them in perſon; but from this he was diſſuaded by his friends, who foreſaw that his death would be the inevitable conſequence.

BY this time Opimius had approached Mount Aventine, and falling in among the almoſt defenceleſs crowd with irreſiſtible fury, he put no leſs than three thouſand of them to the ſword. Fulvius and his ſon took refuge in a neighbouring cottage, where they were immediately diſcovered and ſlain. Gracchus at firſt retired to the temple of Diana, where he reſolved to make away with himſelf; but being prevented by his friends, he endeavoured to eſcape to a bridge, in paſſing which two of his adherents loſt their lives in defending him. He then withdrew to a grove on the other ſide of the Tyber, that was conſecrated to the furies; and there being completely ſurrounded, and finding all hopes of eſcape cut off, he prevailed upon his ſlave Philocrates to kill him, who immediately after killed himſelf, and fell down upon the body of his beloved maſter. The purſuers ſoon coming up, cut off the head of Gracchus, and placed it for a while, as a trophy, upon the point of a ſpear. But Septimuleius, one of Opimius's friends, arriving, took it from them, and having emptied it of the brains, and filled it with lead, preſented it to the conſul, who rewarded him, as he had promiſed, with its weight in gold, amounting, it is ſaid, to no leſs than ſeventeen pounds.

SUCH was the end of Caius Gracchus, one of the moſt promiſing young men, that ever appeared in any age or any nation. His intentions were no doubt innocent, and even virtuous; but the means he employed for accompliſhing his deſigns were certainly imprudent. A perfectly Agrarian law, ſeems to be impracticable in any ſtate, at leaſt in any large one.

one. A diſtinction of property, and perhaps even of rank, is neceſſary in every ſociety. But, at the ſame time, it may be affirmed, that, if peace and good order can be maintained, the greater the equality that prevails among the citizens in both theſe reſpects, the more happy are the people, and the more perfect is the government; as the happineſs of the people either is, or ought to be the great end of all kind of government.

WE had almoſt forgot to obſerve, that one thing, which contributed greatly to hurt the credit of Gracchus, was the death of his brother-in-law, the famous Scipio Africanus. This man had always been a declared enemy of the Agrarian law; and on the morning of a day, on which it was ſaid he intended to have made a ſpeech againſt it, he was found dead in his bed. Some thought he was poiſoned; others, that he was ſtrangled. But whatever was the manner of his death, it was univerſally aſcribed, either to his wife, Sempronia, the ſiſter of the Gracchi, or to Cornelia, their mother; or to both of them in conjunction: nor was even Caius himſelf ſuppoſed to be innocent. Scipio was one of the moſt accompliſhed characters that ever Rome produced, being equally diſtinguiſhed for his civil and his military talents. He lived in the greateſt intimacy with Terence, and is thought to have aſſiſted him in the compoſition of his comedies.

FOR ſome years after the death of Gracchus, nothing of any great conſequence happened, though it will not be improper to mention ſlightly ſome of the moſt material that occurred. The Sardinians, about this time, raiſed an inſurrection, which was very ſoon fruſtrated. About the ſame period Africa was viſited with a dreadful plague, which committed great havoc. It was ſuppoſed to be owing to an incredible number of locuſts, which ſpread over the whole country, and deſtroyed the fruits of the earth. They were then carried by the wind into the Mediterranean ſea; and petrifying there, infected the air in a ſurpriſing manner. Soon after Metellus, the conſul, ſubdued the Balearic iſlands, which are now called Majorca and Minorca, and ſuppreſſed the pirates, who made them their place of refuge. The Allobroges, who inhabited the country, now called Dauphine in France, and Savoy in Italy, were conquered by Domitius Ænobarbus, and annexed to the empire. Gallia Narbonenſis was alſo reduced into the form of a Roman province. And the Scordiſci, a people inhabiting Thrace, though at firſt ſucceſsful, were at laſt driven back into their own country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

From the Beginning of the JUGURTHINE WAR, *to the perpetual Dictatorſhip of* SYLLA.

[ANN. ROM. 631.]

THE Jugurthine war is memorable on many accounts, but on none more than that it firſt brought to light the great military talents of Marius, who afterwards made ſo capital a figure, and has been related by Salluſt with ſuch ſtrokes of eloquence, as were perhaps never equalled, and certainly never excelled by any other hiſtorian. Jugurtha was grandſon to Maſiniſſa, king of Numidia, the faithful ally of the Romans. That prince had three ſons, Micipſa, Guluſſa, and Manaſtobal, whom he left joint heirs of his dominions; but, by the death of the two latter, Micipſa ſoon came into the poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom. Micipſa had two ſons, Adherbal and Hiempſal; and being charmed with the fine qualities of his nephew Jugurtha, whom his brother Manaſtobal had by a concubine, he brought him up with his own children, and at his death left him joint heir to his dominions.

BUT the favours which his uncle had ſo liberally beſtowed upon him, inſtead of filling him with gratitude towards the memory of his benefactor, only inſpired him with the criminal deſire of making away with his couſins, and thereby rendering himſelf ſole maſter of the kingdom. Accordingly he contrived, in a little time, to have Hiempſal murdered, and would no doubt have acted the ſame part by Adherbal, had not that prince found means to eſcape from Numidia, and repair to Rome, where he implored the protection of the ſenate. But this was a circumſtance that gave Jugurtha little trouble. He well knew the ſenate was become ſo venal a body, that money was ſufficient to bring them over to any thing. He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, who diſtributed their preſents with ſo liberal a hand, that the only puniſhment inflicted on Jugurtha was the appointing commiſſioners to make a new diviſion of the kingdom; and theſe, upon their arrival in Africa, were ſo effectually gained over to his intereſt, that they aſſigned him the beſt and the largeſt part of the country.

BUT even with this advantage his ambition was not ſatisfied. Nothing leſs would content him than the poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom. He therefore picked a freſh quarrel with Adherbal,

Adherbal, and beſieged him in his capital of Cirta, where that prince being ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity, wrote the following letter to the ſenate. "It is not my fault, fathers, if I ſeem to trouble you too much by ſo frequently ſoliciting your aſſiſtance; it is the violence and injuſtice of Jugurtha, that compel me to it. He is ſo reſolutely bent on my deſtruction, that he ſets both you and the immortal gods at defiance; for nothing will ſatisfy him but my blood. He has kept me beſieged for five months in contempt of the alliance and amity by which I am united with the Roman people. Neither the favours with which my father Micipſa loaded him, nor your decrees, are of any avail to me. I cannot tell whether I am moſt diſtreſſed by arms or by famine. The preſent ſtate of my affairs prevents my ſaying more with reſpect to Jugurtha. I have already experienced the little credit that is given to the complaints of the unfortunate. I plainly ſee that it is my life only he aims at; he carries his views and deſigns ſtill higher. He has no hopes of retaining my kingdom and your friendſhip at the ſame time; but upon which of theſe he ſets the greateſt value may be eaſily perceived from his whole conduct. He began by killing my brother Hiempſal. He afterwards drove me out of my dominions. But granting that theſe injuries are confined entirely to us, and are no concern of yours; can the ſame be ſaid of a kingdom dependent upon you, of which he has poſſeſſed himſelf by force of arms? It is the perſon, whom you yourſelves eſtabliſhed king of Numidia, that he now keeps ſo cloſely beſieged. My preſent ſituation is a ſufficient proof of the little regard he has for your orders, which you have ſignified to him by your ambaſſadors. What then is there that can make him return to his duty but the force of your arms? For as to me, I could rather wiſh, that the complaints I now make, and have formerly made before you in full ſenate, were totally groundleſs, than that I ſhould be able to convince you by my misfortunes, that they are but too well founded. But as I am born to be the ſport of Jugurtha's villainy, I aſk no longer, that you would preſerve me from miſery or from death, but only that you would prevent me from falling into the hands of ſo cruel an enemy, and that he may not be permitted to degrade me ſo far, as to inflict upon my body all kinds of torment. Diſpoſe, as you pleaſe, of the kingdom of Numidia; that is yours: but extricate me out of the hands of this impious wretch, I conjure you by the majeſty of the Roman name, and by all the ties of friendſhip. If you have any regard for the memory of Maſiniſſa, let it now appear in preſerving his grandſon."

THIS

THIS letter made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the minds of the ſenators, that they immediately ſent commiſſioners into Africa, to command Jugurtha to deſiſt from the ſiege; but theſe were ſoon corrupted by that prince's money in the ſame manner as their predeceſſors had been, and returning to Rome without effecting any thing, Jugurtha now puſhed on his operations with greater vigour than ever, and having at laſt compelled Adherbal to ſurrender, he inſtantly put him to death.

THIS cruel outrage inflamed the minds of the Romans in general to ſuch a degree, that the ſenate was obliged, however unwillingly, to declare war againſt Jugurtha. For ſome time, however, it was carried on with very little ſpirit, the generals, and even the inferior officers, being all of them bribed and corrupted by the enemy. This gave occaſion to the tribune, Memmius, to addreſs the people in the following terms. "Integrity, ſaid he, is now quite baniſhed from the ſenate, and juſtice is no more to be ſeen in it. Money is become the ruler of Rome; and it has but too frequently appeared, that it is the only deity the nobles adore. Theſe are ready every day to expoſe their faith and their honour to ſale. The glory and intereſt of the ſtate are now diſregarded. The majeſty of the empire has been betrayed; the republic has been ſold, both in the army and in Rome itſelf. Opimius, the murderer of Gracchus, and of three thouſand citizens with him; that tyrant of his country, whoſe hands are ſtill red with the blood of the people and their tribunes, has filled them with the gold and ſilver of Jugurtha. Perhaps the other generals and commiſſioners are not more innocent.

"WE are told, that the Numidians have given themſelves up to the commonwealth; that they have ſurrendered their ſtrongholds, their forces, and elephants. But let us bring this matter to the teſt. Let Jugurtha be ſent for to Rome. If he has really ſubmitted himſelf to you, he will obey your orders; but if he refuſes to do ſo, you will then be convinced, that what is called a treaty is nothing but a colluſion between that crafty prince and your generals; a treaty that will have procured him an impunity of his crimes; will have filled the pockets of your officers with immenſe riches, and will have reflected upon the republic the moſt indelible diſgrace."

THE ſenate now fearing, that their own venality would ſoon be ſuſpected, and perhaps even diſcovered, if they did not adopt ſome vigorous meaſures, ordered one of the conſuls to croſs over into Africa with a numerous army; and Jugurtha thinking that the Romans were at length become ſerious, and that

that all his arts of bribery and corruption would ſoon loſe their effect, reſolved immediately to repair to Rome, in order, if not to juſtify, at leaſt to apologize for his conduct. But even while there he could not help giving a freſh proof of his daring villainy. There was at that time at Rome a young prince named Maſſiva, ſon of Guluſſa, and conſequently grandſon of Maſiniſſa; and as he was a legitimate deſcendant of that great monarch, and Jugurtha only a ſpurious one, being the ſon of a concubine, he had ſolicited the Romans to place him on the throne of his grandfather. In order to rid himſelf of ſo dangerous a rival, Jugurtha contrived to have Maſſiva made away with in open day, and in the very midſt of Rome; an action that filled the ſenate with ſuch indignation, that they immediately commanded him to depart from Italy. He did ſo; but could not help, at the ſame time, exclaiming againſt the venality of Rome, which, he ſaid, would ſoon periſh, could it but find a purchaſer.

FROM this time forward, however, he found the Romans to be leſs venal than they had hitherto appeared. For Metellus, the conſul, being appointed to the command of the army in Africa, not only ſhewed himſelf to be proof againſt all the attempts of Jugurtha to bribe him, but carried on the war with ſuch ſpirit and ſucceſs, that he would probably, in a little time, have put an entire end to it, had he not been ſupplanted by his lieutenant Marius, who contrived to get himſelf elected conſul in his ſtead. This Marius was one of the greateſt captains, and at the ſame time perhaps one of the worſt citizens that ever Rome produced. Being born of poor parents, and brought up like them, he had contracted in his early youth ſuch habits of induſtry, temperance and frugality, as adhered to him during his whole life, and rendered him, even when advanced to the ſupreme command, more capable of enduring cold, hunger, fatigue, and all the other hardſhips and inconveniences of war, than almoſt any ſoldier in his army. The nobility did every thing in their power to prevent his being promoted to the conſulſhip; and he, in revenge, took every opportunity of expreſſing his contempt for perſons of their order. This he particularly did in the following ſpeech, which he made to the people upon his being choſen conſul.

"I KNOW, Romans," ſaid he, "that moſt of thoſe, whom you raiſe to dignities, behave in a quite different manner after they have obtained them, from what they do while they are ſoliciting them. At firſt they appear induſtrious, ſuppliant, and modeſt; but afterwards, as ſoon as they have gained their point, they abandon themſelves to ſloth and idleneſs. In my opinion,

opinion, however, their conduct ought to be quite the reverse. For as the interest of the nation is of infinitely more consequence than either the prætorship or censorship, more care surely ought to be taken in the discharge of public offices than we employ in soliciting them. I am not ignorant how heavy a burthen you have laid upon me in raising me to the consulship. To be constantly engaged in making preparations for war, and at the same time to be frugal of the public money; to oblige persons to enter into the service, to whom, however, we would not give offence; to have the sole direction of all things at home and abroad; and to acquit one's self of these various duties in the midst of open or concealed enemies, is surely a more hard and difficult task, than can well be conceived.

"To this add still another inconvenience, which is peculiar to myself. If others commit a fault, their ancient nobility, the glorious actions of their ancestors, the credit of their families and relations, their numerous clients and dependents; all these, in a manner, come in to their aid, and protect them from danger: whereas all my resources are in myself, and I have no support but what I can derive from virtue and innocence; for of every thing else I am entirely destitute. I see that the eyes of all men are upon me. The just and judicious favour me, from a thorough conviction, that I have no other aim than the public good; whereas the nobility, on the other hand, take every opportunity to hurt my reputation. This is one reason why I should make new efforts, both to answer your expectations, and to render ineffectual their bad designs.

"FROM my earliest youth I have been constantly accustomed to danger and fatigue. What I have hitherto done from the mere love of virtue, I ought now more zealously to do from a principle of gratitude, since you have loaded me with your favours; and this is my fixed and determined resolution. It is hard for those, who, to attain dignities, have assumed the mask of virtue, to continue long in that constraint, when their ambition is satisfied. As for me, who have exercised myself in it all my life, I can say, that long habit has in a manner rendered it natural to me. You have charged me with the war against Jugurtha; and this is what gives extreme offence to the nobility. Now I desire, Romans, you will consider with yourselves, whether, instead of the choice you have made, it would be better for you to take, out of that troop of nobility, to fill the office in question, or any other of a like nature, a man of an ancient family, and one who can boast of having borne all the great offices of the state, but without knowledge

knowledge or experience; in order that, in the conduct of ſo important a war, perplexed for want of practice, and entirely diſconcerted, he may take, out of that very people he deſpiſes, a guide and monitor to teach him his duty. And indeed it often happens, that a man, whom you have choſen general to command an army, has more need of another general to command him, and be to him inſtead of a maſter. I know ſome, who, when elected conſuls, have begun to read over hiſtories, and to ſtudy the art of war in the books of the Greeks. This is manifeſtly reverſing the order of things. For, though they do not command till they have received authority, yet, before they have obtained authority, they ought to learn to command.

"SUFFER me now, Romans, to compare with theſe proud nobles your conſul, whom they are for leſſening with the tile of New Man. What they learn from reading and inſtruction, I have learned by practice and experience. The knowledge they derive from books, I have got by many years of actual ſervice. And now judge on which of the two you ſhould ſet moſt value, on actions or on words. They deſpiſe the meanneſs of my birth; and I that of their valour. I am reproached with the lowneſs of my fortune; they with the profligacy of their conduct. But, after all, I know, that all men are of one and the ſame nature; and that, conſequently, the moſt worthy are the moſt noble. And, indeed, could we aſk at preſent the forefathers of Albinus or Calphurnius, whom they would rather chuſe to have for ſons, thoſe actually deſcended from them, or me, is it to be doubted but they would anſwer, that they always deſired to have children virtuous, and diſtinguiſhed for their own merit?

"IF they think they have a right to deſpiſe me, they muſt then deſpiſe their anceſtors, who began their nobility by virtue. They envy my dignity: why don't they alſo envy my labours, dangers, and the innocence of my life, that are the ſteps by which I attained it? Theſe men, blinded by their pride, led ſuch profligate and abandoned lives, as if they deſpiſed your honours; and yet aſk them with as much aſſurance as if they deſerved them by the virtue of their conduct. How egregiouſly miſtaken are they to think of uniting in themſelves things ſo incompatible as the pleaſures of ſloth and the rewards of virtue!

"WHEN they ſpeak before you, or in the ſenate, they never forget to celebrate their anceſtors, and ſeem to think, that repeating their glorious exploits, reflects honour on themſelves. But the effect produced is directly the reverſe. For the more the lives of thoſe great men abounded with noble

actions, the more those of their descendants, if destitute of them, deserve contempt. The glory of ancestors, it must be owned, is a light for their posterity; but a light that illustrates their vices as well as their virtues. As for me, I cannot boast my ancestors; but I can repeat my own exploits, which is undoubtedly more glorious. Observe, I beseech you, how unjust they are. They pretend to derive lustre from the merit of others, and will not permit me to derive any from my own, because I have not those ancient statues at home, with which they adorn their houses, and because my glory is recent. But is it not better for a man to be author of his own nobility, than to dishonour that derived from ancestors? I know, if they should undertake to answer me, they would employ fine words, and make very eloquent harangues. This is a glory I do not pretend to dispute with them. But as, while you take pleasure in doing me honour, they spare no calumnies either against you or me, I thought it incumbent upon me not to hold my tongue, lest my silence should be considered as an acknowledgment of the truth of what they say. For, at bottom, I have nothing to fear, and no discourse can hurt me. If it be true, it can only be to my praise; and, if false, my actions will refute it.

"BUT, Romans, as all this is levelled at you, and they presume to blame you for having intrusted to me, first the supreme dignity of the commonwealth, and next the conduct of a very important war; reflect seriously, I intreat you, whether you have any cause to repent of what you have done. I cannot, to gain your confidence, produce the statues, consulships, and triumphs of my ancestors; but, if it is necessary, I can set before you military rewards of every kind; pikes, ensigns, crowns: I can shew you the scars of honourable wounds all received before. These are my statues, these the titles of my nobility, which have not fallen to me by inheritance, as they have to my adversaries; but which I have acquired by my labours and dangers.

"You find no order or elegance in my words: that is an art upon which I neither pique myself, nor set a great value. Virtue makes itself sufficiently known by its own intrinsic worth: others may stand in need of fine discourse to cover the infamy of their actions. I have not applied myself to the study of Greek literature, as I found those that did so became not the better men. But what I have learnt, and which is of greater consequence to the republic, is to handle my sword, to keep my post, to attack or defend a place well, to fear nothing but infamy, to suffer cold and heat indifferently, to have no other bed but the earth, and at the same time to support both hunger and fatigue.

tigue. And theſe are things I ſhall teach my ſoldiers. I will not let them live in want, while I riot in plenty. I will not aſſume all glory to myſelf, while they have nothing but toil and labour. Such ought not to be the manner in which we treat citizens. For a commander to live himſelf in ſloth and luxury, and require rude ſervice and fatigue from the ſoldier, is to act like a maſter over ſlaves, not like a general over fellow citizens. It was by a quite contrary conduct that our anceſtors acquired glory to themſelves, and did the republic ſuch ſignal ſervice.

"Now the nobility, after having degenerated from the virtue of their forefathers, deſpiſe us, who endeavour to tread in the ſteps of their anceſtors; and exact dignities from you as their right, without taking any pains to deſerve them. I repeat it; theſe men, ſo proud of their birth, impoſe ſtrangely upon themſelves. Their anceſtors left them all that it was poſſible to tranſmit, their riches, ſtatues, the glory of their names and great actions: but they have not left them their virtue, nor indeed could they do it; virtue, of all things, being the only one, that can neither be tranſmitted nor inherited.

"THEY ſay I live in a coarſe manner, without either taſte or elegance, becauſe I have no great ſkill in ſetting out a table, make no uſe, at the entertainments I give, of comedians or buffoons; and becauſe I give no more for a ſlave, that is to be my cook, than for one to work in my field. All this is true, and I freely confeſs it. I learnt from my father, and other perſons of virtue, that ornament is for women, as labour is for men; that men of worth ought rather to aim at glory, than at riches; and that arms confer more honour than the moſt magnificent robes. As they think quite otherwiſe, let them follow their own taſte. Let them paſs their days in drunkenneſs and debauchery; let them end their lives as they have begun them; and leave to us duſt, and ſweat, and military fatigues, which we prefer to all their luxury. But they do not act in this manner. After having wallowed in the moſt ſhameful exceſſes, they come to deprive us of the rewards of virtue and valour. Thus, by a ſtrange perverſion of things, depravity of manners, which ought to exclude them from all public offices, does them no hurt, and is only fatal to the commonwealth, in giving it unworthy leaders and venal magiſtrates.

"AFTER having anſwered my enemies, not ſo much as their infamous conduct, but as my own character required, I ſhall add a few words concerning the public affairs. In the firſt place, then, you may entertain the moſt rational and well

founded hope of a ſucceſsful iſſue to the war in Numidia. You have removed all the obſtacles of this wiſhed-for event, and in which the chief ſtrength of Jugurtha conſiſted; I mean avarice, ignorance, and pride. You have an army in Africa, that is perfectly acquainted with the nature of the country, and poſſeſſes all the requiſite courage, but which, however, has hitherto met with bad fortune. A great part of the troops have periſhed by the avarice or temerity of their commanders.

"You then, who are of a proper age to bear arms, come and join your efforts with mine, and ſuſtain with me the honour of the commonwealth. Do not be diſcouraged by the memory of paſt misfortunes, nor fear that your generals will treat you with pride and inſolence. After having iſſued the neceſſary orders, you ſhall ſee me, both in marching, and in battle, ſharing with you danger and fatigue. Except in point of command, I ſhall make no difference between you and myſelf. You may therefore believe, that, with the aſſiſtance of the gods, victory, ſpoils, and glory await, and even invite you. But though you had not all theſe motives to prompt you, the intereſt alone of the commonwealth would ſuffice to induce good citizens, as you are, to defend it. Cowardice never yet exempted any man from death. Never did father deſire that his children ſhould be immortal, but that they ſhould become men of great honour and probity. I ſhould ſay more on this head, Romans, if words could give bravery to cowards; for as to the valiant, I think I have ſaid enough."

MARIUS having now got every thing ready for opening the campaign, went over to Africa, and purſuing Jugurtha from one place to another, reduced him to ſuch extremity, that he was obliged to implore the aid of his father-in-law, Bocchus, king of Mauritania. But even the united forces of theſe two monarchs were unable to make head againſt Marius, who defeated them both in two great battles, in one of which they are ſaid to have loſt above ninety thouſand men; and Bocchus, unwilling to riſk the loſs of his own crown, even in defence of a ſon-in-law, made propoſals of peace to the Romans. Accordingly Sylla, quæſtor to Marius, was ſent to confer with him; and the only terms the Romans would accept were, that Bocchus ſhould deliver Jugurtha into their hands. Bocchus was at firſt averſe to the committing ſuch a treacherous action; but ſeeing no other way of ſaving himſelf, he at laſt conſented, and having contrived to draw Jugurtha into an ambuſcade under pretence of a conference, he immediately ſeized him, and delivered him up to Sylla. Marius afterwards carried

him

him to Rome, where he was thrown into prison, and ſtarved to death; an end worthy of his flagitious conduct.

THE next war of any conſequence in which the Romans were engaged, was what is uſually called the Social war, the occaſion of which was as follows. The other ſtates of Italy, in alliance with the Romans, had long ſolicited the favour of being admitted to the freedom of Rome, and of being permitted to give their votes at the election of magiſtrates, like the citizens. This favour the Romans refuſed to grant. But the allies being determined to extort that by force of arms, which they could not obtain by gentle means, broke out into open rebellion; and after a war, which continued for the ſpace of two years, the Romans finding, that, whether conquerors or conquered, their conteſt would be fatal, at laſt thought it prudent to give up the point. The allies accordingly were made free of the city, though the ſenate took care to render this indulgence of very little conſequence. Inſtead of diſtributing them among the old tribes, in which, by the greatneſs of their numbers, they would have carried every thing before them, they formed them into eight new tribes; and as theſe were not to give their votes till all the reſt had given theirs, they had very little influence in the public councils.

AFTER the concluſion of the ſocial war, the Romans began to think of turning their arms againſt Mithridates, king of Pontus, and one of the moſt powerful princes of Aſia. Their reaſon for attacking him was, that he had invaded the territories of ſome of the petty kings of Aſia, in alliance with the Romans, and had ſtripped them of their dominions. Both Marius and Sylla aimed at the command of this expedition.

THE character of Marius we have already given. Sylla was a patrician, and ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome; was handſome in his perſon, and engaging in his addreſs, had a noble air and graceful carriage, and poſſeſſed ſuch an openneſs and candour in his whole demeanour, as ſeemed to beſpeak an undiſguiſed ſoul. Inſinuating, perſuaſive, and eloquent, he had the art of bringing over all men to his own way of thinking. Fond of pleaſure, but ſtill fonder of glory, he never indulged himſelf in gratifying the former appetite to the prejudice of the latter. Though naturally vain, he had the art of concealing this foible, and always ſpoke of himſelf in the moſt modeſt terms. On the contrary, he was exceſſively laviſh of his encomiums upon others, and ſtill more profuſe of his money. He lent willingly to all who applied to him, and even anticipated the wiſhes of thoſe who were too modeſt to aſk. He never demanded the payment of any debt; and it was commonly ſaid, that he acted in ſuch

a manner, as if he meant to purchaſe his whole army. Familiar with the common ſoldiers, he condeſcended to imitate their vulgar manners; would drink, laugh, and be merry with them, and could eaſily put up with their coarſeſt jokes; but he knew, on occaſion, how to aſſume all the ſtatelineſs of command. In a word, he was a perfect Proteus, that could transform himſelf into any ſhape; but both his virtues and vices were covered with the thickeſt veil of hypocriſy.

HE was a great favourite of the ſenate, as Marius was of the people, and he was therefore appointed by the former to conduct the war againſt Mithridates. The people, however, reverſed this decree, and transferred the command to Marius; and Cinna, who was then at the head of the army, was ſo enraged at this affront, that he advanced with his troops to the gates of the city, and entering it ſword in hand, threatened immediately to ſet it on fire if he met with the leaſt oppoſition. Marius at firſt endeavoured to oppoſe him; but finding it impoſſible to do ſo effectually, he quitted Rome, and a price being afterwards ſet upon his head, he was expoſed to a variety of adverſe fortune. He was obliged to conceal himſelf in the marſhes of Minturnum, where he ſpent a whole night up to his neck in mud. He was then ſeized, and conducted to priſon, and a Cimbrian ſlave was ſent to diſpatch him; but the barbarian had no ſooner entered the priſon for this purpoſe, than he was ſo ſtruck with the awful look of the fallen general, that he threw down his ſword, exclaiming, at the ſame time, that he found himſelf incapable of executing his orders.

THE governor of the place conſidering this as a manifeſt omen in Marius's favour, not only ſet him at liberty, but even furniſhed him with a ſhip to carry him from Italy. Marius afterwards landed in Africa, near Carthage, and went, in a melancholy manner, to place himſelf among the ruins of that deſolated place. In a little time, however, he was ordered by the prætor, who commanded there, to depart. He inſtantly profeſſed his readineſs to obey; but at the ſame time deſired the meſſenger to acquaint his maſter, that he had ſeen Marius ſitting among the ruins of Carthage, intending, no doubt, by that compariſon, to intimate the greatneſs of his own fall.

HE then went to ſea, and ſpent the winter upon that element; being equally afraid to land any where, as his arrival in thoſe parts was now generally known. At laſt he received intelligence, that affairs at Rome had taken a turn greatly to his advantage. This was brought about by the activity of Cinna,

Cinna, one of his moſt zealous adherents, who had lately been elected conſul, either through the neglect, or in oppoſition to the intereſt of Sylla, who ſoon after ſet out for Aſia, to carry on the war againſt Mithridates. Cinna, taking advantage of Sylla's abſence, exerted himſelf with ſo much ſpirit, that he ſoon rendered the party of Marius ſuperior to that of his rival, and recalling that demagogue to Rome, they both entered the city in a hoſtile manner, and put every one to the ſword that had incurred their diſpleaſure.

IT would be equally difficult and diſguſting to enumerate all the acts of barbarity that were committed on this occaſion. We ſhall content ourſelves at preſent with mentioning a few of the moſt remarkable. Publius Craſſus, after ſeeing his eldeſt ſon killed before his face, thruſt himſelf through with his ſword, to avoid being expoſed to the indignities he had reaſon to expect. His ſecond ſon eſcaped, and afterwards became the richeſt and one of the moſt powerful citizens of Rome. The orator, Marcus Antonius, had found a faithful friend, but one who ruined him by his too great kindneſs. This was a poor plebeian, who ſeeing a gueſt of ſo much importance in his houſe, was for entertaining him in the beſt manner he could. Accordingly he ſent his ſlave to the tavern with orders to buy the beſt wine he could find. The ſeller, ſeeing the ſlave taſte the wine with more care than uſual, aſked him why his maſter was become ſo nice, and was not content with the wine he uſually drank. The ſlave, who thought he was ſpeaking to a friend, diſcovered the fatal ſecret; and the perfidious vintner ran immediately to Marius, and told him, that he had it in his power to put Marcus Antonius into his hands. This news was received by Marius with tranſports of joy; he ſtarted up from table, where he then ſat at dinner, and propoſed going to the place himſelf. But being reſtrained by his friends, he was ſatisfied with ſending the military tribune, Annius, with ſome ſoldiers, whom he ordered immediately to bring him Antony's head. Annius accordingly undertook the cruel office, and arriving at the place, he ſtaid below himſelf in order to guard the door, while his men went up ſtairs to put Antony to death. But upon their entering the room where he was, they were ſo charmed with the divine ſtrains of eloquence he began to pour forth, that not one of them could think of laying violent hands upon him. At length the tribune began to grow tired of waiting ſo long; and going up, was ſurpriſed to ſee his ſoldiers completely diſarmed by the eloquence of the man they had come to deſtroy. But being as inſenſible himſelf, to the charms of rhetoric as to the calls of humanity, he cut off the head of Antony with his own hand, and carried

it to Marius. Marius received it with a ſavage joy; and after feaſting his eyes, for ſome time, with ſo horrid a ſpectacle, he returned it to Annius, commanding him immediately to fix it on the roſtrum. "Thus upon the very ſame place, from whence Antony, when conſul, had ſo bravely defended the commonwealth, was fixed that head, to which ſo many citizens were indebted for their ſafety." This is the remark of Cicero, who hardly thought, when making it, that he was only anticipating his own hiſtory; nor ſeemed to think, that a like fate would one day overtake himſelf, from the grandſon of the man, whoſe misfortune he now deplored.

BESIDE the death of theſe and a variety of other eminent perſons, a dreadful ſlaughter was made of numbers of citizens of inferior rank. A word from Marius was ſufficient to coſt any one his life, that happened to come in his way. At length his very ſilence was conſidered as a ſentence of condemnation; for Ancharius, a ſenator, having accoſted him, and received no anſwer to his compliment, was inſtantly put to death. And this, for the future, became an eſtabliſhed rule. All who came to ſalute Marius, and had not their ſalute returned, were killed by the ſlaves, that ſerved him as guards; ſo that his very friends were afraid to approach him.

BUT perhaps it will be more entertaining, it will certainly be improving to the young reader, to be informed of ſome ſignal inſtances of the humane paſſions that were diſplayed upon this occaſion. Cornutus was ſaved by the fidelity of his ſlaves. They firſt concealed him in a private part of the houſe; and then taking the dead body of one of thoſe that had been murdered, and putting a ring upon its finger, they hung it up by the neck; and when the blood-hounds of Marius arrived, they ſhewed them this carcaſe, which, they ſaid, was the body of their maſter, who, in deſpair of being able to elude the vigilance of his enemies, had thus choſen, with his own hands, to put an end to his life. They even went ſo far as to perform the ceremony of a funeral; and the aſſaſſins were ſo completely blinded by this artifice, that they gave over the purſuit, and Cornutus afterwards eſcaped into Gaul.

MARIUS had given permiſſion to all the citizens to plunder the houſes of thoſe he had killed; but ſuch was the moderation, or rather equity of the people, that not one of them would defile their hands with what they conſidered as ſuch impious ſpoils. On the contrary, they regarded the houſes of the unfortunate with as much veneration as if they had been the moſt ſacred temples.

BUT the lenity of no one was more remarkable on this melancholy occaſion, than was that of Sertorius. Neither reſentment

reſentment nor the pride of victory induced him to offer the leaſt violence nor even inſult to the conquered. He even carried his humanity farther. As it proceeded from principle, and not from weakneſs, it ſoon changed into a fatal ſeverity againſt the wicked inſtruments of Marius's cruelty. Enraged at the exceſſes and barbarities committed by theſe ſavages, he concerted matters with Cinna, who was more tractable than Marius, and having obtained his conſent, he attacked the ruffians during night in the camp, where they uſed to ſhut themſelves up, and killed every one of them, to the number of four thouſand.

MARIUS, however, would ſoon have found other inſtruments of his cruelty, had he lived; but happily for the world, death put a period to his own life, before he had time to take away the lives of any others. He died about a month after, in the ſeventieth year of his age. He is even ſuſpected of having haſtened his end from a juſt apprehenſion of the treatment he had reaſon to expect had he lived till the arrival of Sylla, who, after having carried on a ſucceſsful war againſt Mithridates, and concluded an honourable peace, was now coming home with his victorious army, in order to be revenged of his enemies at Rome. Great, however, as was Sylla's power, nothing could prevent Cinna from attempting to repel his opponent. Being joined by Carbo, now elected conſul in the room of Valerius, who had been ſlain, together with young Marius, who inherited all the abilities and the ambition of his father, he determined to ſend over part of the forces he had raiſed in Dalmatia, to oppoſe Sylla before he entered Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but being diſperſed by a ſtorm, the others, that had not yet put to ſea, abſolutely refuſed to go. Upon this Cinna, quite furious at their diſobedience, ruſhed forward to perſuade them to their duty. In the mean time one of the moſt mutinous of the ſoldiers, being ſtruck by an officer, returned the blow, and was apprehended for his crime. This ill-timed ſeverity produced a tumult and a mutiny through the whole army; and while he was employed in appeaſing it, he was run through the body by one of the crowd.

SYLLA had now arrived on the ſea-ſhore of Aſia, where his army once more bound themſelves to him by a freſh obligation. He then embarked, and ſetting ſail with a fair wind, he landed at Brunduſium without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. While his troops were refreſhing themſelves there, he was joined by Metellus with a large body of new-levied forces. Marcus Craſſus, proſcribed by Marius and Cinna, had joined him before, but now left his camp, and re-

turned to it in a little time with a great number of troops he had levied by his own credit and that of his friends; and he afterwards ſhared with him in all the glories and dangers of the war. But of all the ſuccours which Sylla received on this occaſion, none gave him ſo much pleaſure as that brought him by Cneius Pompey, afterwards called Pompey the Great, and at that time ſcarce twenty-three years of age. His army conſiſted of three legions; and he had been obliged to fight his way in coming to Sylla, after giving Brutus, a leader in the other party, a complete overthrow. Sylla received Pompey with unuſual marks of diſtinction, and gave him the title of *Imperator*, though he had not yet ſat in the ſenate, and though this title was never beſtowed upon any but ſuch generals as had gained a victory. Pompey, being ſoon after ſent for to Rome, demanded the honours of a triumph. But Sylla refuſed his requeſt, and ſaid, that as he had not yet filled any of the great employments of the ſtate, and was even too young to be admitted into the ſenate, it did not become him to ſue for an honour, which was beſtowed upon none but conſuls, prætors, or dictators. Pompey turning round to his friends, ſaid with an audible voice, "The ſun, at its riſing, is always more worſhipped, than at its ſetting." Sylla, ſtruck with the ſpirit and boldneſs of theſe words, immediately altered his reſolution, and cried, "Let him triumph."

GREAT, however, as was Sylla's popularity, and numerous and reſpectable as were his friends, he ſeemed at preſent to be altogether incapable of coping with his adverſaries. His army conſiſted but of 30,000 men, whereas that of the enemy amounted to no leſs than 200,000 foot, and a large body of cavalry. As force, therefore, would not do, he reſolved to employ ſtratagem. He propoſed an accommodation, and a ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed on. His men taking advantage of this circumſtance, went frequently into the camp of Scipio, the conſul, under pretence of viſiting their friends, but in reality to corrupt them; and this they did ſo effectually, that the whole army deſerted to Sylla; nor was Scipio informed of his being forſaken and depoſed, till a party of the enemy entering his tent, made both him and his ſon priſoners. Sylla generouſly gave them their liberty, after having extorted a promiſe from them, that they would never again bear arms againſt him. The enemy, however, had ſtill ſeveral armies on foot, greatly ſuperior to that of Sylla; and between theſe and that general, ſome very deſperate and bloody engagements took place, and always to the advantage of the latter. At length young Marius, who had ſucceeded his father, being totally

totally defeated in a great battle, ſhut himſelf up in Prænesſte, which was immediately inveſted. Several attempts were made to relieve the place; but in a little time, the inhabitants were reduced to ſuch extremities, that they were obliged to ſurrender, and were all maſſacred but the women and children. Marius, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, put an end to his own life. Sylla having now triumphed over all oppoſition, entered the city at the head of his army; and immediately began thoſe murders and proſcriptions, which have ever ſince rendered him an object of horror to every feeling mind. Six thouſand men, who had eſcaped the general carnage, offered themſelves to the conqueror. He ordered them to be put into the Villa Publica, a large houſe in the Campus Martius; and at the ſame time convoked the ſenate. There he ſpoke with great fluency, and in a manner no way diſcompoſed, of his own exploits; and in the mean time gave private directions, that all thoſe wretches, whom he had confined, ſhould be ſlain. The ſenate, amazed at the horrid outcries of the ſufferers, at firſt thought that the city had been given up to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarraſſed countenance, told them, that it was only ſome criminals who were to be puniſhed by his orders, and that the ſenate ought not to be uneaſy at their fate. The day after, he proſcribed forty ſenators and ſixteen hundred knights; and two days after that the like number of ſenators, with a multitude of the richeſt citizens.

THE ſons and grandſons of the proſcribed were declared infamous. He ordained, by a public edict, that all who ſaved any perſon ſpecified in the proſcription, ſhould themſelves be included in it. Such ſlaves as aſſaſſinated their maſters were richly recompenſed for their treachery and cruelty; and to the diſgrace of human nature, children were ſeen, their hands ſtill reeking with the blood of their fathers, coming to aſk a reward for having put them to death. Even the poſſeſſion of a large eſtate was now conſidered as an inexpiable crime. Quintus Aurelius, a peaceable citizen, who had always lived in a happy obſcurity, alike unknown to Marius or Sylla, ſeeing his name in the proſcribed liſt, could not help exclaiming, that he owed his death to his fine houſe at Alba. He had not proceeded above a ſtep or two farther, when he was aſſaſſinated by a man who had been ſent thither for that purpoſe. In a word, nothing was now heard of but murders and proſcriptions; and no man could be ſure of his life even for a moment.

BUT Sylla did not confine his cruelty to particular perſons. He extended it to cities, and even to whole ſtates. He ſeized

all the poſſeſſions, houſes, and territories of ſuch cities, as, during the civil war, had declared for Marius. Theſe he beſtowed on his ſoldiers, and by that means attached them more firmly to his intereſt. But as theſe uſurpations promiſed not to be permanent, thoſe who found their account in them, recommended it to Sylla to aſſume the power and dignity of dictator, in order to give his act the force of laws, and the appearance of juſtice. Sylla took their advice, and cauſed himſelf to be created perpetual dictator; and in this manner the Romans fell again under the dominion of one man, though Sylla, to take away the odium of the deed, had the art to conceal his monarchical power under another name. But the Romans were too ſenſible not to perceive, that, under old and well known names, a new power had ſtarted up in the ſtate, that was altogether incompatible with freedom.

CHAP. XX.

From the perpetual Dictatorſhip of SYLLA, *to the Triumvirate of* CÆSAR, POMPEY, *and* CRASSUS.

[ANN. ROM. 672.]

SYLLA being now inveſted with abſolute and unlimited power, proceeded to exerciſe it in a moſt tyrannical manner. He changed the form of government as it ſuited his convenience, aboliſhed old laws, enacted new ones, ſeized upon the public treaſure, and diſpoſed arbitrarily of the eſtates of his fellow-citizens, the beſt part of which he gave to Craſſus, who thereby became the richeſt man in Rome. The dictator, who was as kind to his friends as he was cruel to his enemies, took a pleaſure in laviſhing the treaſures of the republic upon thoſe who had followed his fortune; but then he expected from them the moſt implicit ſubmiſſion. There were ſome, however, that could not be brought to bend their necks to the yoke that was now impoſed upon them; and of this number was Julius, though then but a ſtripling. Sylla had commanded him to divorce his wife, Cornelia, who was daughter to Cinna; but Cæſar refuſed to comply, and

and Sylla therefore reſolved to proſcribe him. But from this cruel reſolution he was at laſt diverted by the remonſtrances of Cæſar's friends, who obſerved, that Sylla could have nothing to fear from one who was ſo very young. "You may think ſo," ſaid Sylla; "but I ſee many Mariuſes in that young man;" an obſervation that ſhews Sylla to have been a good judge of human characters. Cæſar's friends, however, became ſo apprehenſive for his perſonal ſafety, that they compelled him to leave Italy, and he did not return to it till after Sylla's death.

The dictator now proceeded to regulate the civil government. He added three hundred knights to the ſenate, which had been very much thinned by the late wars; and at the ſame time he retrenched the power of the knights as a body. He enrolled among the people ten thouſand of the ſlaves of the proſcribed, giving them their freedom, calling them Cornelii after his own name; and he aſſigned large tracts of land to the different legions, in order the more ſtrongly to bind them to his intereſt. He afterwards enacted ſeveral laws for reſtraining the ambition of ſuch as were deſirous of riſing to the firſt employments of the ſtate without paſſing through the inferior ones; and, at the ſame time, to leſſen the authority of the tribunes, he decreed, that whoever had once held that office, ſhould be incapable of poſſeſſing any other. Sylla was not equally indulgent to all thoſe who diſputed his authority, as he had been to young Cæſar; for when Lucretius Offella, who had rendered him the moſt important ſervices, particularly at the ſiege of Præneſte, put up for the conſulſhip contrary to his order, Sylla cauſed him inſtantly to be murdered in the Forum.

ROME was engaged in very few foreign tranſactions during the dictatorſhip of Sylla. The principal one was a ſecond war with Mithridates, occaſioned by the ambition of Murena, whom Sylla had left as his lieutenant in Aſia. Murena, eager for the honour of a triumph, contrived to excite a rupture between that prince and the Romans. He had the mortification, however, to ſee himſelf at laſt overcome, and Mithridates concluded a freſh peace with the Romans.

SYLLA ſeemed now to have eſtabliſhed his authority upon ſo firm a foundation, that he might poſſibly have enjoyed it till his dying day, when, to the ſurpriſe of all the world, he laid it down before he had poſſeſſed it for the ſpace of three years. This he even did in the preſence of the people, whom he offered to make judges of his late conduct, and to ſubmit to whatever ſentence they ſhould think proper to give. Having diſmiſſed his lictors, he continued to walk for ſome time in

in the Forum, unattended and alone. At the approach of evening, he retired homewards, the people following him all the way in a kind of ſilent aſtoniſhment mixed with reſpect. Of all that multitude, which he had ſo often terrified and abuſed, none was found hardy enough to reproach him, except one young man, who purſued him with inſulting language to his own door. Sylla diſdained replying to ſo mean an adverſary; but to thoſe who attended him, obſerved, this fellow's inſolence would, for the future, prevent any man from laying down an office of ſo great power. It is difficult to find out the real reaſon of Sylla's abdication. His friends aſcribed it to his magnanimity; his enemies, to his fear, as if he apprehended, that ſome bold ſpirit might one day ariſe, who, at the hazard of his own life, might deprive the dictator both of his life and of empire. It is an error with hiſtorians to aſcribe all the public actions of great men to public motives, whereas many of them are owing to private conſiderations; and it is not improbable that Sylla, feeling the advances of that loathſome and mortal diſeaſe, the *morbus pedicularis*, under which he had long laboured, to be ſo rapid, was willing to deſcend from his exalted ſtation before he became incapable of diſcharging the duties annexed to it. Be this as it will, certain it is that he ſoon after died of that ſhocking diſtemper. His body, according to the directions he had left in his will, was burned inſtead of being buried; and this was probably done to prevent its meeting with the treatment he had given to that of Marius, which he had cauſed to be dug out of its grave, and thrown into the river Anio, A little before his death he compoſed his own epitaph, the tenor of which was, That no man had ever exceeded him in doing good to his friends, or harm to his enemies.

THE death of Sylla was no ſooner known, than the two factions that had been kept in awe by the terror of his name, began to break out into the moſt violent exceſſes. Inſtead of being reſtrained, they were not only encouraged, but even headed by the two conſuls, Catulus and Lepidus, who were men of directly oppoſite principles. Lepidus was for annulling all the acts of Sylla, and recalling the exiled Marians; but in this he was oppoſed by his colleague Catulus, whoſe father had been condemned to die by Marius, and who was therefore averſe to the reſtoring power to a party, that had proved ſo fatal to his family Lepidus, thus finding it impoſſible to attain his ends by gentle means, reſolved to proceed to the utmoſt extremities. He accordingly retired to his government of Gaul, with intent to raiſe a force ſufficient to overcome all oppoſition; but the report of his levies and military

litary preparations there gave ſuch umbrage to the ſenate, that they ſoon deprived him of his command. Upon this he advanced into Italy at the head of a numerous army; but being met near the Melvian bridge, within two miles of Rome, by Catulus and Pompey, who had been inveſted with the charge of defending the commonwealth, his forces were not only routed, but he was obliged to fly into Sardinia, where he ſoon after died of grief.

CESALPINE Gaul, however, ſtill remained in the hands of Brutus, his lieutenant, the father of him, who afterwards conſpired againſt Cæſar; and Pompey was ſent to reduce that province. This he ſoon did, and having taken Brutus in Modena, he cauſed him to be put to death. But the hopes of their party were not yet extinguiſhed. They had ſtill a zealous and a powerful friend in Spain. This was Sertorius, who had been bred under Marius, and acquired all the virtues of that able ſoldier, without being infected with any of his vices. He was juſt, temperate, and brave; and his military knowledge was confeſſedly ſuperior to that of any other general of his time. Upon the turn of the Marian party, he had fallen into the hands of Sylla, who diſmiſſed him with life, on account of his known moderation; yet ſoon after repenting of his clemency, he proſcribed, and drove him to the neceſſity of taking refuge in a remote province. He accordingly retired to Spain, where he was joined by all thoſe that eſcaped the cruelty of Sylla. Theſe he formed into a ſenate, that gave laws to the whole province; and by his humane behaviour he ſo gained the hearts of the warlike inhabitants, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army, which enabled him, for the ſpace of eight years, to ſet at defiance the whole power of Rome. Metellus, an old and experienced general, was firſt ſent againſt him; but was ſo often worſted by the ſuperior talents of his opponent, that the ſenate thought it neceſſary to ſend their favourite Pompey to his aſſiſtance with the beſt troops of the empire. Sertorius, however, ſtill maintained his ground againſt both of them, and perhaps would have prevailed in the conteſt, had he not been treacherouſly murdered by one of his own lieutenants, named Perpenna, who had lately joined him with the remains of Lepidus's army. But it was not long before the traitor met with the puniſhment he ſo richly deſerved. Pompey took him priſoner, and put him to death; and this he did notwithſtanding the offer Perpenna made him of putting into his hands the papers of Sertorius, by which it would have been eaſy to diſcover the correſpondence between that general and the principal men at Rome. Far from making an ungenerous

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uſe of theſe papers, Pompey would not even read them, but committed them to the flames. And this act of magnanimity, which was no leſs prudent than magnanimous, tended ſtill farther to increaſe his reputation.

IN a little time he had an opportunity of gaining freſh popularity by finiſhing the war againſt the ſlaves. This war was excited by one Spartacus, who, in the conduct of it, ſhewed himſelf poſſeſſed of a degree of courage beyond what could be expected from a man of his low condition. Having eſcaped from Capua with about ſeventy of his companions, he exhorted them to ſacrifice their lives in ſupport of liberty, rather than in ſerving as a ſpectacle to the inhumanity of their maſters. They embraced the propoſal, and wandering through the country, and increaſing their numbers every day, they commenced a dangerous war in Italy. The ſenate, deſpiſing ſo mean an enemy, ſent at firſt but a few troops, commanded by two prætors, againſt them, thinking it would degrade the dignity of the commonwealth to oppoſe the legions to a herd of ſlaves and vagabonds. But Spartacus cut to pieces all that were ſent him; and the ſenate, enraged at this loſs and diſgrace, ordered the conſuls, each with a conſiderable army, to take the field againſt the enemy. The conſuls, vainly thinking that a body of ſlaves would never dare to withſtand the legions, began at firſt to march without order. But Spartacus, taking advantage of this piece of imprudence, made ſo ſkilful a choice of his ground, and led on his men with ſo much bravery, that the Roman ſoldiers were inſtantly put to flight. The conſuls endeavoured to rally them in the beſt manner they could, and came to a ſecond engagement, but with as little ſucceſs as before. The news of theſe two victories raiſed the reputation of Spartacus ſo high, that peaſants, ſlaves, outlaws, and deſerters, began to flock to his ſtandard from all quarters, and he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of an army 120,000 ſtrong. The ſenate, beginning to fear even for the fate of Rome itſelf, ſent Craſſus, the proconſul of Apulia, to make head againſt the enemy. Upon the arrival of this general, the face of affairs was immediately changed. Craſſus began by reſtoring diſcipline among the troops; and theſe ſoon found, that, under ſuch a commander, they muſt either conquer or die. After cutting in pieces about ten thouſand of the enemy, whom he ſurpriſed while they were foraging, he defeated the main army of Spartacus in a pitched battle. This gladiator, with ſuch of his troops as had eſcaped the ſlaughter, attempted to croſs over into Sicily; but was inveſted in his own camp. Finding it impoſſible to elude the purſuit of the enemy, he reſolved

ſolved once more to try the iſſue of a battle. He accordingly drew up his troops in the moſt maſterly manner. A horſe being brought him juſt as the action was going to begin, he drew his ſword and killed it; and then turning to his men, ſaid "If I am victorious, I ſhall not want a horſe; if I am not, I do not intend to make uſe of one." His men, animated by his example, fought like lions. Victory was for a long time doubtful; at length the valour of the legions prevailed; and a cruel ſlaughter was made of theſe vagabonds. Spartacus, being wounded in the thigh with a javelin, defended himſelf bravely on his knees, holding his ſhield in one hand, and his ſword in the other; but being at laſt covered with wounds, he fell on a heap, either of the Romans whom he had ſacrificed to his fury, or of his own ſoldiers, who had loſt their lives in his defence. Such as eſcaped rallied afterwards, and were all ſlaughtered by Pompey, who met them in the Alps, as he was returning from Spain. From this action, however, he could claim no great honour, as the ſlaves were effectually ſubdued before he encountered them. But as vanity was his ruling paſſion, he could not refrain, in his letter to the ſenate, from magnifying the advantage he had lately obtained. "Craſſus," ſaid he, "has gained a victory over the ſlaves, but I have deſtroyed the very ſeeds of rebellion." In a word, he wanted to make the people believe, that nothing could be well executed, in which he had not either the principal, or at leaſt a very conſiderable ſhare; and to ſay the truth, they were but too apt to be of the ſame opinion. It was no doubt from perſuaſion of this kind that they now entruſted him with the conduct of the war againſt the pirates. Theſe were a ſet of outlaws, the refuſe and outcaſts of all nations, who firſt began to harbour on the coaſts of Cilicia, and were originally poſſeſſed but of a ſmall number of veſſels; but having at length gained the protection of Mithridates, they attained in time to ſuch a degree of power as to keep all the neighbouring ſtates under alarm. They even extended their depredations as far as Italy, into which they ventured to make ſeveral incurſions, defeated ſome prætors and other commanders, and carried off an immenſe booty. In order to repreſs ſuch troubleſome viſitors, Pompey was now created admiral, and inveſted with full power by the tribunes; a circumſtance that by no means was agreeable to the ſenate, who began to be jealous of the growing reputation of this popular general. The people, however, regardleſs of their diſpleaſure, allowed him 500 ſhips, 120,000 foot, 5000 horſe, 6000 attic talents, and the power of chuſing 15 lieutenants out of the ſenate. But now ſeveral members of that body,

body, provoked at the little reſpect that was ſhewn to their remonſtrances, openly accuſed Pompey of aſpiring to ſovereign power, and one of them in particular told him to his face, that ſince he imitated the pride and haughtineſs of Romulus, he might poſſibly one day meet with his fate. Several other ſenators likewiſe harangued the people in order to diſſuade them from giving ſo much power to a ſingle man; but all their remonſtrances produced no effect. In this manner the commons, who, on other occaſions, were ſo jealous of their liberty, being now ſeduced by their tribunes, were running faſt into ſlavery; and Pompey, had he pleaſed, might eaſily have made himſelf maſter of the government. But, happily for his country, he was more vain than ambitious; and could he have the reputation of being the firſt man in the ſtate, he never thought of converting his power to his own private advantage. Happily likewiſe for him, and alſo for the people, the event of the war againſt the pirates anſwered their moſt ſanguine expectations. Pompey watched them ſo narrowly, and harraſſed them ſo inceſſantly, that after killing about ten thouſand of them, he compelled the reſt to ſubmit. This ſucceſs induced the people not only to perpetuate, but likewiſe to increaſe his authority. Manilius, a tribune, and one of his creatures, propoſed a law, that all the armies of the Romans, together with the command of all Aſia, and the conduct of the war againſt Mithridates and Tigranes, ſhould be committed to Pompey alone; and this too, although Lucullus, a great general, was at that time inveſted with the latter command, and had acquired much glory in the management of the war. Pompey was likewiſe continued in the poſt of admiral. This was giving him the whole force of the ſtate both by ſea and land, and beſtowing upon him the real power though not the title of king. The ſenate, however, did not ſuffer this law to paſs without oppoſition; but nevertheleſs it was at laſt carried. Even Cicero declared in favour of it. In a ſpeech, which he made on the occaſion, he ſaid, "That it would not only be for the intereſt of the commonwealth to have a general inveſted with ſo large a power; but that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make choice of Pompey, preferably to any other man, as he was eminently poſſeſſed of the four great qualifications requiſite in a commander, namely, judgment, bravery, authority, and ſucceſs; all which he had glorioufly diſplayed in the wonderful exploits he had already performed." It is ſaid, that Cæſar, who had lately been quæſtor, approved of this appointment, and chiefly with a view to accuſtom the people to ſuch ſupreme authority, when he ſhould come to demand it.

None

None of the ſenators had the courage to oppoſe it, but Hortenſius and Catulus. The latter even ventured to upbraid the people with their ungenerous treatment of Lucullus; and at the ſame time repreſented to them the many glorious exploits he had achieved in the courſe of the war. He obſerved, that this general, by a ſignal victory, had prevented the city of Cyzicenians from being beſieged both by ſea and land; that he had defeated Mithridates ſeveral times, and vanquiſhed Tigranes, the moſt powerful monarch of the eaſt. Perceiving, however, that the people were diſpleaſed with his diſcourſe, he turned to the ſenate, and raiſing his voice with an air of indignation; "Let us leave," ſaid he, "fathers, a city that is now going to be delivered up to tyrants; and let us fly to ſome deſert, where we may preſerve the liberty we have received from our anceſtors." But theſe generous words made no impreſſion on the minds of his hearers. The decree was confirmed by all the tribes; and the people gave, of their own accord, as great authority to Pompey as ever Sylla had acquired by all his acts of violence.

To juſtify the good opinion which his friends had conceived of him, he immediately ſet out for the proſecution of the war. But, to ſhew his moderation, he began by ſending ambaſſadors to Mithridates with propoſals of peace. Theſe, however, the Aſiatic prince rejected, in expectation of ſuccours, which he hoped to receive from Phraates, king of the Parthians; but hearing afterwards, that that prince had concluded a league with the Romans, he ſent ambaſſadors, in his turn, to beg a peace from Pompey. Pompey commanded him to diſband his forces, and deliver the deſerters that had taken refuge in his army. This was a condition, with which Mithridates could not comply. On the contrary, he fell into a paſſion when it was communicated to him, and he loudly exclaimed, that he would be at eternal enmity with the Romans on account of their inſatiable avarice. Pompey afterwards marched into Galatia, where he had an interview with Lucullus. The two generals at firſt treated each other with much ſeeming politeneſs; but at laſt Lucullus, unable any longer to contain his reſentment, told Pompey, "that he never ſought to go againſt any enemies but thoſe who were already enfeebled; and that like thoſe cowardly birds that fed only on dead carcaſſes, it was his conſtant cuſtom to make his appearance at the end of every war, in order to reap the benefits of the victories which other generals had gained." Pompey, exaſperated at theſe reproaches, retorted on Lucullus, "that he had not ſo much conquered as laid waſte Aſia, the riches of which he had appropriated to himſelf; that he had made

made war only for the ſake of plunder, and in a piratical manner; that he had indeed gained ſome victories, but had never compleated any, and had left them unfiniſhed purpoſely with a view to have an opportunity of ſoliciting a continuance of his command, and that he might be the better able to carry on his rapines, which had rendered him odious even to his own ſoldiers." Theſe violent reproaches were altogether unmerited, and the two generals parted with expreſſions of mutual enmity. Lucullus continued to iſſue orders in his own name; but Pompey forbidding them by his edicts, annulled all his acts; and at laſt contrived to draw away from him the greateſt part of his army. Lucullus then returned to Rome, where, in ſpite of the cabals of Pompey and his adherents, he was honoured with a triumph. He brought with him a great number of valuable books, of which he formed a library, that was always at the ſervice of his friends. His triumph was one of the moſt ſplendid that had ever been ſeen. There were exhibited in it, among other things, a ſtatue of Mithridates of ſolid gold, ſix feet high; and his ſhield enriched with a number of precious ſtones. After this he ſpent the reſt of his time in a private manner, if that indeed could be called private, which attracted the attention of all thoſe around him. The luxuries of his table indeed were not above the extent of his fortune; for that was immenſe: but they were certainly above the manners of a virtuous Roman; and they were always equally great whether he had company or not. One day that he was without any, his ſteward cauſed a ſupper to be ſerved up, which was leſs ſumptuous than uſual. Lucullus finding fault with it, the ſteward ſaid, that he expected no company. "Do you not know," ſaid his maſter, "that Lucullus to-night is to ſup with Lucullus?" And hence it was that this general contributed more than any other man to corrupt the manners of his countrymen. And indeed this has always been the conſequence of introducing the obſervance of Aſiatic manners into Europe. They firſt corrupted the taſte of the Greeks, afterwards that of the Romans; and it is to be wiſhed, that they may not one day corrupt ours.

THE power of Mithridates had been reduced very low by Lucullus before the arrival of Pompey, who no ſooner aſſumed the command of the army, than he continued to purſue him with ſuch unremitted diligence, that he at laſt compelled him to come to an engagement by night, before he had time to paſs the Euphrates. In this action, it is ſaid, that the moon ſhining from behind the army, lengthened their ſhadows ſo much, that the archers of Mithridates ſhot their arrows

arrows at theſe, miſtaking them for the bodies of the enemy. Be this as it will, certain it is, that the Aſiatic ſoldiers could not withſtand the force of the European infantry. They immediately took to flight, and were purſued with terrible ſlaughter. Being thus again overthrown, with the loſs of almoſt all his forces, and finding himſelf hemmed in on every ſide by the Romans, he made a deſperate effort, at the head of eight hundred horſe, to break through them; and thus effected his eſcape, though with the loſs of no leſs than five hundred of his followers. After this he continued to wander through the vaſt foreſts that covered the country, leading his horſe in his hand, and ſubſiſting on whatever fruits he happened to find on his way.

AT length he had the good fortune to fall in with about three thouſand of his ſoldiers who had eſcaped the general maſſacre, and by them was conducted to one of the magazines, where he had depoſited his treaſures. He then thence took the ſum of ſix thouſand talents, (about nine hundred thouſand pounds) a ſupply of infinite ſervice to a fugitive prince. Diſappointed on this ſide, ſtill, however, he would not deſpair, but fled to Colchis, a ſtate which had formerly owned his authority. Being purſued thither alſo by Pompey, he retired into Scythia, where he perſuaded ſeveral of the princes of that country to promiſe him their aſſiſtance by giving them his daughters in marriage. It was here he is ſaid to have formed the ſcheme of marching into Europe, and, croſſing the Alps as Hannibal had done before him, of carrying his arms into Italy, and attacking the Romans in the very center of their empire; but this was too grand and difficult an undertaking to be reliſhed by his ſoldiers, who immediately deſerted him; and the old monarch, being now reduced to deſpair, after making away with his wives and daughters, put an end to his own life by running upon the ſword of one of his officers.

THE death of Mithridates left Pompey at leiſure to carry his arms ſtill farther into the eaſt; and after ſubduing a number of petty princes, he at laſt advanced into Judæa, where Ariſtobulus had uſurped the government and prieſthood from his elder brother Hyrcanus. Pompey reſtored Hyrcanus to his birth-right, and took Ariſtobulus with him, to grace his triumph on his return. But while Rome was thus extending her dominions abroad, ſhe was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger from a conſpiracy at home. This conſpiracy was projected and carried on by Lucius Cataline, a man deſcended from an illuſtrious family, endued with great vigour both of body and mind, but of a moſt vicious and abandoned character.

ter. From his youth he took delight in civil wars, maſſacres, depredations, and inteſtine broils; and in theſe he had ſpent the beſt part of his younger days. He was capable of enduring cold, hunger, and fatigue to a degree that is incredible. His ſpirit was daring, ſubtle and inconſtant. He was thoroughly verſed in all the arts of deceit; covetous of the property of others; laviſh of his own; violent in his paſſions; and poſſeſſed of a ſufficient ſhare of eloquence, but of little or no wiſdom. Yet had he the art, when he choſe to exert it, of concealing all his vices, and even, on occaſion, putting on the appearance of virtue; ſo that he was able, at firſt, to engage the eſteem of ſome of the beſt and moſt worthy men of Rome. His character, however, at laſt, was ſufficiently known; and he was univerſally held in the greateſt deteſtation. He was accuſed of having debauched a veſtal virgin; he was ſuſpected of murdering his ſon, in order to make way for his marriage with an abandoned woman, who refuſed to accept his hand while the ſon was alive; and it was notorious that in the proſcription of Sylla, he had killed his own brother, the better to pay his court to that tyrant.

CATALINE having contracted a number of debts by his licentious conduct, was reſolved to extricate himſelf from them ſhould it even be by the ruin of his country. His firſt aim was upon the conſulſhip, in which, had he ſucceeded, he hoped he ſhould be able to repair his fortune by the plunder of the provinces; but in this he was fruſtrated. This diſgrace ſo incenſed a mind naturally violent, that he inſtantly entered into an aſſociation with Piſo and ſome others, overwhelmed with debts like himſelf, in which it was reſolved to kill the conſuls that had been lately elected, with ſeveral other ſenators, and to ſhare the government among themſelves. Theſe deſigns, however, were diſcovered before they were ripe for execution; and the ſenate took care to ſtifle them in their birth. Some time after, he again ſued for the conſulſhip, and was again unſucceſsful; the great Cicero, who afterwards made ſo capital a figure, being preferred before him. Enraged at theſe repeated diſappointments, he breathed nothing but vengeance: his deſign was, had he obtained the conſulſhip, and with it the command of the armies, to have ſeized upon the government, and cauſed himſelf, like Sylla or Marius, to be choſen dictator. At length his impatience became ſo great, that he could not wait the ripening of his ſchemes. He therefore formed the mad reſolution of uſurping the government, though as yet without means that were adequate to the effect. Many of thoſe who were in the former conſpiracy of Piſo, ſtill remained attached to his intereſts.

tereſts. Theſe he aſſembled to the number of thirty, and after painting in the ſtrongeſt colours, the power and riches of the great, and the poverty and miſery of the poor, he added, with an eloquence worthy of a better cauſe: "How long, brave and generous men, how long will you ſuffer ſuch indignities? Is it not better to die with honour, than to be the ſport of your equals, and drag out a wretched life in ſhame, to loſe it at length in torment? But wherefore, O ye immortal gods! ſhould I ſuppoſe you willing to do ſo, whilſt a happier fate attends you? The victory is in our own hands. We have on our ſide the vigour of youth and intrepid courage; whereas they have nothing but bodies worn out by years, and enfeebled with luxury. The queſtion is only to begin, the reſt will follow of courſe. What motives can be ſtronger than yours? For what man, if he deſerves that name, and has the ſpirit of a man, can bear to ſee their vaſt ſuperfluity of wealth, their endleſs profuſion in levelling mountains, and incloſing ſeas, with moles and banks, on which they erect magnificent buildings, whilſt we are in want, even of the common neceſſaries of life; whilſt they join houſe to houſe to form to themſelves ſuperb palaces, and we have ſcarce roofs to ſhelter us from the cold? They purchaſe paintings, ſtatues, and plate of great value; they demoliſh what they have built, and afterwards erect new edifices. In a word, they ſeem induſtriouſly to ſtrive with their riches, and by redoubled efforts to endeavour to annihilate them; yet all is in vain; let them indulge their capricious taſtes ever ſo much, they cannot ſucceed in exhauſting their treaſures.

"BUT as to us, within our houſes we find nothing but penury, and abroad meet none but creditors; our preſent ſituation extremely melancholy, that before us ſtill more dreadful. In fine, what is there that remains to us, but a miſerable exiſtence? Why, therefore, do you not awake? Behold the liberty you have ſo often deſerved; behold it offers itſelf to you, accompanied with riches, glory, and honours, the ſure rewards of victory. Could fortune propoſe to you any ſtronger motives? Do not conſider ſo much my words, as the things themſelves; the opportunity you have, the dangers you run, the indigence you ſuffer, the magnificent ſpoils you are ſure to gain; theſe ought to arouſe and animate you. Employ me in whatever you will, either as a general or a ſoldier. Neither my mind nor body ſhall be wanting to you. I hope ſoon, as conſul, to execute the projects I now mention, unleſs I am deceived in my expectation, and you prefer ſlavery to dominion."

HAVING

HAVING, by this ſpeech, brought them all over to his own way of thinking, the plan of their operations, and a day for the execution was fixed. It was reſolved that a general inſurrection ſhould be raiſed throughout Italy, the different parts of which were aſſigned to the different leaders. Rome was to be fired in ſeveral places at once; and Cataline, at the head of the army raiſed in Etruria, was, in the general confuſion, to poſſeſs himſelf of the city, and maſſacre all the ſenators. Lentulus, one of his profligate aſſiſtants, who now ſtood candidate for the prætorſhip, was to preſide in their general councils: Cethegus, a man of the moſt noble birth, and deſcended from an illuſtrious branch of the Cornelian family, was to direct the maſſacre in the city; and Caſſius was to conduct thoſe who fired it. But the vigilance of Cicero being a great obſtruction to the execution of their deſigns, Cataline was deſirous to have him taken off before he left Rome; upon which two knights of the company engaged to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early viſit on pretence. But the meeting no ſooner broke up, than Cicero was informed of all that had paſſed in it; for by means of a woman, named Fulvia, he prevailed on Curius, her lover, and one of the conſpirators, to ſend him a particular of all their deliberations. Having taken proper precautions to guard himſelf againſt the deſigns of the morning, he next reſolved to provide for the defence of the city; and aſſembling the ſenate, conſulted with them what was beſt to be done at this critical juncture. The firſt ſtep taken was to offer conſiderable rewards for further diſcoveries, and then to prepare for the defence of the ſtate. Cataline, whoſe impudence was equal to his villany, came boldly into the ſenate, and attempted to juſtify his conduct; but Cicero, provoked at his effrontery, broke out into a moſt violent invective againſt him; and the ſpeech he made on this occaſion is the firſt of thoſe that are commonly called Cicero's four orations againſt Cataline. The traitor, now overwhelmed with a conſciouſneſs of guilt, and confounded at the frowns of the whole aſſembly, which he ſaw directed againſt him, broke furiouſly out of the ſenate, exclaiming, that ſince he was denied a vindication of himſelf, and driven headlong by his enemies, he would extinguiſh the flame which was raiſed around him, ſhould the conſequence prove to be univerſal ruin. After a ſhort conference with his aſſociates, he left Rome by night, and, with a ſmall retinue, directed his courſe towards Etruria, where Manlius, one of the conſpirators, was raiſing an army to ſupport him.

IN the mean time Cicero took proper precautions to ſecure all thoſe of the conſpiracy who remained in Rome. Lentulus, Cethegus,

Cethegus, Statilius, and ſeveral others, were put into confinement; and Cicero aſſembled the ſenate to deliberate concerning the puniſhment that ought to be inflicted upon them. Silanus, the conſul elect, declared for their being put to death; and his opinion was followed by all thoſe who ſpoke after him, till it came to the turn of Cæſar, when that demagogue, who was ſuppoſed himſelf to wiſh well to the conſpiracy, addreſſed the aſſembly in the following terms:

"IT is the duty of all men, conſcript fathers, in their deliberations upon ſubjects of a doubtful nature, to guard themſelves againſt hatred and affection, againſt pity and revenge. The mind, when clouded with theſe paſſions, cannot eaſily diſcern the truth; nor has any one ever gratified his own headſtrong inclinations, and at the ſame time anſwered any valuable purpoſe. When we exerciſe our reaſon, it has ſufficient force; but when paſſion poſſeſſes us, it bears ſovereign ſway, and reaſon is of no avail. I could produce a great many inſtances of kings and ſtates purſuing wrong meaſures, when influenced by reſentment or compaſſion. But I would rather ſet before you the example of our forefathers, and ſhew how they acted, in oppoſition to the impulſes of paſſion, but agreeably to wiſdom and ſound policy.

"IN the war which we carried on with Perſes, king of Macedonia, Rhodes, a great and flouriſhing ſtate, which owed all its proſperity to the aid of Rome, proved faithleſs, and became our enemy. But when the war was ended, and the conduct of the Rhodians came to be taken into conſideration, our anceſtors pardoned them, that none might ſay the war had been undertaken more with a view of ſeizing on their riches, than of puniſhing their bad conduct. In all the Punic wars too, though the Carthaginians, both in time of peace, and even during a truce, had often inſulted us in the moſt outrageous manner; yet our anceſtors never took any opportunity of retaliating; conſidering more what was worthy of themſelves, than what might in juſtice be done againſt them.

"IN like manner, conſcript fathers, you ought to take care that the wickedneſs of Lentulus and the reſt of the conſpirators weigh not more with you, than a regard to your own honour; and that while you gratify your reſentment, you do not loſe your reputation. If a puniſhment indeed can be invented adequate to their crimes, I heartily approve of it; but if the enormity of their guilt is ſuch, that human ingenuity cannot find out a chaſtiſement proportioned to it, my opinion is, that we ought to be contented with ſuch as the law has provided.

"MOST of thoſe, who have ſpoken before, have, in a pompous and affecting manner, lamented the misfortune of the republic: they have enumerated all the calamities of war, and the many diſtreſſes of the conquered; virgins raviſhed; youths unnaturally abuſed; children torn from the embraces of their parents; matrons forced to bear the brutal inſults of victorious ſoldiers; temples and private houſes plundered; all places filled with flames and ſlaughter; and nothing to be ſeen but arms, carcaſſes, blood, and lamentations.

"BUT, in the name of the immortal gods, to what purpoſe were ſuch affecting ſtrains? Was it to inſpire you with an abhorrence of the conſpiracy? as if he, whom ſo daring and atrocious an attempt cannot move, were to be inflamed by the breath of eloquence. No; this is not the way; nor do injuries appear to any one that ſuffers them; many ſtretch them beyond their due ſize. But, conſcript fathers, different allowances are to be made to different men. When ſuch as live in obſcurity are prompted by paſſions to the commiſſion of any crime, there are few who know it; their reputation and fortune being upon a level: but thoſe who are inveſted with great power, are placed upon an eminence, and their actions viewed by all; and thus, the leaſt allowance is made to the higheſt dignity. There muſt be no partiality, no hatred, much leſs any reſentment or animoſity in ſuch a ſtation. What paſſes for paſſion in others, is conſidered, in men in power, as pride and cruelty.

"As for me, conſcript fathers, I look upon all tortures as far ſhort of what theſe criminals deſerve. But moſt men remember beſt what happened laſt; and forgetting the guilt of wicked men, talk only of their puniſhment, if more ſevere than ordinary. I am convinced what D. Silanus, that brave and worthy man, ſaid, proceeded from his zeal for the ſtate, and that he was neither biaſſed by partiality nor enmity; ſuch is his integrity and moderation, as I well know. But his propoſal appears to me, not indeed cruel, (for againſt ſuch men what can be cruel?) but contrary to the ſpirit of our government.

"SURELY, Silanus, you were urged by fear, or the enormity of the crime, to propoſe a puniſhment quite new. How groundleſs ſuch fear is, it is needleſs to ſhew; eſpecially when, by the diligence of ſo able a conſul, ſuch powerful forces are provided for our ſecurity. And as to the puniſhment, we may ſay, what indeed is the truth, that to thoſe who live in ſorrow and miſery, death is but a releaſe from trouble; that it is death which puts an end to all the calamities of men, beyond which there is no room either for care or joy. But

why,

why, in the name of the immortal gods, did you not add to your propoſal, that they ſhould be puniſhed with ſtripes? was it becauſe the Porcian law forbids it? but there are other laws too, which forbid the putting to death a condemned Roman, and allow him the privilege of baniſhment. Or was it becauſe whipping is a more ſevere puniſhment than death? Can any thing be reckoned too cruel or ſevere againſt men convicted of ſuch treaſon? but if ſtripes are a lighter puniſhment, how is it reaſonable to obſerve the law in a matter of ſmall concern, and diſregard it in one that is of greater.

"BUT you will ſay, who will find fault with any puniſhment againſt traitors to the ſtate? I anſwer, time may, ſo may ſudden conjunctures; and fortune too, that governs the world at pleaſure. Whatever puniſhment is inflicted on theſe parricides, will be juſtly inflicted. But take care, conſcript fathers, how your preſent decrees may affect poſterity. All bad precedents ſpring from good beginnings; but when the adminiſtration is in the hands of bad or ignorant men, theſe precedents, at firſt juſt, are transferred from proper and deſerving objects, to ſuch as are not ſo.

"THE Lacedæmonians, when they had conquered the Athenians, placed thirty tyrants over them; who began their power by putting to death, without any trial, ſuch as were remarkably wicked, and univerſally hated. The people were highly pleaſed with this, and applauded the juſtice of ſuch executions. But when they had by degrees eſtabliſhed their lawleſs authority, they wantonly butchered both good and bad without diſtinction; and thus kept the ſtate in awe. Such was the ſevere puniſhment, which the people, oppreſſed with ſlavery, ſuffered for their fooliſh joy.

"IN our own times, when Sylla, after his ſucceſs, ordered Damaſippus, and others of the like characters, who had raiſed themſelves upon the ruins of their country, to be put to death; who did not commend him for it? All agreed, that ſuch wicked and factious men, who were conſtantly embroiling the ſtate, deſerved ſuch a puniſhment. Yet this was an introduction to a bloody maſſacre. For whoever coveted his neighbour's houſe, either in town or country, nay even any curious piece of plate, or fine raiment, took care to have the poſſeſſor of it put into the liſt of the proſcribed.

"THUS they who had rejoiced at the puniſhment of Damaſippus, were ſoon after dragged to death themſelves; nor was an end put to this butchery, till Sylla had glutted all his followers with riches. I do not apprehend any ſuch proceedings from Marcus Cicero, nor from theſe times. At

another time, and under another conſul, who may have an army too at his command, any falſehood may paſs for fact; and when, upon this precedent, the conſul ſhall, by a decree of the ſenate, draw the ſword, who is to ſet bounds to it? who to moderate its fury?

"OUR anceſtors, conſcript fathers, were never deficient either in courage or conduct; nor did they think it unworthy of them to imitate the cuſtoms of other nations, if they were good and uſeful. From the Samnites they learned the exerciſe of arms, and borrowed from them their weapons of war; and moſt of their enſigns of magiſtracy from the Tuſcans: in a word, they were very careful to practiſe whatever they found uſeful either among their allies or even their enemies; chuſing rather to imitate than envy what was excellent.

"Now in thoſe days, in imitation of the Greeks, they inflicted ſtripes on guilty citizens, and capital puniſhments on ſuch as were condemned. But when the commonwealth became great and powerful, and the vaſt number of citizens gave riſe to factions; when the innocent began to be circumvented, and other evils of the like nature to take place; then the Porcian and other laws were made, which provided no higher puniſhment than exile for the greateſt crimes. Theſe conſiderations, conſcript fathers, appear to me of the greateſt weight againſt our embracing any new reſolution on this occaſion. What! ſhall we diſcharge the conſpirators, you'll ſay, to reinforce Catiline's army? By no means; but my opinion is this; that their eſtates be confiſcated; their perſons cloſely confined in the ſtrongeſt towns of Italy; and that no one move the ſenate or the people for any favour towards them, under the penalty of being declared by the ſenate an enemy to the ſtate and to the general welfare."

THIS artful and plauſible harangue made a deep impreſſion upon the minds of the ſenators; many of them came over to Cæſar's way of thinking, and the criminals were upon the point of eſcaping with their lives: but this they were effectually prevented from doing by the firmneſs of Cato, who addreſſed the ſenate thus. "I muſt be of a very different mind, conſcript fathers, when I take a view, on the one hand, of our preſent ſituation, and the danger that ſurrounds us, and conſider, on the other, the propoſals made by ſome who have ſpoken before me. They ſeem to have reaſoned only about the puniſhment due to thoſe who have entered into a conſpiracy to make war upon their country, upon their parents, upon religion and private property; whereas our preſent circumſtances warn us rather to guard againſt them, than to conſider

ſider in what manner we ſhould puniſh them. You may take vengeance for other crimes, after they are committed; but if you do not prevent the commiſſion of this, it will be in vain for you afterwards to apply to the tribunals. When the city is once taken, nothing remains to the conquered.

"Now I conjure you, by the immortal gods, you, who have always ſet a greater value upon your houſes, ſtatues, and paintings, than upon the commonwealth; if you would preſerve theſe frivolous things, of which you are ſo fond; if you wiſh to have leiſure for the indulgence of your pleaſure; rouſe yourſelves at length, and undertake the defence of the republic. The queſtion is not now about the public revenues, nor about the oppreſſing of our allies: no; our liberties, our lives are in danger.

"OFTEN, conſcript fathers, have I ſpoke in this houſe; often have I complained of the luxury and avarice of our fellow citizens; and by that means have drawn upon me the hatred of many perſons. I, who never indulge myſelf in any vice, nor ever even cheriſh the thought of any, could not eaſily pardon the vices of others. And though you little regarded my remonſtrances, yet the commonwealth remained firm; her native ſtrength ſupported her, even under the negligence of her governors. But the preſent debate is not about the goodneſs or depravity of our morals; nor about the greatneſs or proſperity of the Roman empire: no; it is whether this empire, ſuch as it is, ſhall continue our own, or, together with ourſelves, fall a prey to the enemy.

"AND, in ſuch a caſe, will any one talk to me of gentleneſs or mercy? We have, indeed, long ſince loſt the true names of things; ſince to give away the property of others is called generoſity; to commit daring crimes is honoured with the appellation of courage; and hence it is, that the republic is reduced to the laſt extremity. Let them, ſince ſuch is the faſhion, be liberal out of the ſpoils of our allies; merciful to the plunderers of the treaſury; but let them not be prodigal of our blood, and by ſparing a few abandoned wretches, endanger the lives of all good men. Julius Cæſar has juſt now ſpoke with great ſtrengh and preciſion, concerning life and death; taking for a fiction, I ſuppoſe, the vulgar notion of an infernal world; where the bad, ſeparated from the good, are confined to dark, frightful, and melancholy abodes. Accordingly, his propoſal is, that their eſtates be confiſcated, and their perſons confined in the corporate towns; from an apprehenſion, I imagine, that, if they were kept at Rome, they might be reſcued by force, either by their fellow conſpirators, or by a mercenary mob; as if wicked and profligate

perſons were to be found only in this city, and not all over Italy; or as if deſperate attempts were not moſt likely to be made where there is leaſt force to prevent them.

"THIS then is a vain propoſal, if he fears any thing from them; but if amidſt ſo great and general a fear, he alone is without any, the more does it become me to be apprehenſive both for your ſafety and my own. Be aſſured, therefore, that, in determining the fate of Lentulus and the other priſoners, you likewiſe determine that of Catiline's army, and all the conſpirators. The more vigour and reſolution you exert, the leſs ſpirit and courage will they have; but if they perceive you in the leaſt remiſs, they will fall upon you with irreſiſtible fury.

"Do not think, it was by arms our anceſtors raiſed the ſtate from ſo ſmall beginnings to ſuch grandeur: if ſo, we ſhould be in a more flouriſhing condition, as having a greater number of allies and citizens, of arms and horſes, than they had. But there were other things that rendered them great, and which we are entirely without. They had induſtry at home, and juſt government abroad; they had minds free in council, that were influenced neither by crimes nor by paſſion. Inſtead of theſe virtues, we have luxury and avarice; public poverty and private wealth; we admire riches, and indulge ourſelves in idleneſs; we make no diſtinction between the virtuous and the vicious; and all thoſe things, that ought to be rewards of virtue, are poſſeſſed by ambition. Nor is this to be wondered at, whilſt each of you purſues his own private intereſt; whilſt at home you abandon yourſelves entirely to pleaſures, and here are led by nothing but avarice and connections; it is not, I ſay, to be wondered at, that attacks are made upon the defenceleſs republic. But of this I ſhall ſay no more.

"ROMANS of the higheſt quality have conſpired to deſtroy their country; and are endeavouring to perſuade the Gauls, the ſworn enemies of the Roman name, to join them. The commander of the enemy is hovering over us with an army; and yet at this very juncture you doubt and heſitate how to proceed againſt ſuch of the conſpirators as are ſeized within your walls. Would you extend your compaſſion towards them? Be it ſo; they are young men only, and have offended through ambition: nay ſend them away armed too: what would be the conſequence? Why this; when once they had got arms in their hands, they would ſoon make you repent of your lenity.

"OUR ſituation is indeed dangerous; but you are not afraid: yes, you are very much afraid; only from effeminacy and

and want of ſpirit, you remain in ſuſpenſe, waiting every one the motions of another; truſting perhaps to the immortal gods, who have often ſaved this commonwealth in the greateſt dangers. But the aſſiſtance of the gods is not obtained by idle vows and weak effeminate ſupplications: it is by vigilance, activity, and wiſe councils, that all things ſucceed; if you reſign yourſelves to ſloth and indolence, it will be in vain for you to implore the protection of the gods; you will only offend them, and make them your enemies.

"IN the days of our anceſtors, Manlius Torquatus, in a war with the Gauls, ordered his ſon to be put to death, for having engaged the enemy without orders; and thus a young man of great hopes was puniſhed for too much bravery. And do you demur about the doom of the moſt barbarous parricides?

"BUT perhaps you will urge another plea, and ſay, that the reſt of their lives has been ſuch, as ſhould make us extremely backward in believing them to be guilty of the crime, with which they are now charged. Shew, then, a tender regard for the dignity of Lentulus, if he himſelf has ever ſhewn any for his own chaſtity, for his own honour, for gods or for men: pardon Cethegus, on account of his youth, if this is not the ſecond time of his making war upon his country. For what need I mention Gabinius, Statilius, Cæparius? who, if they had been men of the leaſt reflection, would never have engaged in ſuch wicked deſigns againſt their country.

"FINALLY, conſcript fathers, were there any room at preſent for adopting a wrong meaſure, I ſhould ſuffer you to be corrected by the event, ſince you diſregard my reaſonings. But we are ſurrounded on all ſides: Catiline is hovering over our heads with an army; we have enemies within the walls, and in the very heart of the city. No preparations can be made, no meaſures taken, without their knowledge; and hence there is evidently the greater reaſon for diſpatch.

"MY opinion, therefore, is, that ſince, by a deteſtable combination of profligate citizens, the ſtate is brought into the greateſt danger; ſince they are convicted, by the cleareſt external evidence, as well as by their own confeſſion, to have entered into a conſpiracy for deſtroying their fellow citizens and native country by fire, ſlaughter, and other unheard of cruelties; my opinion, I ſay, is, that they ought to be led to immediate execution, according to the cuſtom of our anceſtors."

THIS ſpeech of Cato's not only effaced all the ſentiments of lenity that had been excited by Cæſar's harangue; but it brought the whole body of the ſenate to adopt the ſame

opinion, which Cato entertained; namely, that a capital puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the conſpirators. A reſolution accordingly was inſtantly taken for that purpoſe, and it was carried into effect that very evening; they were all of them ſtrangled in priſon.

IN the mean time Catiline, who had retired into Etruria, had aſſembled a body of about twelve thouſand men; but not more than one fourth of them were completely armed. He naturally hoped, if his ſchemes at Rome ſucceeded, that he ſhould ſoon ſee himſelf at the head of a numerous army; but hearing of the miſcarriage of all his projects there, and particularly of the execution of the conſpirators, his heart began to fail him, and he therefore endeavoured to eſcape into Gaul. This, however, he was prevented from doing by the activity of Antonius, the conſul, who hung upon his rear, whilſt Metellus Celer oppoſed him in front. Thus finding the utter impoſſibility of effecting a retreat, and expecting no mercy if he ſurrendered at diſcretion, he reſolved to try the fate of a battle. Accordingly, wheeling about, he ventured to engage the army of Antonius, which was commanded by his lieutenant, Petreius; for the conſul either had, or pretended to have the gout. The battle was ſhort, but deſperate and bloody. Catiline's army was entirely cut to pieces; himſelf, after the engagement, was found, at a diſtance from his own men, in the midſt of a heap of ſlaughtered enemies, whom he had ſacrificed to his fury. He ſtill breathed, and retained, even in his laſt moments, that air of haughtineſs and audacity, which had ſo ſtrongly characterized him during life.

THE extinction of this conſpiracy did not reſtore tranquillity to the republic. That ſtill continued to be diſturbed by the election of three much greater and more powerful men than Catiline. Theſe were Pompey, Cæſar, and Craſſus. Craſſus was the richeſt man in Rome, Pompey the moſt popular general, and Cæſar the ableſt commander, as well as the moſt artful politician. This celebrated man was deſcended from the ancient kings of Rome, by his mother's ſide, who ſprung from Ancus Marcius; and, by the father's ſide, he came from the Julian family, which he traced up to Venus, in order to throw the greater luſtre round his pedigree. He loſt his father at the age of ſixteen. Having divorced Coſſutia, his firſt wife, he married Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, who brought him Julia. Sylla did all that lay in his power to make him repudiate Cornelia; but finding him determined not to part with her, he decreed, that he ſhould be diveſted from the prieſthood; ſhould forfeit his wife's portion, and all the eſtates that might fall to him in her right; and he even

put

put him into the liſt of the proſcribed. To avoid the fury of ſo powerful a man, Cæſar was obliged for ſome time to abſcond; but at laſt he obtained a pardon, at the interceſſion of the veſtal virgins and of ſome other friends. It was with the utmoſt reluctance, however, that Sylla granted him this favour; and in granting it, he ſaid, "Do you not ſee, that there are many Marius's in that ſame Cæſar?" His firſt campaign was in Aſia, at his return from which he went to Rhodes, to complete his ſtudies. He then returned to Rome, where he was elected military tribune, and ſoon after quæſtor. It was in this capacity, that he went into Spain by the prætor's order, to viſit the aſſemblies there, and adminiſter juſtice. It is ſaid, that in paſſing by Cadiz, he entered the temple of Hercules, where ſeeing the picture of Alexander the Great, he could not help weeping, to think, that he had not performed any remarkable action at an age, when Alexander had conquered the world. At his return from Spain, he was appointed ædile, and afterwards pontifex maximus. This laſt office he had the addreſs to obtain in oppoſition to Lutatius Catulus and Servilius Iſauricus, both of whom were much older than he, and had done their country more ſignal ſervices. Some years after he was choſen prætor, and at the ſame time governor of Spain, whither he went to take upon him the government of the country; and he there conducted himſelf with ſo much ſpirit and prudence, that he greatly extended the limits of the province. Upon his return to Rome, he demanded both a triumph and the conſulſhip. But the obtaining theſe two honours at the ſame time, was by the laws impracticable; becauſe no man, that demanded a triumph, could enter Rome until he had obtained it; nor could any one ſtand candidate for the conſulſhip, unleſs he appeared in perſon, and conſequently unleſs he entered the city. Cæſar endeavoured, upon the preſent occaſion, to have theſe formalities diſpenſed with in his favour; but Cato inſiſting upon the ſtrict obſervance of the law, the other was obliged to give up his hopes of a triumph, and confine himſelf to the conſulſhip. His ambitious views now began to be pretty well known. No body doubted but he would willingly have put himſelf at the head of Catiline's conſpiracy, had it ſucceeded. But the ill ſucceſs of that black attempt, and the remembrance of the death of the two Gracchi, aſſaſſinated before the eyes of the populace who adored them, were ſufficient to convince him, that the favour of the people was not alone capable of protecting him from danger. He now plainly ſaw, that it would be impoſſible for him ever to ſeize upon the ſupreme power, unleſs he could obtain the command of the armies, and ſecure

to himſelf a greater number of friends than he yet had, and even to form a party in the ſenate. That aſſembly was now divided into two factions, one of which adhered to Pompey; and the other to Craſſus. Cæſar reconciled theſe rivals for power; and joining himſelf to them, they mutually agreed, that nothing ſhould thenceforth be done in the republic in oppoſition to their reſpective intereſts, or without receiving their conſent and approbation: and thus was formed what is uſually called the firſt triumvirate, which deſtroyed the power of the ſenate as well as that of the people, and was as real a combination againſt the liberties of Rome, as Catiline's conſpiracy, though it was not intended to be followed with ſuch ſlaughter and bloodſhed.

CHAP. XXI.

From the Beginning of the FIRST TRIUMVIRATE, *to the Death of* POMPEY.

[ANN. ROM. 694.]

THE firſt uſe which Cæſar made of his newly acquired power, was to get himſelf raiſed to the dignity of conſul by the intereſt of his two aſſociates, Pompey and Craſſus. In return for this favour, he took care to have all Pompey's acts confirmed. He next reſolved to gain the favour of the people; and with this view began to revive the Agrarian law. This, he knew, would be as agreeable to the inferior orders of the community, as it would be diſagreeable to the ſenate; and this was the very point he aimed at. He accordingly propoſed, that certain lands in Campania ſhould be divided among twenty thouſand of the poor citizens, who had three children or more. Nothing could be more reaſonable than ſuch a propoſal; and it was only criminal from the motive with which it was made. The ſenate, however, with their uſual pride and avarice, oppoſed it; but Cæſar was prepared for ſuch an oppoſition. He aſked Pompey and Craſſus what they thought of the law: they both heartily approved it; and Pompey in particular ſaid, that ſhould any man oppoſe it with his drawn ſword, he would not only unſheath his own, but would take up

up his ſhield to defend it. This deprived Pompey of all the influence he had formerly had in the ſenate; and Cæſar, being ſupported by the whole body of the people, not only cauſed his law to be paſſed, but compelled the few ſenators, that remained in the houſe (for the majority of them had retired) to take an oath, binding themſelves to the ſtrict obſervance of it. In a word, from this time he carried every thing before him; the other conſul, Bibulus, ſeldom appeared in public; ſo that it was jeſtingly called the conſulſhip of Julius and Cæſar, intimating that every thing was done by his authority.

HAVING thus ingratiated himſelf with the people, he next endeavoured to gain the favour of the knights, who were a very powerful body in the ſtate. They had long been the farmers of the public revenue, and by that means had acquired immenſe fortunes. At laſt, however, they began to complain that they were unable to pay the ſums they had promiſed. Cæſar, therefore, propoſed a law, eaſing them of a third part of their former diſburſements; and this, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the ſenate, he was able to carry. Having thus ſtrengthened himſelf at home, he next deliberated with his confederates about dividing among them the provinces of the empire; and each had the quarter that was moſt ſuited to his particular inclination. Pompey, fatigued with conqueſt, was deſirous of eaſe and tranquillity; Craſſus's ruling paſſion was the acquiſition of wealth; and Cæſar wiſhed to be placed in a ſcene, where he might have an opportunity of increaſing his military fame. The firſt, accordingly, choſe Spain for his province; the ſecond Syria; and the latter Gaul, which was inhabited by a great number of barbarous nations, moſt of them ſtill unſubdued, and the reſt only profeſſing a nominal ſubjection to the Romans. In this manner theſe three men divided the world among them, as if it had been their patrimonial eſtate; and Cato inveighing againſt this proſtitution of the commonwealth, Cæſar cauſed him to be thrown into priſon, though he afterwards releaſed him. Cicero too was very roughly treated. Cæſar naturally dreaded the great political talents, and ſtill more the unrivalled eloquence of this celebrated orator; and in order to take him out of the way, before he ſet out for his government of Gaul, he was not aſhamed to aſſociate himſelf with Clodius, Cicero's profeſſed enemy. As this is a very curious affair, it ought to be explained at ſome length. Clodius was a young man, handſome, rich, and eloquent, and a particular favourite of the people, whoſe intereſt he had always eſpouſed. He had lately fallen in love with Pompeia, Cæſar's wife; and in order to procure

an interview with her, he fell upon the following expedient: there was ſoon to be celebrated, in the houſe of Cæſar, a feſtival in honour of Bacchus. This feſtival was of ſuch a nature, that it was attended only by females: no man, not even the maſter of the houſe, nay, no male animal, was allowed to be preſent. Clodius contrived to get himſelf introduced, in a female garb, into this aſſembly of women. The maid, who admitted him, went away immediately to inform Pompeia of his arrival; but tarrying longer than was expected, Clodius came out of his hiding-place, and ſtraying about the houſe, was met by another maid-ſervant, who miſtaking him for a woman, would have had him to play with her. This Clodius refuſed; and ſhe attempting to bring him into the light, he, to free himſelf from her importunities, ſaid, that he was one of the female ſingers engaged to officiate at the feſtival. The tone of his voice betrayed him. The maid ran, in a great fright, and acquainted Aurelia, Cæſar's mother, with what ſhe had heard. The ceremonies were inſtantly ſuſpended; and the criminal being ſought for, was diſcovered. Aurelia then turned him out of the houſe, and next morning informed the ſenate of all that had paſſed. This gave offence to all the citizens, and one of the tribunes impeached Clodius before the people. Cæſar, however, would not join in the proſecution againſt him: but he divorced his wife; and being aſked why he did ſo, if he thought Clodius innocent, he ſaid, that the wife of Cæſar ought not only to be free from guilt, but even from the ſuſpicion of it.

BEING now eaſed of all fears from Cæſar, Clodius alledged that Aurelia had miſtaken another perſon for him; and offered to prove, that he was at a great diſtance from Rome on the night when the ceremony was celebrated. But Cicero coming into the aſſembly, aſſured them that Clodius had been at his houſe the very evening that preceded the feſtival. His teſtimony, however, was quite overpowered by the intereſt of Clodius, and by the money which the culprit had previouſly laid out in order to bribe the judges. Clodius accordingly was acquitted, thirty-one of the judges declaring in his favour, and only twenty-five againſt him.

BEING now freed from all danger, he reſolved to be revenged on Cicero for the part he had taken in this affair. With this view he got himſelf elected tribune; and immediately propoſed ſeveral laws for the benefit of the people, the better to gain their favour. He alſo won over the two conſuls for the preſent year; and having thus ſtrengthened his intereſt, he openly accuſed Cicero of having violated the laws in the puniſhment of the late conſpirators, who could not

not legally be put to death without the authority of the people, before whoſe tribunal they had never been brought. When Cicero heard of this charge againſt him, he endeavoured at firſt to avail himſelf of his intereſt with Pompey and Cæſar; but both of theſe proving either lukewarm or faithleſs, his courage ſeemed totally to deſert him, and he, who had often been ſo wonderfully eloquent in defending the cauſe of others, had hardly a word to ſay in his own. In conſequence of this, Clodius procured a vote of the people againſt him, baniſhing him to the diſtance of four hundred miles from Italy, and ordering his houſes to be demoliſhed, and his goods ſet up to ſale. He continued abroad about ſixteen months, at the end of which he was recalled, chiefly by the intereſt of Pompey, who wanted to oppoſe him to Clodius; for that tribune had now begun to grow troubleſome, even to Pompey himſelf.

By this time Cæſar, having got every thing ready for his expedition to Gaul, ſet out for that country; and in the ſpace of nine years, which he ſpent there and in Britain, he met with ſuch a ſeries of ſucceſs as hardly any other general before. To give an account of all the battles he fought, and all the victories he gained there, would greatly exceed the limits of a work of this kind: we ſhall content ourſelves at preſent with mentioning a few of the moſt remarkable. The Helvetians, or Swiſs, were the firſt that felt the weight of his arms. Theſe people, deſirous of enjoying a more fruitful ſoil, reſolved to abandon their own country, and go in queſt of new ſettlements. Accordingly, having burned all their towns and villages, and even all their proviſions, except what they intended to carry with them, they ſet out, to the number of three hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand ſouls. Cæſar attacked them in the neighbourhood of Geneva, and committed ſuch a dreadful havoc among them, that, after killing about two-thirds of them, he compelled the reſt to retreat into their foreſts. The Germans, headed by their king Arioviſtus, were next cut off, to the number of eighty thouſand; the king himſelf very narrowly eſcaping in a little boat acroſs the Rhine. The Belgæ ſuffered ſuch a terrible overthrow, that rivers and marſhes are ſaid to have been rendered paſſable by the heaps of ſlain. The Nerveans, who inhabited a woody part of the country, and were looked upon as the moſt warlike of all the Gaulic nations, made head for ſome time againſt the Romans, and fell upon them with ſuch fury, that their army was in danger of being utterly defeated; but Cæſar haſtily catching up a buckler, ruſhed through his troops into the midſt of the enemy; by which means the face of affairs was ſo totally changed, that the barbarians were at laſt cut off to a man.

man. The Celtic Gauls, who inhabited the interior and more ſouthern parts of the country, were next brought under ſubjection; and, after them, the Luevi, the Morini, the Menapii, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the Britiſh ſea, and from the Alps to the Atlantic ocean. Plutarch ſays, that Cæſar, in his ſeveral expeditions into Gaul, took eight hundred cities; ſubdued three hundred different ſtates; overcame three millions of men; one of which fell on the field of battle, and one were made priſoners of war. Appian agrees with Plutarch as to the number of ſlain, and the priſoners; but ſays, that the enemy amounted to four millions. Velleius Paterculus, however, reduces the number of ſlain to four hundred thouſand; and it is more than probable that he is nearer the truth than either of the two former. Indeed, all accounts of ancient writers, with regard to the number of the enemy ſlain in any battle, ought to be received with many grains of allowance.

CÆSAR, having completed the conqueſt of Gaul, croſſed over into Britain. This he did upon pretence, that the natives had furniſhed his enemies with ſuccours. Upon drawing near the ſhore, he found it covered with men to oppoſe his landing, and his forces were in danger of being repulſed, till the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion leaped boldly into the water, crying out at the ſame time, "Let all thoſe follow me that would not wiſh to ſee the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of barbarians." The reſt, animated by his example, immediately followed, and ſoon gaining the dry land, they put the Britons to flight. Theſe finding themſelves unable to cope with ſuch powerful enemies as the Romans, ſent to deſire a peace, which they eaſily obtained, and, by way of ſecurity for their good behaviour, they delivered ſome hoſtages. But a ſtorm ſoon after ariſing, and deſtroying a great part of Cæſar's fleet, they reſolved to take advantage of this diſaſter, and advanced againſt him with a numerous army. Their army, however, was more numerous than powerful; for it may be ſaid to have been both unarmed and undiſciplined in compariſon of Cæſar's. Being overcome, they were obliged once more to ſue for peace, which Cæſar granted them, and returned to the continent. He had no ſooner done ſo, than the Britons endeavoured to recover their independence. Cæſar, therefore, invaded this iſland a ſecond time; and coming up with the natives, who were now aſſembled in great numbers under their general Caſſibellan, he ſo humbled them by his repeated victories, that they no longer preſumed to meet him in the plains, but keeping in the foreſts, ſeemed determined to weary out the Romans by protracting the war. Cæſar, however,

however, purſued them cloſely, and croſſing the Thames, he ſoon reduced them to ſuch difficulties, that they were obliged to ſubmit to the conqueror's conditions, who impoſed an annual tribute, and took hoſtages for its payment.

By the conqueſt of Gaul Cæſar had become ſo popular and wealthy, and conſequently ſo powerful, that nothing could now prevent the accompliſhment of his ambitious views, which extended to no leſs than the uſurpation of the government. Neither Pompey, who, from his aſſociate, was now become his rival and ſecret enemy, nor even the whole body of the ſenate, were able to effect this. Both of them were, indeed, ſenſible of the error they had committed in ſuffering him to continue ſo long at the head of the ſame forces, among whom he had eſtabliſhed his intereſt ſo thoroughly, that they were ready to ſecond him in any enterprize, however prejudicial it might prove to the intereſt of his country. At firſt they endeavoured to induce him to reſign gently the command of an army, which they apprehended they were unable to make him quit by force. When he ſent a letter to Rome, ſoliciting the conſulſhip, ſome of the ſenators alledged, that the laws did not permit any perſon that was abſent to offer himſelf a candidate for that high office. Their view, in this, was to allure Cæſar from his government, in order to ſtand for the conſulſhip in perſon. But Cæſar, aware of their artifice, choſe to remain in his province; convinced, that while he headed an army devoted to his ſervice, he could give laws as well as magiſtrates to Rome. Diſappointed in this attempt, they next endeavoured to weaken his army. They ordered him to ſend home the two legions he had lately raiſed; for the purpoſe, as they ſaid, of ſending them againſt the Parthians, but, in reality, with no other view than to diminiſh his power. Cæſar ſaw their motive; but as his ſchemes were not yet ripe for execution, he ſent them in obedience to the orders of the ſenate, having firſt attached the officers to him by benefits, and the ſoldiers by bounties. Encouraged by his ready compliance in this particular, they now ventured to proceed a ſtep farther; and as the term of his commiſſion was very near expiring, they propoſed recalling him home. But Curio, one of his friends in the ſenate, ſaid, that Cæſar ſhould not leave his army, till Pompey had quitted his. This threw a damp on the hopes they had entertained; and, in the mean time, one of the ſenate declaring that Cæſar had paſſed the Alps, and was advancing towards Rome with his whole army, the conſul immediately quitting the ſenate, went with his colleagues to an houſe where Pompey reſided. He there preſented him with a ſword, commanding him to march againſt Cæſar,

Cæſar, and fight in defence of the commonwealth. Pompey replied he was ready to obey; but added, at the ſame time, that he would only do ſo if ſome gentler means could not be found.

CÆSAR, who heard regularly of all that paſſed at Rome, though he was ſtill in Gaul, was willing to give his aims the appearance of juſtice. He therefore agreed to lay down his employment when Pompey ſhould do the ſame. But the ſenate rejected his propoſal, blindly confident of their own ſtrength, and relying on the abilities of Pompey. Cæſar, ſtill unwilling to come to an open rupture with the ſtate, at laſt was content to aſk the government of Illyria, with two legions; but this alſo was refuſed him. Finding all attempts at an accommodation ineffectual, and convinced, as he thought he had reaſon to be, of the ſteady attachment of his troops, he began to draw them down towards the confines of Italy; and paſſing the Alps, with his third legion, ſtopt at Ravenna, from whence he once more wrote to the ſenate, declaring, that he was ready to lay down his command, if Pompey would do the ſame. Inſtead of liſtening to a propoſal ſo ſeemingly equitable, the ſenate decreed, that Cæſar ſhould reſign his government, and diſband his forces, within a limited time; and, if he refuſed obedience, that he ſhould be declared an enemy to the republic.

THESE violent proceedings, however, made little impreſſion upon Cæſar. The night before his intended expedition into Italy, he ſat down to ſupper, chearfully converſing with his friends on ſubjects of literature and philoſophy, and apparently diſengaged from every ambitious concern. However, after ſome time, riſing up, he deſired the company to make themſelves merry in his abſence, and that he would be with them in a moment. In the mean time, having previouſly made the neceſſary preparations, he immediately ſet out, attended by a few friends, for Ariminum, a city upon the confines of Italy, whither he had diſpatched a part of his army the morning before. This journey by night, which was very fatiguing, he performed with great diligence, and about break of day came up with his army, conſiſting of about five thouſand men, near the Rubicon, a little river, which divided Italy from Ciſalpine Gaul, and which terminated the limits of his command. The Romans had been taught to conſider this river as the boundary of their domeſtic empire. The ſenate long before had made an edict, which is ſtill to be ſeen engraven in the road near Remini (the modern name of Ariminum), by which they devoted to the infernal gods, and branded with the crimes of ſacrilege and parricide, any perſon who

who ſhould preſume to paſs the Rubicon, with an army, a legion, or even a ſingle cohort. Cæſar, therefore, when he advanced with his army to the ſide of the river, ſtopped ſhort upon the banks, as if impreſt with the greatneſs of his enterprize. He could not paſs it without tranſgreſſing the laws; and therefore pondered for ſome time in fixed melancholy, looking and debating with himſelf whether he ſhould venture in. "If I paſs this river," ſays he to one of his generals; "what calamities ſhall I bring upon my country! and if I ſtop ſhort, I am undone. Let us go where the gods and the injuſtice of our enemies call us." Thus ſaying, and reſuming all his former ſpirit, he plunged in, crying out, "the die is caſt, and now all is over." His ſoldiers followed him with the ſame alacrity, and having paſſed the Rubicon, quickly arrived at Ariminum, and made themſelves maſters of the place without oppoſition. It is remarkable, that Cæſar, in his commentaries, ſays not one word of the paſſing of the Rubicon, which is ſo particularly related by all other hiſtorians. It is probable he was unwilling to reveal the perplexity he was in at that particular period.

WHEN the news of taking Ariminum was brought to Rome, it threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation. This was even greater than the danger itſelf, which however was conſiderable. The people every moment expected to ſee Cæſar at the gates of the city with his ten legions; for ſo many, they imagined, he had with him. Even Pompey loſt his preſence of mind on this general alarm. He had more troops about him than Cæſar; but he was ſo teazed and harraſſed by the complaints of the people, that he could not preſerve the compoſure that was neceſſary to take any reſolution worthy of his courage. Every body complained of his conduct. They firſt blamed him for aſſiſting Cæſar to riſe to his preſent degree of power; and afterwards, when he found himſelf unable to oppoſe him, for rejecting the terms of peace that were offered by his rival. Even Cato helped to chagrin Pompey by an unſeaſonable reflection. For when every body was admiring the penetration and ſagacity, with which that ſteady patriot had foretold the preſent calamity; "Yes," ſaid he, "if you had believed me, you would not now be reduced to the ſhameful neceſſity either of fearing one man, or of placing all your hopes in one. It is not the Gauls or Germans you ought to be afraid of; it is Cæſar you ought to dread." Averſe, however, as Cato was to all authority that was contrary to law, he did not, on the preſent occaſion, ſhew an ill timed inflexibility, but adviſed the ſenate to inveſt Pompey with the whole power of the ſtate; adding at the ſame time,

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with a ſarcaſtic ſneer, which was ſtill farther calculated to mortify Pompey, that thoſe who did great miſchief, were beſt qualified to remedy it. His advice was followed, and a decree paſſed, importing, that there was a tumult; that is, that a civil war was commenced; that the city was in danger; and that therefore it was the duty of every man to take up arms.

THE firſt uſe which Pompey made of the ſupreme power conferred on him, was to abandon Rome, and to order all the ſenators to follow him; declaring aloud, that he ſhould conſider all thoſe as Cæſar's partizans that ſtaid behind. This was conſidered by moſt people as the effect of mere deſpair. In vain did Pompey juſtify his conduct by the example of Themiſtocles, who, on the approach of the Perſian army, did the ſame thing at Athens. In vain did he endeavour to perſuade his fellow citizens, that certain walls and houſes do not conſtitute a man's country; but that a brave man will find himſelf at home wherever he enjoys liberty. The people, attached to the place of their nativity, either could not perceive, or were unwilling to acknowledge the juſtneſs of his reaſoning. The ſcene, however, which this ſtep produced, was really ſomewhat curious. For at the ſame time were to be ſeen, the people of Rome flying into the country, and thoſe of the country ruſhing towards Rome for ſafety and protection; ſo that all the roads of Italy were crowded with men and women running againſt one another, as if they had been actuated by a contrary impulſe.

THE conſuls left Rome with ſuch precipitation, that they neglected to perform the neceſſary ſacrifices; a thing that had never been omitted before. The prætors, the greater part of the tribunes, the perſons of conſular dignity, in a word almoſt all the ſenators, followed Pompey with ſuch unanimity, that many of Cæſar's adherents were carried away by the torrent, and amongſt them was even Piſo, his own father-in-law.

THUS all the majeſty of the republic was with Pompey, and all its ſtrength with Cæſar. I allude not here merely to his military forces. He had a more numerous and a more powerful band of followers. He had long been the patron of all thoſe who had been guilty of crimes, were involved in debt, or were become infamous by their licentious courſe of life. Thoſe, whoſe affairs were not entirely deſperate, he aſſiſted with money; and to the others he boldly declared, that a civil war was neceſſary. By theſe means he had attached to himſelf a vaſt number of dependents; all fit for the undertaking of any enterprize, or the commiſſion of any crime. It is eaſy to

to conceive what ſtrength a party may derive from a collection of ſuch miſcreants. "Cæſar's cauſe," ſays Cicero, "is deſtitute of virtue; but of every other advantage it is evidently poſſeſſed."

AMONG ſo many Romans, ſome friends of Cæſar, ſome of Pompey, it is difficult to find any that were friends of the republic: perhaps Cato was the only one who ought to be conſidered in that light. This is the opinion of Seneca, who ſays, "If you would form a juſt opinion of thoſe times, you muſt ſet on one ſide the people, and all thoſe whoſe ruined fortunes could only be retrieved by a change of government; on the other, the nobles, the knights, and all that was illuſtrious and reſpectable in Rome; and, in the midſt of theſe, two deſpiſed and ſolitary objects, that is, Cato and the republic." For Cato was not much better pleaſed with Pompey than with Cæſar; ſince if he had determined to kill himſelf, ſhould the laſt be conqueror, he had alſo reſolved to go into exile, if the firſt were victorious.

BEFORE Pompey and Cæſar proceeded to extremities, that is, before they drew their ſwords againſt each other, and came to an engagement, they reſolved, if they could, to have one conference, if not in perſon, at leaſt by proxy. Accordingly two perſons from Pompey waited upon Cæſar, and aſſured him, that that noble Roman was not actuated by any perſonal enmity againſt him, but merely by his zeal for the republic, whoſe intereſt he had always preferred; that it became Cæſar to follow the ſame maxim, and not hurt his country by puſhing too far his private animoſities. Though Cæſar neither wiſhed nor expected to ſettle matters in an amicable manner, he yet was deſirous to have the reputation of doing both. His anſwer, therefore, was conceived in the following terms: "Let Pompey go into his province of Spain; let all the armies be diſbanded; let every body throughout Italy lay down their arms; let every thing that partakes of terror and force be removed; let the elections of magiſtrates be made with perfect freedom; and let the republic be adminiſtered by the authority of the ſenate." And in order to ſettle a plan for the execution of theſe articles, he demanded an interview with Pompey. This, however, Pompey declined, unleſs Cæſar would lay down his command in obedience to the orders of the ſenate, and return to a private ſtation.

UPON leaving Rome, Pompey had retired to Capua, and Cæſar now determined to purſue him thither. The firſt place that attempted to ſtop the rapidity of his march was Corfinium. It was defended by Domitius, who had been appointed by the ſenate to ſucceed him in Gaul, and was garriſoned by twenty cohorts,

cohorts, which were levied in the adjacent country. Cæsar, however, quickly inveſted it; and though Domitius ſent frequently to Pompey, intreating him to come to his relief, he was ſoon reduced to ſuch neceſſity, that he began to entertain thoughts of making his eſcape by ſtealth. His deſign being diſcovered, the garriſon reſolved to conſult their own ſafety by delivering him up to the beſiegers. Cæsar accepted their offers, but kept his men from immediately entering the town. After ſome time, Lentulus, the conſul, who was one of the beſieged, came out to implore forgiveneſs for himſelf and his companions, reminding Cæsar of their ancient friendſhip, and acknowledging the many favours he had received at his hands. Cæsar's humanity would not allow him to wait the concluſion of the ſpeech; he therefore broke in upon Lentulus, and ſaid, that he came into Italy, not to injure the liberties of Rome and its citizens, but to reſtore both. Lentulus now finding himſelf out of danger, begged leave to return into the town, "where ſome people, he ſaid, were ſo terrified, that they might be tempted to embrace the moſt deſperate reſolution." He alluded to Domitius, whoſe fate was really ſomewhat ſingular. This man had always been a declared enemy to Cæsar. He had conſtantly endeavoured to get him recalled from his government, and had even been appointed to ſucceed him in it. Expecting, therefore, no mercy from a man whom he had ſo mortally offended, he reſolved to put an end to his own life, rather than have it taken from him by others. He accordingly ordered his phyſician, who was likewiſe one of his ſlaves, to give him a doſe of poiſon, which he courageouſly ſwallowed, and threw himſelf on his bed. Some hours after, Lentulus arrived, and gave him an account of Cæsar's clemency. Domitius now deplored his unhappy fate, and blamed himſelf for having been ſo very precipitate. But his phyſician conſoled him by declaring, that he had given him no poiſon, but only a ſoporific, which would do him no manner of harm. Domitius therefore plucked up his ſpirits, and patiently waiting for the arrival of Cæsar, not only received from him his life and liberty, but was even allowed to retain about forty-eight thouſand pounds, which Pompey had given him to pay his forces. As to the troops themſelves, Cæsar took them into his own pay, and ſoon after ſent them into Sicily.

THERE were two things that contributed greatly to widen the breach between Pompey and Cæsar. One was the death of Julia, wife of Pompey, and daughter of Cæsar, which deſtroyed the domeſtic connection between them. The other was the death of Craſſus, who had been killed in the war he conducted

conducted againſt the Parthians, and who, while he was alive, helped to keep up a kind of balance between theſe rivals for empire; but as they were now freed from all check or reſtraint upon their ambitious views, they continued to carry on their ſtruggles for power, till one of them fell in the conteſt, and the other made himſelf complete maſter of the government.

POMPEY, hearing of the ſurrender of Corſinium, retired to Brunduſium, where he reſolved to ſtand a ſiege, in order to retard the march of the enemy till the forces of the empire ſhould be united to oppoſe him.

IN a few days Cæſar came before it, and made two ſeveral attempts to have an interview with Pompey; but not being able to ſucceed in his endeavour, he laid ſiege to the place. Pompey, however, kept him ſome time at bay; but fearing, at laſt, that Cæſar might be tempted to take the place by ſtorm, he reſolved to carry his garriſon to Dyrrachium, where the conſul was raiſing forces for the ſervice of the empire. For this purpoſe, having fortified the harbour in ſuch a manner, as to prevent the enemy from immediately purſuing him, he embarked his troops with the utmoſt diſpatch, leaving only a few archers and ſlingers on the walls, who were ordered to retreat in ſmall boats provided for that purpoſe, as ſoon as all the heavy-armed troops were on board. Cæſar being informed of their retreat by the inhabitants of the town, who were provoked at the ruin of their houſes, immediately attempted to prevent the embarkation, and was actually going to lead his men over a pitfall, which Pompey had ſecretly placed in his way, had he not been interrupted by the townſmen, who apprized him of his danger. Thus did Pompey, in a very maſterly manner, effect his eſcape, leaving Italy entirely at the mercy of his rival, without either a town or an army, that was able to oppoſe his progreſs.

CÆSAR, finding it impoſſible to purſue Pompey, for want of ſhipping, reſolved to go back to Rome, and take poſſeſſion of the public treaſures, which his opponent had neglected taking with him. Pompey was probably unwilling to ſeize this money from an apprehenſion of the popular odium to which it would expoſe him, as it was looked upon as a ſacred depoſit, to be employed only in caſes of the moſt extreme neceſſity, ſuch, for inſtance, as that of a Gaulic invaſion. Cæſar, however, was leſs ſcrupulous; but ſtill he met with ſome oppoſition when he came to the door of the treaſury. Metellus, the conſul, who guarded it, refuſed to let him paſs, alledging, that the money was ſacred, and that horrible imprecations had been announced againſt ſuch as touched it upon any occaſion

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but that of an invaſion from Gaul. Cæſar replied, that then it could never be touched at all, for, that as he had entirely ſubdued Gaul, no invaſion could reaſonably be apprehended from that quarter.

THE tribune then pretending that the keys were miſſing, Cæſar ordered his attendants to break open the doors: but Metellus had ſtill the boldneſs to diſpute even this command; upon which Cæſar, falling into a greater paſſion than was uſual with him, laid his hand upon his ſword, and threatened to ſtrike him dead; "And know, young man," cried he, "that it is eaſier for me to do this than to ſay it." This menace had the deſired effect: Metellus was ſo terrified, that he immediately withdrew, and Cæſar took out to the amount of three thouſand pound weight of gold, beſides thirty-five thouſand bars of ſilver, and forty millions of ſeſterces, the latter alone computed at three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

CÆSAR now reſolved to march into Spain, in order to attack the forces which Pompey had in that province under the command of his lieutenants, Petreius and Afranius. Theſe he knew to be men but of very weak abilities; and he therefore jocoſely ſaid, at ſetting out, that he was going to fight an army without a general, and return to fight a general without an army; alluding to Pompey himſelf, who had not been able to aſſemble any great body of forces, and even thoſe but indifferently diſciplined.

HIS firſt operations in Spain, however, were rather unſucceſsful. He fought a battle with the enemy in the neighbourhood of Ilerda; and both ſides claimed the victory. It ſoon, likewiſe, appeared, that Cæſar was reduced to great difficulties for want of proviſions, which the ſwelling of the river Ebro, and the poſition of the enemy, entirely cut off. Nothing, however, was able to ſubdue his ſpirit and activity; for cauſing light boats, covered with leather, to be made, and diverting the attention of the enemy to another quarter, he carried his boats in waggons twenty miles from the camp, launched them upon the broadeſt part of the river, and by that means paſſed his legions over. Having thus gained a freſh ſupply of proviſions, he made a feint as if he intended to diſtreſs the enemy in turn, by cutting off their ſupplies; and for this purpoſe he began to throw up entrenchments and cut ditches, as if to turn the courſe of the river into another channel. Theſe preparations ſo intimidated the enemy, that they reſolved to decamp by night; but Cæſar purſued them ſo cloſely, and hemmed them in ſo effectually, that they were forced to ſubmit to him without drawing a ſword. Nor had they any reaſon to repent of this ſtep.

Cæſar

Cæſar received them with great humanity, and ſent them back to Rome, there to publiſh the news of their own defeat, and of his increaſing ſucceſs and reputation. Thus, in the ſpace of about forty days, he made himſelf maſter of all Spain; and then departing for Marſeilles, which had formerly refuſed to admit him, he compelled that city to ſurrender at diſcretion. He pardoned the inhabitants on account of their name and antiquity; and leaving two legions to ſecure the place, he returned again victorious to Rome. The citizens, upon this occaſion, received him with freſh demonſtrations of joy, and created him not only conſul but even dictator; though the laſt of theſe offices he reſigned after he had enjoyed it about eleven days.

WHILE he was thus employed, Pompey was no leſs active in making preparations in Greece to oppoſe him. He had engaged all the monarchs of the eaſt in his intereſt, and had aſſembled a very formidable force both by ſea and land. The latter conſiſted of eleven effective Italian legions; and his auxiliaries amounted to ſeven thouſand cavalry, three thouſand archers, and eight cohorts of ſlingers. All theſe he poſted in different parts of Dyrrachium and Apollonia, to oppoſe Cæſar's landing, in caſe he ſhould attempt it. His fleet, commanded by Bibulus, conſiſted of five hundred large ſhips, excluſive of ſmaller veſſels. He had drawn great ſums of money out of Aſia and Greece; and having gained many advantages over Anthony and Dolabella, who commanded for Cæſar in thoſe parts, he had lately been joined by vaſt numbers of citizens; ſo that he had at one time above two hundred patricians in his camp, who aſſembled in the form of a ſenate. It was in one of theſe meetings, that a decree was made, at the motion of Cato, that no Roman citizen ſhould be put to death, except in battle; and that no town ſubject to the Romans ſhould be plundered by the conquerors.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe mighty preparations againſt him, Cæſar proceeded with his uſual vigour, and with a courage that to ordinary capacities might ſeem to be raſhneſs. He now reſolved to face his rival in the eaſt, and led his forces to Brunduſium, a ſea-port town of Italy, in order to tranſport them into Greece; but he wanted a fleet numerous enough to tranſport them all at once, and it appeared dangerous to weaken his army by dividing it. Beſides, it was now the midſt of winter, and very difficult for any veſſels, much more for ſo ſlight a fleet as his was, to keep the ſea: add to this, that all the ports and ſhores on the other ſide were filled with the numerous navy of his rival, commanded by Bibulus, one of the moſt renowned admirals of the age.

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IN ſpite, however, of theſe impediments, he ſhipped off five of his twelve legions, amounting to no more than twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, and ſeizing the opportunity of fair wind, ſteered fortunately through the midſt of the enemy, timing it ſo well that they were not able to make the leaſt oppoſition. He landed at a place called Pharſalus, not daring to venture into any known port, which he was afraid might be poſſeſſed by the enemy. When his troops were debarked, he ſent back the fleet to bring over the reſt; but thirty of his ſhips, in their return, fell into the hands of Pompey's admiral, who ſet them all on fire.

AFTER waiting for ſome time, with the utmoſt anxiety, for the arrival of the reſt of his forces, he ventured upon an attempt, which nothing but the great confidence he had in his good fortune could excuſe. He diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a ſlave, and, with all imaginable ſecrecy, went on board a fiſherman's bark, at the mouth of the river Apſus, with a deſign to paſs over to Brunduſium, where the reſt of his forces lay, and bring them over in perſon. He accordingly rowed off in the beginning of the night; but when he advanced a conſiderable way into the ſea, a violent ſtorm aroſe; and the fiſherman being now exhauſted with fatigue, and deſpairing of gaining the oppoſite coaſt, propoſed to return. His paſſenger, however, diſſuaded him. The ſailor, therefore, made a freſh effort; but the ſtorm growing every moment more and more furious, he began to expreſs his apprehenſions of the danger they were in; upon which Cæſar diſcovering himſelf, cried out, *Quid times! Cæſarem vehis?* "What are you afraid of? you carry Cæſar."

ENCOURAGED by the preſence of ſo great a man, the fiſherman made freſh endeavours; but the ſtorm continuing ſtill to increaſe againſt them, he was obliged to make for land, which he was not able to reach without great difficulty. Upon his landing, Cæſar's ſoldiers crowded around him, and kindly upbraided him with the diſgrace he had put upon them by going for new ſoldiers, when thoſe he already had were fully ſufficient to gain him the victory.

SOON after, he received the agreeable news of the landing of the troops he had long expected at Apollonia; from whence they were advancing, under the conduct of Anthony and Calenus, to join him. He therefore ſet out in order to meet them, and to prevent Pompey, if poſſible, from attacking them on their march. This precaution was not leſs ſucceſsful than neceſſary; for Pompey had actually made ſome motions to ſurprize them by the way, and had laid an ambuſcade for Anthony, which failing, he was obliged to retreat under an

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apprehenſion of being ſurrounded by the two armies, ſo that the junction was effected the very ſame day. From this time the two generals endeavoured, by various manœuvres, to counteract each other's deſigns, and take one another by ſurprize. But at laſt they reſolved to come to a deciſive engagement, and with that view drew out their forces upon the plains of Pharſalia.

THE numbers on the two ſides were very unequal. Pompey, in this reſpect, had greatly the advantage of Cæſar. According to the information which the latter gives us in his Commentaries, Pompey had forty-five thouſand foot, while he himſelf had but twenty-two thouſand. The auxiliaries, no doubt, on either ſide, exceeded the number of the Romans; and this may have given riſe to the exaggerated accounts of ſome writers, who reckon three hundred, or even four hundred thouſand fighting men at the battle of Pharſalia. But to conſider only the national troops; what enemy, as Plutarch obſerves, could have withſtood ſeventy thouſand Romans, commanded by Cæſar and Pompey, acting with unity and concord? And what madneſs, therefore, was it for ſo many thouſand citizens to turn againſt each other thoſe formidable arms, which had already conquered the better part of the world, and were capable of ſubduing the reſt?

THESE reflections might poſſibly have occurred to ſome philoſophers at the time; but it is certain that the two leaders had very different ſentiments; their thoughts were entirely bent on conqueſt, and they endeavoured to infuſe the like ſpirit into their ſoldiers, by the ſtrongeſt arguments and the moſt lively exhortations: "As you have drawn this battle on yourſelves," ſaid Pompey to his party, "and would force me to fight, you are therefore anſwerable for the event of it. And, indeed, what mighty advantages do you not poſſeſs over your enemies? Your numbers, your vigour, a late victory, all enſure you a ſpeedy and eaſy conqueſt of thoſe ſhattered remains of legions, compoſed only of men worn out with age, haraſſed by fatigue, already beaten, and accuſtomed to fly before you. Above all, conſider the juſtice of your cauſe. You are engaged in the defence of liberty, ſupported by the laws, the ſenate, the flower of the Roman knighthood; in a word, by every perſon of rank and merit, united againſt a robber and oppreſſor of his country. Shew then, on this occaſion, all that ardour and deteſtation of tyranny, that ought ever to animate the breaſts of Romans."

CÆSAR maintained that ſhew of moderation which he knew ſo well how to aſſume, and inſiſted on nothing ſo ſtrongly, as his frequent and unſucceſsful endeavours to preſerve peace.

He appealed to his men whether he had not taken every ſtep that was neceſſary for that purpoſe; hoping thereby, as he ſaid, to avoid ſpilling the blood of his fellow ſoldiers, and wiſhing to prevent the commonwealth from loſing one of its armies. It is eaſy to imagine what a ſtrong impreſſion ſuch a diſcourſe muſt make upon his men; they all wiſhed for the commencement of the fight with the utmoſt ardour; ſo that Cæſar now had nothing more to do than give the ſignal to engage, which he accordingly did. The word on Pompey's ſide was Hercules the invincible; that on Cæſar's, Victus the victorious.

AN old ſoldier in his army, called Craſtinus, who had ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions, began the attack at the head of one hundred and twenty volunteers; and turning to Cæſar, "General," ſays he, "this day you ſhall be ſatisfied with my behaviour; and whether I live or die, I will deſerve your good opinion." So ſaying, he marched up to the enemy.

BETWEEN the two armies there was an empty ſpace, ſufficient for the onſet; but Pompey had ordered his troops to keep their ground, that Cæſar's army might have all that way to come. His ſcheme was, that the enemy's ranks might be broken, and themſelves put out of breath, by having ſo far to run; of which he afterwards meant to take the advantage. Cæſar, in his Commentaries, ſays, that in this he thinks Pompey committed a miſtake, as the courage of ſoldiers is animated by motion, and damped by inactivity.

CÆSAR'S men did not fall into the ſnare that was laid for them; for perceiving that the enemy did not ſtir, they voluntarily ſtopt in the midſt of their career, and having taken breath, put themſelves again in motion, marched up in good order, flung their javelins, and then betook themſelves to their ſwords. Pompey's troops did the ſame, and ſuſtained the attack with great vigour. His cavalry alſo were ordered to charge at the ſame time, which, with the multitude of archers and ſlingers, ſoon obliged Cæſar's men to give way. Upon this Cæſar ordered a body of ſix cohorts, which he had placed in the rear, to advance, and particularly to ſtrike the enemy's faces. This had the deſired effect. The cavalry, who thought themſelves ſure of victory, received an immediate check. The unuſual method of fighting purſued by the cohorts, their aiming entirely at the viſages of the aſſailants, and the horrible diſfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to ſtrike the enemy with ſuch a panic, that, inſtead of endeavouring to defend their bodies, they only thought of ſaving their faces. The conſequence was, that they were inſtantly

inſtantly routed, and fled in diſorder to the neighbouring mountains, while the archers and ſlingers, being thus abandoned, were all cut to pieces. Cæſar now commanded the cohorts to advance, and charge the enemy in rear. They did ſo. But this charge the others ſuſtained with great bravery, till Cæſar brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked, in front by freſh troops, and in rear by the victorious legions, could no longer reſiſt, but fled to their camp. The flight began among the ſtrangers, though Pompey's right wing ſtill valiantly maintained its ground. Cæſar, however, ſeeing that the victory was certain, cried out to his men to purſue the ſtrangers, but to ſpare the Romans; upon which theſe laſt all laid down their arms, and received quarter. The greateſt ſlaughter was among the auxiliaries, who fled on all ſides, but principally withdrew to the camp. This Cæſar reſolved to attack. He accordingly did ſo, and immediately carried it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by thoſe who had been appointed to defend it.

CÆSAR ſeeing the field and camp ſtrewed with his fallen countrymen, was ſtrongly affected with ſo melancholy a proſpect, and could not help crying out to one that ſtood near him, "They would have it ſo: notwithſtanding my great exploits, I had certainly been condemned, had I not implored the aſſiſtance of my ſoldiers."

UPON entering the enemy's camp, every object preſented freſh inſtances of the blind preſumption and madneſs of his adverſaries. On all ſides were to be ſeen tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and ſide boards loaded with plate. Every thing gave proofs of the higheſt luxury, and ſeemed rather preparatives for a banquet or rejoicings for a victory, than diſpoſitions for a battle.

A CAMP ſo richly furniſhed might have tempted the avidity and ſtopped the progreſs of any troops but Cæſar's: but ſomething ſtill remained to be done; and he would allow them to attend to no other object than their enemies, till theſe were entirely ſubdued. A conſiderable body of them having retired to the adjacent mountains, he prevailed on his ſoldiers to join him in the purſuit, in order to compel them to ſurrender. He began by incloſing them with a line drawn at the foot of the mountain; but they quickly abandoned a poſt, which, for want of water, was not tenable, and endeavoured to reach the city of Lariſſa. Upon this, Cæſar dividing his army, left one part of it in Pompey's camp, ſent another back to his own, and having with the third taken a nearer route than that by which the enemy had paſſed, he found

means to intercept their march; and after advancing about ſix miles, he drew up in order of battle between them and the city, where they thought to have found ſhelter.

HOWEVER, theſe unhappy fugitives once more found protection from a mountain, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. Though Cæſar's troops muſt have been now exhauſted with fighting and marching the whole day, he yet prevailed upon them to make one effort more, and before night he contrived to throw ſome works that were ſufficient to cut off the enemy from all communication with the river. The fugitives, thus deprived of all hopes of procuring water, or effecting their eſcape, ſent deputies to the conqueror, offering to ſurrender at diſcretion. Things continued in this ſituation all night, during which ſome ſenators, taking advantage of the darkneſs, conſulted their ſafety by flight. In the morning the reſt came down from the mountain, and giving up their arms, were indulged with a pardon. Cæſar, indeed, not only addreſſed them in the mildeſt terms, and granted them their life and liberty; but he even forbade his ſoldiers to offer them any violence, or to take any thing from them.

HIS loſs, according to his own account, amounted to but two hundred men; that of Pompey to fifteen thouſand, as well Romans as auxiliaries: twenty-four thouſand men ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, and the greateſt part of theſe, at leaſt the ſoldiers and ſubalterns, entered into Cæſar's army, and were incorporated with the reſt of his forces.

As to the ſenators and knights who fell into his hands, he generouſly gave them liberty to retire wherever they thought proper; and as for the letters which Pompey had received from ſeveral perſons, who wiſhed well to his cauſe, but were afraid to follow him, he burnt them all without reading them; "for although," as Seneca ſays, "he was extremely ſevere in his anger, he yet rather choſe to deprive himſelf of the power of reſenting. He thought the moſt obliging and agreeable method of pardoning was to be ignorant of the nature of the offence." Having thus performed all the duties of a general and a ſtateſman, he ſent for the legions which had paſſed the night in the camp, to relieve thoſe which had accompanied him in the purſuit, and being determined to follow Pompey, began his march, and arrived the ſame day at Lariſſa.

As for Pompey, who had formerly given ſuch ſignal proofs of his courage and conduct, when he ſaw his cavalry routed, upon which he had placed his chief dependence, he ſeemed altogether to have loſt his reaſon. Inſtead of endeavouring to rally the troops that fled, or by oppoſing freſh forces to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, being totally confounded by this

this firſt blow, he returned to the camp, and in his tent waited the iſſue of an event, which it was his duty, if he could, to have rendered favourable. There he remained for ſome moments without ſpeaking, till being told that the camp was attacked, "What," ſays he, "are we purſued to our very entrenchments?" and immediately quitting his armour for a habit more ſuited to his ill fortune, fled on horſeback to Lariſſa. Thence, finding himſelf leſs cloſely purſued, he ſlackened his pace, giving way all the time to the moſt bitter reflections. In this melancholy manner he paſſed along the vale of Tempe, and purſuing the courſe of the river Peneus, at laſt arrived at a fiſherman's hut, where he ſpent the night. At day-break he went on board a little bark, and for ſome time kept along the ſea-ſhore, as he could not venture far from it, on account of the ſmallneſs of the boat. At length he deſcried a ſhip of ſome burthen preparing, and inſtantly embarked in it, the maſter paying him all the homage that was due to his former ſtation.

FROM the mouth of the river Peneus he ſailed to Amphipolis, where hearing of Cæſar's approach, he ſteered to Metylene in Leſbos, to take in his wife Cornelia, whom he had left there at a diſtance from the hurry and tumults of war. She had long flattered herſelf with the hopes of a complete victory. What then muſt have been her diſtreſs when ſhe heard of the ſudden reverſe of her fortune, and ſhe was deſired by the meſſenger, whoſe tears, more than words, proclaimed the greatneſs of her calamity, to haſten, if ſhe wiſhed to ſee Pompey, with but one ſhip, and even that not his own. Her grief, which before was violent, became then inſupportable: ſhe fainted away, and lay a conſiderable time without any ſigns of life. At length recovering herſelf, and reflecting it was now no time to indulge her ſorrows, ſhe ran quite through the city to the ſea ſide. Pompey received her without ſpeaking a word, and for ſome time ſupported her in his arms in ſilent deſpair.

AFTER a pauſe of long continuance, they found words for their diſtreſs. Cornelia imputed to herſelf the diſappointment of her huſband's hopes, "The condition I find you in," ſaid ſhe, "I can never perſuade myſelf to be the effect of your fortune, which has ever been favourable, but rather of mine, which has always been the reverſe. You are obliged to fly with one ſhip; you, who, before you wedded Cornelia, appeared in theſe ſeas with a fleet of five hundred ſail. Why came you in ſearch of ſuch an unfortunate wretch as me? Why did you not rather leave me to my ill fortune, which I muſt now lay you under the neceſſity of ſharing with me?

Ah! I ſhould have been happy had I died before my firſt huſband, young Craſſus, periſhed in the Parthian war; or had I, after that loſs, put a period to my life, as I then ſeriouſly intended. But it was neceſſary I ſhould ſurvive, and that too for the only purpoſe of introducing into Pompey's family the ill luck that has conſtantly purſued me."

POMPEY endeavoured to comfort her by repreſenting the uncertainty of human affairs: "The conſtant ſucceſs," ſaid he, "which has hither attended me, has unhappily deceived you. You relied on the continuance of that ſucceſs; not reflecting that there is nothing certain in this world. 'Tis from this very uncertainty that I am now induced to entertain freſh hopes. Since I am fallen from ſo great a height to my preſent low condition, why may I not from that very condition remount to the grandeur I formerly enjoyed?"

THE Mityleneans, who had great obligations to Pompey, gathered round them, ſhared in their grief, and invited them into their city. Pompey, however, declined their invitation, and even adviſed them to ſubmit to the conqueror; adding, with a moderation becoming his great ſoul, that they need be under no apprehenſion; for that however Cæſar might be his enemy, he was yet remarkable for his mildneſs and humanity. Cratippus, the Greek philoſopher, came alſo to pay his compliments. Pompey, as is but too common with people in his ſituation, complained to him of providence. Cratippus, who was a man of genius, and knew the world, declined entering deeply into the ſubject, thinking it cruel to ſay any thing diſagreeable, at a time when, in common humanity, he ought only to adminiſter comfort. He therefore artfully changed the converſation, and held out nothing but hopes of better fortune.

POMPEY, having taken in Cornelia, continued his courſe, ſteering to the ſouth-eaſt, and ſtopping no longer than was neceſſary to procure proviſions at the ports that occured in his paſſage. He came before Rhodes; but the Rhodians, who had furniſhed him with a noble fleet during his proſperity, would no longer acknowledge him in his preſent reverſe of fortune. He therefore proceeded on his voyage, and the firſt city he entered was Atilia, where he was joined by ſome ſhips and about two thouſand ſoldiers. Here he had alſo the ſatisfaction to learn, that his youngeſt ſon, Sextus, and about ſixty ſenators, who were ſeparated in their flight, had again united, and had formed an aſſociation in his favour. Here he alſo got ſome intelligence of a fleet, which he had left in the Ionian ſea. He was informed, that it was ſtill united under the command of Cato, who with a conſiderable force was haſtening

haſtening towards Africa. This led Pompey to ſome ſevere reflections on the imprudence of his own conduct. He lamented his having been compelled to leave the deciſion of his fortune to his land-army alone, without employing his naval forces, in which he had evidently the advantage over his enemies; and he thought himſelf ſtill leſs excuſable in not taking care to keep near his fleet, where, even in caſe of a defeat by land, he might have found a remedy for his misfortune, and a force ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the conqueror. It appears, indeed, that Pompey could not have committed a greater miſtake than in ſeparating from his fleet, nor could Cæſar have given a ſtronger proof of his military addreſs than in obliging his enemy to embrace ſuch a meaſure.

THE force, however, which Pompey had collected, could only help to facilitate his flight, but could not enable him to make head againſt Cæſar, from whoſe known and almoſt incredible activity he was in continual apprehenſion of a ſurpriſe. He had need of an aſylum, where he might recover himſelf, and make freſh preparations; and he did not think any of the provinces of the empire fit for this, or by means tenable. He had every day experience of the unfriendly reception he was likely to meet with; and he had juſt received advice, that the people, in full council, had decreed neither to receive him, nor any that were attached to him. His only remaining hope, therefore, was from the kings in alliance with and bordering on the empire. He himſelf thought firſt of retiring among the Parthians; others propoſed Juba, king of Numidia. But Theophanes, for whoſe opinion he had always a great regard, gave the preference to Egypt, which was not very diſtant, and whoſe young king, it was hoped, would have a friendſhip for Pompey, as being the man that had been appointed his tutor by the Romans, and one that had formerly done his father great ſervice.

ACCORDINGLY, he left Cilicia, where he then was, and ſteering for the kingdom of Egypt, came in ſight of the coaſt of that country, aud ſent to the young king to implore protection and aſſiſtance. Ptolemy, who was a minor, had not the government in his own hands, but he and his kingdom were under the direction of Pothinus, a eunuch, who acted as prime miniſter, Achillas, commander in chief of the forces, and Theodotus, a maſter of rhetoric, who was preceptor to the prince. Before theſe, therefore, Pompey's requeſt was argued: before ſuch mean and mercenary perſons was to be determined the fate of one, who but a few days before had kingdoms at his diſpoſal.

THE opinions of the council were divided. Gratitude and pity inclined ſome to receive him; whilſt others, more obdurate or more timorous, were for denying him entrance into the kingdom. At length Theodotus, as if willing to diſplay his eloquence, maintained that both propoſals were equally dangerous; that to admit him was making Pompey their maſter, and expoſing themſelves to Cæſar's reſentment; and by not receiving him, they offended the one without obliging the other; that, therefore, the moſt prudent ſtep would be to give him leave to land, and then kill him: this would at once be gratifying Cæſar, and rid them of all apprehenſions from Pompey's reſentment: "for," added he, with a vulgar and malicious joke, "dead dogs can never bite."

THIS advice, however ſhocking, was conſidered as the beſt, and Achillas undertook to carry it into execution. Accordingly taking with him Septimus, who was by birth a Roman, and had formerly been a centurion in Pompey's troops, another Roman centurion named Silvius, and two or three more, he got into a bark, and made ſail for Pompey's ſhip, which lay about a mile from the ſhore.

ALL the people of rank, who had accompanied Pompey in his flight, were now come on board his ſhip, to be witneſſes of what paſſed. But when, inſtead of the magnificent reception Theophanes had made them expect, they ſaw only a ſorry fiſhing boat, with five or ſix perſons on board, they began to entertain ſome ſuſpicions, and adviſed Pompey to decline going with them. Before any thing, however, could be finally determined, Achillas was come to the ſhip's ſide, and in the Greek language welcomed him to Egypt; then invited him into the boat, alledging, that the ſhallows prevented larger veſſels from coming to receive him. Pompey, after having taken leave of Cornelia, who wept at his departure, and having repeated two verſes of Sophocles, importing, that he who truſts his freedom to a tyrant, from that moment becomes a ſlave, gave his hand to Achillas, and ſtept into the boat with only two attendants of his own.

THEY had now rowed a conſiderable way from the ſhip; and as during that time they had all kept a profound ſilence, Pompey, willing to begin the diſcourſe, accoſted Septimus thus—"Methinks, friend, I remember your having formerly ſerved under me." Septimus gave only a nod with his head, without uttering a word, or ſhewing the leaſt mark of civility. Pompey, therefore, took out a paper, on which he had minuted down the heads of a ſpeech he intended to make to the king, and began reading it. In this manner they approached the ſhore; and Cornelia, whoſe concern had never ſuffered her to

loſe

loſe ſight of her huſband, began to conceive hope when ſhe ſaw the people on the ſtrand crowding down along the coaſts, as if anxious to receive him. But her hopes were ſoon deſtroyed; for that moment, as Pompey roſe, ſupporting himſelf on his freedman's arms, Septimus ſtabbed him in the back, and was inſtantly ſeconded by Achillas and Silvius.

POMPEY, ſeeing his death inevitable, prepared himſelf to meet it with decency; and covering his face with his robe, without ſpeaking a word, with a ſigh reſigned himſelf to his fate. At this ſhocking ſight, Cornelia ſhrieked ſo loud as to be heard on ſhore; but the danger ſhe was in did not allow the mariners time to look on. They ſaw that their only chance of ſafety was in a precipitate flight. They accordingly weighed anchor, and immediately ſet ſail, and the wind proving favourable, eſcaped the purſuit of the Egyptian gallies.

IN the mean time Pompey's murderers having cut off his head, cauſed it to be embalmed, the better to preſerve its features, deſigning it for a preſent to Cæſar, and expecting, no doubt, a reward for their trouble. The body was thrown naked on the ſtrand, and expoſed to the view of all whoſe curioſity led them to examine it. However, his faithful freedman, Philip, ſtill kept near it, and when the crowd was diſperſed, he waſhed it with ſea-water, and wrapt it up in his tunic. Then looking round for materials to burn it according to the Roman cuſtom, he perceived the wreck of a fiſhing boat, of which he made a pile. While thus piouſly employed, he was accoſted by an old Roman ſoldier, who had formerly ſerved under Pompey, but for ſome time paſt had been ſettled in Egypt. "Who art thou (ſaid he) that art making theſe humble preparations for Pompey's funeral?" "One of his freedmen," ſaid Philip. "Alas, (replied the ſoldier) thou ſhalt not enjoy this honour alone; allow me, I beſeech thee, to ſhare in it with thee; among all the inconveniences attending my ſettlement in this country, and they are not a few, it will be my laſt ſad comfort, that it has furniſhed me with an opportunity of aſſiſting at the funeral of my old commander, and touching the body of the braveſt general that ever Rome produced." After this, they joined in giving the corpſe the laſt rites, and collecting the aſhes, buried them under a little riſing earth, ſcraped together with their hands, over which was afterwards placed the following inſcription: "He, whoſe virtues deſerved a temple, can now ſcarce find a tomb." Appian, however, informs us, that ſtatues were afterwards erected

round this mean ſepulchre to the honour of Pompey; but Plutarch ſays, that the aſhes were conveyed into Italy to his beloved ſpouſe, Cornelia, who lodged them in her country-houſe at Alba.

CHAP. XXII.

From the Death of POMPEY, *to the Death of* CÆSAR.

[ANN. ROM. 706.]

THE death of Pompey may truly be ſaid to have put an end to the republican government at Rome; for though Cæſar did not immediately uſurp the ſupreme power, yet having now triumphed over his moſt capital enemy, he could meet with no further obſtruction in doing ſo whenever he thought proper. But firſt he reſolved to purſue the remains of the conquered army, to prevent their re-aſſembling in ſuch numbers as to be able to make any further oppoſition. Imagining that Pompey had fled to Egypt, he immediately ſet out for that country, and arrived there with about four thouſand men. In his way thither, though but in a ſlight bark, yet, by the very terror of his name, he compelled a fleet of ten ſhips of war, belonging to Pompey, to ſurrender at diſcretion. Upon his landing in Egypt, the firſt news he received were of Pompey's death; and ſoon after Theodotus, who had adviſed the murder of that great man, came to him with his head and ring, as a moſt grateful preſent to the conqueror. Cæſar had too much humanity to be pleaſed with ſuch a ſhocking ſight: he turned away from diſguſt, and after a ſhort pauſe, gave vent to his pity in a flood of tears. He even cauſed the head to be burned with the moſt coſtly perfumes, and depoſited the aſhes in a temple he ordered to be built upon the ſpot, and which he dedicated to Nemeſis, the goddeſs among the ancients that puniſhed thoſe who were cruel to men in adverſity. Perhaps he would have done better, had he diſcharged the duty of Nemeſis himſelf, and ordered the execution of Theodotus; but this act of juſtice

was

was afterwards performed by Brutus, who finding that wretch in Aſia, where he endeavoured to conceal himſelf, ordered him inſtantly to be put to death.

THOUGH Cæſar met with a favourable reception upon his arrival at Alexandria, a quarrel ſoon broke out between him and the townſmen. They were offended at his entering the city with the enſigns of Roman power, as if they had been the ſubjects, not the allies of the Romans. They were likewiſe degraded with the haughty manner, as they imagined, in which he took upon him to ſummon their two ſovereigns to plead their reſpective rights to the ſucceſſion to the throne. The cauſe of the miſunderſtanding was this. Ptolemy, the late king of Egypt, had left, at his death, four children; two ſons, who were both called Ptolemy; and two daughters, the celebrated Cleopatra, and Arſinoe. By his will he ordered, that the elder of his ſons ſhould marry his eldeſt daughter, and ſhould jointly reign with her. This was a cuſtom, that had prevailed in Egypt for a long time, indeed ever ſince the reign of Lagus. The union, however, between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, was of very ſhort continuance. That haughty, ambitious princeſs, had the advantage of her brother in point of years, being ſeventeen at the time of her father's death, whereas Ptolemy was only thirteen. She therefore claimed a right to govern her brother, and take the adminiſtration of affairs into her own hands. But the guardians of the young king, and particularly Pothinus, the prime miniſter, claimed the ſovereign power in their maſter's name. Things continued in this ſituation, in the court of Egypt, till at laſt the Roman ſenate paſſed a decree, confirming the will of the late king, and appointing his ſon to be his ſucceſſor; and the young prince had no ſooner obtained this deciſion in his favour, than he baniſhed Cleopatra, who with her ſiſter Arſinoe retired into Syria, and aſſembled an army. Ptolemy marched out to meet her; and the two armies were in ſight of each other, and ready to engage, when Cæſar took upon him to decide the controverſy.

THE firſt ſtep he took for this purpoſe, was to command both parties to diſmiſs their forces, and appear before him in perſon, to make good their different claims. Cleopatra readily complied, convinced that, with a man of Cæſar's gallantry, this was the moſt effectual method of gaining her cauſe. But Pothinus, who bore an inveterate hatred both to Cæſar and Cleopatra, rejected the propoſal in his maſter's name, and ſent an army of twenty thouſand men to beſiege Alexandria, which was then in the poſſeſſion of the Romans. Cæſar, however, was able to repulſe the enemy for ſome time; but finding the

city of too great extent to be defended by ſuch a ſmall army as he was then at the head of, he retired to the palace, which commanded the harbour, where he reſolved to make his final ſtand. Achillas, who commanded the Egyptians, attacked him there with great vigour, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the fleet that lay before the palace. Cæſar, however, was too ſenſible of the advantage the enemy would derive from thoſe ſhips, to allow them to fall into the hands of Achillas; and he therefore burnt them all, in ſpite of every effort to prevent him. Unhappily ſome of the veſſels on fire communicated the flames to the adjacent quarter of the town; and the celebrated Alexandrian library, which had been collected by ſo many kings, and contained above 480,000 volumes, was entirely deſtroyed. This was, no doubt, a loſs to the learned world, even making allowance for the low ſtate of literature at that time. Cæſar then took poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Pharos, the key to the Alexandrian port; by which means he was enabled to receive the ſupplies which were ſent him; and in this ſituation, he determined to reſiſt the united force of the Egyptians. In the mean time Cleopatra prepared to make her appearance before her new judge; but how to get at him was the difficulty, as her enemies were poſſeſſed of all the avenues to the palace. At laſt ſhe fell upon the following ſtratagem. Having embarked on board a ſmall veſſel, ſhe landed, in the evening, near the palace, and being there wrapt up in a coverlet, ſhe was carried as a bundle of clothes into his very apartment. Her perſon at firſt pleaſed him; her wit and underſtanding made a ſtill ſtronger impreſſion; but her careſſes, which were carried beyond the bounds of innocence, effectually ſecured his favour.

WHILE Cleopatra was thus employed in forwarding her own views, her ſiſter Arſinoe was no leſs ſtrenuouſly engaged in purſuing a ſeparate intereſt. She had been able, by the aſſiſtance of one Ganymede, her confidant, to draw over a part of the Egyptian army to her ſide; and ſoon after entering the camp, ſhe cauſed Achillas to be murdered, and Ganymede to ſucceed him in the command, and to carry on the ſiege with greater vigour than ever. Ganymede's firſt effort was by letting in the ſea upon thoſe canals, which ſupplied the palace with freſh water; but this inconvenience Cæſar remedied by digging a great number of wells. He next built a fleet, and attacked that of the Romans; but though the latter were greatly inferior to the enemy both in the ſize and number of their ſhips, they yet gained advantages. He next made himſelf maſter of the Iſle of Pharos. Cæſar was determined to drive him from this poſt. He landed on the iſland, and got poſ-

ſeſſion

eſſion of it, and of the bridge that led from the iſle to the cauſeway. But the enemy remained maſters of another bridge, that joined the cauſeway to the continent.. The next day Cæſar returned to the charge, and cauſed this bridge to be attacked on one ſide by ſome of his ſhips, and on the other by three cohorts which he had poſted on the cauſeway. The enemy fought bravely; their land-forces defended the entrance of the bridge; and from their ſhips they diſcharged their ſlings and arrows on the cauſeway.

IN the heat of the action, ſome marines and rowers of the Roman fleet, partly through ambition, and partly curioſity, came and joined the combatants; but being ſeized with a panic, inſtantly fled, and ſpread a general terror through the enemy. All Cæſar's endeavours to rally his forces were in vain; the confuſion was paſt remedy; and many were either killed or drowned in attempting to eſcape. Above eight hundred men are ſuppoſed to have periſhed in this action. Cæſar, ſeeing the irremediable diſorder of his troops, retired to a ſhip, in order to get to the palace that was juſt oppoſite: but he was no ſooner on board, than ſuch crowds entered at the ſame time, that apprehending the ſhip would ſink, which it ſoon after did, he jumped into the ſea, and ſwam two hundred paces to the fleet that lay before the palace, all the while holding his commentaries in his left hand above water, and drawing his coat of mail after him with his teeth. However he had the fortune to loſe his coat of armour, which was rather an advantage; for being of a purple colour, and remarkably bright, it ſuſtained all the fury of the enemy's ſhot, while Cæſar ſwam on without being known or obſerved. The Alexandrians took it, and made it the principal ornament in the trophy they erected on the place of the engagement.

THE enemy now deſpairing of being able to take the place, endeavoured at leaſt to get their king out of Cæſar's hands, as he had ſeized upon his perſon in the beginning of their diſputes. For this purpoſe they had recourſe to their uſual duplicity, profeſſing the ſincereſt deſire of peace, and only wanting, as they ſaid, their lawful prince to give a ſanction to the treaty. Cæſar was too quick ſighted not to diſcover their aims: nevertheleſs he concealed his ſuſpicions, and ſuffered Ptolemy to join them, as he was under no apprehenſions from the abilities of a boy. Ptolemy was then but fifteen years of age, and at his leaving Alexandria affected to be deeply concerned. He even ſhed tears on the occaſion, and ſaid, that he took more pleaſure in the company of Cæſar than in the poſſeſſion of a crown. He had no ſooner, however, recovered his

his liberty than he did every thing in his power to puſh on the war with redoubled vigour.

IN this manner was Cæſar hemmed in by this artful and inſidious enemy, with all manner of difficulties againſt him; the ſeaſon of the year, for it was winter; and the ſcarcity of proviſions, which he could not eaſily procure, the Egyptians being poſſeſſed of all the adjacent country: but from this mortifying ſituation he was at laſt relieved by Mithridates Pergamenus, one of his moſt faithful partizans, who came with an army to his aſſiſtance. Upon the breaking out of the war, Cæſar had ſent this general into Syria and Cilicia, to raiſe troops for his ſervice. Mithridates acquitted himſelf of this commiſſion with great fidelity; and finding the people very favourably inclined, he in a ſhort time aſſembled a numerous body of forces, at the head of which he now advanced into Egypt, took Peluſium, repulſed the Egyptian army with loſs, and joining Cæſar, and attacking their camp, committed a terrible ſlaughter among the enemy: Ptolemy himſelf attempting to eſcape on board a veſſel that was ſailing down the river, was drowned by the ſhip's ſinking, and Cæſar became maſter of all Egypt without further oppoſition. He then appointed Cleopatra, with her younger brother, an infant, joint ſovereigns according to the intent of their father's will, and took Arſinoe with him, to prevent her forming any cabals againſt the government.

HAVING thus regulated all affairs of a public nature, he thought he might devote ſome time to the gratification of his private pleaſures. In fact, he was ſo captivated with the charms of Cleopatra, that he could not think of leaving her. Inſtead of going to Africa to quell the remains of Pompey's party, he ſpent whole nights with the young queen in feaſting, revelling, and every kind of debauchery. He even propoſed attending her up the Nile into Æthiopia; but the brave veterans, who had long followed his fortune, boldly remonſtrated againſt ſuch an expedition, and abſolutely refuſed to have any ſhare in it. Thus, at length, rouſed from his lethargy, he reſolved to prefer the call of ambition to that of love, and to leave Cleopatra, by whom he had a ſon, afterwards named Cæſario, in order to oppoſe Pharnaces, who had made ſome inroads upon the dominions of Rome, in the eaſt.

THIS prince, who was the ſon of the great Mithridates, whom (as we have mentioned above) he had unnaturally murdered, being deſirous of recovering the dominions of his anceſtors, ſeized upon Armenia and Colchis, and overcame Domitius, who had been ſent againſt him. Upon Cæſar's approach he was ſenſible that he had a very different enemy to deal

deal with. He therefore endeavoured to gain time by every art in his power. With this view he ſent ambaſſadors to propoſe an accommodation; but Cæſar deteſting alike his cruelty and perfidy, came ſuddenly upon him, and attacking him unawares, put him to a total rout. Pharnaces was reduced to a moſt miſerable ſituation. Aſander, one of his generals, had revolted againſt him, and made himſelf maſter of a great part of his dominions; and attacking his ſovereign, as he was returning to his capital, the latter loſt at once the battle and his life: a puniſhment too ſlight for his multiplied crimes. As to Cæſar, he gained the victory with ſo much eaſe, that he could not help obſerving, that Pompey had been very happy in obtaining the ſurname of Great by triumphing over ſo feeble a foe. In writing to a friend at Rome, he expreſſed the rapidity of his conqueſt in three words; *Veni, vidi, vici*; I came, ſaw, and overcame; and when he afterwards triumphed on account of this victory, he cauſed a tablet to be carried before him, with theſe very words inſcribed on it in capitals.

HAVING now ſettled all affairs in this part of the world as well as he could, he returned to Rome, where his preſence was indiſputably neceſſary. He had been created, during his abſence, conſul for five years, dictator for one year, and tribune for life. But Anthony, who in the mean time governed in Rome for him, had filled the city with riot and debauchery, and many commotions enſued, which nothing but the preſence of Cæſar could poſſibly appeaſe. This, indeed, he effectually did; for, by his great moderation and humanity, he ſoon reſtored tranquillity to the city, making ſcarce any diſtinction between the friends of his own party and thoſe of the other. Having thus re-eſtabliſhed his authority at home, he prepared to march into Africa, where Pompey's party had found time to rally under Scipio and Cato, aſſiſted by Juba, king of Mauritania. But the execution of this project had like to have been interrupted by a mutiny in his own army. Thoſe veteran legions, who had hitherto enabled him to make all his conqueſts, began to murmur at not having received the rewards that had been promiſed them, and now inſiſted upon their diſcharge. The ſedition broke out in the tenth legion, which had ever till then ſignalized themſelves by their valour and attachment to their general. Cæſar had not then wherewithal to ſatisfy them. He could only give them freſh aſſurances; and he accordingly ſent Salluſt, the new prætor, to acquaint them, that as ſoon as he had finiſhed the African war, he would not only beſtow upon them the lands and money he had already promiſed them, but likewiſe an additional gratuity of a thouſand denarii, that is about thirty guineas a man. Theſe

offers, which fell ſo far ſhort of the ſoldiers expectations, ſerved only to render them more deſperate. Salluſt was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, and the whole army, which was now wound up to the higheſt pitch of reſentment, immediately ſet out for Rome, plundering and pillaging all in their way, and even killing two old prætors whom they happened to meet. Cæſar was apprehenſive for the ſafety of the city; and he therefore cauſed the gates to be ſhut, and ſuch as were in readineſs to defend the walls. But he took theſe precautions for the ſecurity of the city, not of his own perſon; for as ſoon as he heard of the arrival of the mutineers in the Campus Martius, where they at laſt aſſembled, he boldly went out to them, and mounting the tribunal, he ſternly demanded what they wanted, or who had brought them there? This reſolute conduct ſeemed at once to confound them. They dared not ſo much as to mention the rewards, the delay in beſtowing which had been the original cauſe of the mutiny. They only ſaid, that being worn out with fatigue, and exhauſted by their numberleſs wounds, they were in hopes to obtain a diſcharge. "Then take your diſcharge (cried Cæſar), and when I ſhall have gained new victories with other troops, I will then perform my promiſe to you."

THE ſoldiers were thunderſtruck at theſe expreſſions. They little thought he would have granted them their diſcharge ſo eaſily, eſpecially at a time when he ſtood ſo much in need of their aſſiſtance; and they began to be afraid that another army might have the honour of finiſhing the conqueſt of the world, which they themſelves had ſo nearly achieved. They therefore unanimouſly ſolicited his pardon, and even offered to be decimated to obtain it. Cæſar ſaid that he had no intention of ſpilling their blood; but that ſoldiers, who were ſtill capable of ſervice, and yet refuſed to obey orders, could expect no ſlighter puniſhment than that of being diſcharged. They again renewed their entreaties for pardon; and Cæſar at laſt, though with ſeeming reluctance, granted as a favour what it was his intereſt earneſtly to deſire.

UPON his arrival in Africa, he ſoon came to a general engagement with the enemy near Thapſus, and obtained over them a complete victory, with very little loſs on his own ſide. Juba and Petreius, his generals, killed each other in deſpair: Scipio, attempting to eſcape by ſea into Spain, fell in among the enemy, and was ſlain; ſo that of all the generals of that unfortunate party, Cato was the only one that now remained alive.

THIS extraordinary man, who was equally proof againſt the ſmiles and frowns of fortune, having retired into Africa after the

the battle of Pharſalia, had led the few troops who ſurvived that defeat through burning ſands, and tracts infeſted with various kinds of ſerpents, and was now in the city of Utica, which he had been left to defend.

STILL, however, in love even with the appearance of a republic, he had formed the principal citizens, who attended him, into a ſenate, and conceived a reſolution of holding out the town. He accordingly aſſembled his ſenators upon this occaſion, and demanded their advice upon what meaſures were beſt to be taken, and whether they ſhould defend this laſt city that owned the cauſe of freedom. "If (ſaid he) you are determined to ſubmit to Cæſar, I muſt aſcribe your reſolution to neceſſity. If, on the contrary, you bear up againſt your miſfortunes, and are willing to ſuſtain the burthen, and encounter the danger of defending your liberty; in that caſe I not only applaud and admire your virtue, but offer myſelf to be your guide and companion in ſo glorious an enterprize to the very laſt extremity. It is not Utica, gentlemen, nor any other city in Africa, that is our country: it is Rome; Rome, who, through a noble oppoſition to ſlavery, has often recovered from greater calamities than thoſe that now oppreſs her. There are many motives to encourage us, and we have great reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, eſpecially if we reflect that our enemy is embroiled on all ſides. Spain has declared for young Pompey; and Rome itſelf, though ſubject to the tyrant, bears its yoke with indignation, and will take the firſt opportunity to ſhake it off. With regard to the dangers we run, why ſhould they terrify us? Let us profit by the example of our enemy, who braves all dangers to commit the moſt horrid crimes; whereas the riſk we run is of a very different nature. It is to enjoy a happy life, if we ſucceed; or if we fail, to ſhare the moſt honourable of all deaths, that of periſhing in defence of our country. However, I would have you reflect before you determine; and I wiſh, on account of the virtue and courage you have already ſhewn, that your determination may tend to your own advantage."

THIS ſpeech at firſt had a ſurpriſing effect. Some of them were ſtruck with the force of Cato's arguments; but what they chiefly admired was his generoſity, intrepidity, and compoſure of mind. They even almoſt forgot their danger and diſtreſs; and giving vent to a kind of enthuſiaſm, they beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on Cato, as alone invincible and ſuperior to fortune. They therefore made him a tender of their purſes, their perſons, and their arms, to be diſpoſed of as he thought proper; being convinced, as they ſaid, that it was more honourable to ſacrifice their lives in obedience to his orders,

orders, than to ſave them by betraying a man of his character.

BUT all this generous ardour was, as it were, but a mere flaſh, which the firſt reflection extinguiſhed, and which ceaſed to blaze the moment it was neceſſary to confirm their words by their actions. It was propoſed to ſet the ſlaves at liberty, to be employed as ſoldiers in the defence of the city. But Cato, who always regulated his conduct by the moſt rigid rules of juſtice, ſaid, that he would not injure the maſters ſo much as to take their ſlaves from them; but that he would willingly accept of as many as the proprietors thought proper to give him. The Roman ſenators who were with him readily approved of this propoſal; but the bulk of the aſſembly, which was compoſed of men of trade and buſineſs, were inſtantly damped at the thoughts of ſuffering ſo conſiderable a loſs; and their fear of Cæſar at the ſame time reviving, they quickly loſt all their ſentiments of honour, and their reſpect for Cato.

"WHO are we (ſaid they to one auother) and to whom do we refuſe to ſubmit? Does not Cæſar, in his ſingle perſon, comprehend all the forces of the empire; and are we Scipios, Pompeys, or Catos, to oppoſe him? What! at a time when the whole world ſubmits to his yoke, when the moſt determined courage is not without apprehenſions, ſhall we undertake the defence of Roman liberty? ſhall we diſpute the poſſeſſion of Utica with him, to whom Cato and Pompey the Great have abandoned Italy? And ſhall we ſet our ſlaves at liberty to fight againſt Cæſar, when we ourſelves have no more liberty left, than he is pleaſed to allow us? If we have not entirely loſt our ſenſes, let us be more juſt to ourſelves, and let the means of obtaining Cæſar's pardon be now our only concern."

CATO finding it in vain to force liberty upon people who were determined to be ſlaves, at laſt took his reſolution. He deſired ſome of his friends to ſave themſelves by ſea, and adviſed others to truſt to Cæſar's clemency; obſerving, that, as to himſelf, he was at length victorious. After ſupping chearfully among his friends, he retired to his apartment, where he behaved to his ſon and all his domeſtics with unuſual tenderneſs. When he came into his bed-chamber, he laid himſelf down, and took up Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the ſoul; and having read for ſome time, happening to caſt his eyes to the head of his bed, he was much ſurpriſed not to find his ſword there, which had been taken away by his ſon's order while they were at ſupper. Upon this, calling one of his ſervants, he aſked what was become of his ſword;

and

and receiving no anſwer, he reſumed his reading. Some time after he again aſked for his ſword, but without any hurry or paſſion, as if he had no particular uſe for it. When he had done reading, perceiving that nobody was diſpoſed to bring it him, he called all his ſervants one by one, and raiſing his voice, told them, that he was determined to have his ſword. His ſon now came into the room, and with tears in his eyes beſought him in the moſt humble manner to alter his reſolution. Cato immediately got up, and with a look that beſpoke his reſentment, ſaid, "Since when, then, have I loſt my ſenſes, that my ſon is become my keeper? I am treated juſt like a madman. No one makes uſe of argument or perſuaſion to undeceive me, if I am in an error; but I am to be prevented diſpoſing of my perſon by being diſarmed. Brave and generous ſon (added he) why do you not put your father in chains; why do you not tie my hands behind me, till Cæſar come, and find me incapable of defence? Had I a mind to deſtroy myſelf, I could equally effect it without a ſword; ſince by holding my breath for a few moments, or only daſhing my head againſt the wall, I could diſpatch myſelf, were I ſo diſpoſed." Theſe terrible words ſo ſhocked young Cato, that he retired with loud lamentations.

His father being now alone with the two philoſophers, Demetrius and Apollonides, ſpoke to them more mildly: "Do you alſo (ſaid he) approve of forcing a man of my years to live againſt his inclination, and keeping a conſtant watch over his actions? Or have you any reaſons to convince me, that it is not unworthy Cato to owe his life to his enemy? Why, then, do you not diſplay theſe arguments, which are ſo new to me, that by renouncing the maxims in which we were educated, and growing wiſer by Cæſar's leſſons, we may be ſtill the more obliged to him?

Demetrius and Apollonides knowing it would be in vain to make him any anſwer, retired weeping. One of his ſervants brought him his ſword. Cato drew it, examined it, and finding the point ſharp, and fit for execution, "Now (ſaid he) I am my own maſter." He laid down his ſword, took up his book, and read it from beginning to end. Plutarch aſſures us, that he afterwards ſlept, and that ſo ſoundly, that thoſe who waited without, and liſtened at the door, heard him ſnore. Upon waking, he called to one of his freedmen to know if his friends were embarked, or if any thing more could be done to ſerve them. The freedman aſſuring him that all was quiet, he was ordered again to leave the room, and Cato no ſooner found himſelf alone, than, ſeizing his ſword, he ſtabbed himſelf in the breaſt. The blow not diſpatching him,

him, he fell from his bed, and overturned a table on which he had been drawing ſome geometrical figures. At the noiſe he made in his fall, his ſervants gave a ſhriek, and his ſon and friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his gore, with his bowels puſhed out through the wound. The ſurgeon perceiving that the inteſtines were untouched, was for replacing them; but Cato recovering his ſenſes, and underſtanding their intention was to preſerve his life, puſhed the ſurgeon from him, and with a deſperate reſolution tore out his bowels and expired. He was forty-eight years of age when he died. Upon hearing of his death, Cæſar obſerved, that as Cato had envied him the glory of ſaving his life, ſo he had reaſon to envy the glory of dying ſo bravely.

THIS event terminating the war in Africa, Cæſar returned in triumph to Rome; and as if he had intended to abridge all his former triumphs only to increaſe the ſplendor of this, the citizens were aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of the proceſſion, and the number of the countries he had ſubdued. It laſted four days. The firſt was for Gaul, the ſecond for Egypt, the third for his victories in Aſia, and the fourth for that over Juba in Africa. His veterans, covered with ſcars, attended their triumphant general, crowned with laurels, to the capitol. To every one of theſe he gave a ſum equivalent to about an hundred and ſixty pounds ſterling, double that ſum to the centurions, and four times as much to the ſuperior officers. The citizens alſo partook of his bounty. To every one he diſtributed ten buſhels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and a ſum of money equal to about three pounds ſterling. After this, he entertained the people at twenty-two thouſand tables, and treated them with the combat of gladiators, which filled Rome with a crowd of ſpectators from every part of Italy.

THE people, intoxicated with the allurements of pleaſure, thought their freedom too ſmall a return for ſuch benefits. Indeed they were now become ſo degenerate, that they ſeemed even more eager to part with their liberty than the dictator was to ſeize it. Nay, they were induſtrious to find out new titles of honour by which they might addreſs him. He was created *Magiſter Morum*, or maſter of the morals of the people: he received the auguſt title of *Pater Patriæ*, or father of his country, and the name of *Imperator*, or emperor, not in the ſenſe in which it was formerly uſed, which was that of conqueror, but as ſignifying the man that poſſeſſed the whole authority of the republic; and this may be conſidered as the beginning of the imperial government of Rome, though it was not eſtabliſhed till ſome years after.

IT

IT muſt be acknowledged, however, that ſo great an authority could never have been committed to better hands; for though his conduct, in private life, was, in many reſpects, extremely vicious, he was yet poſſeſſed of the ſame admirable talents for regulating the affairs of civil government as for directing thoſe of a military nature. He began his reign by repreſſing vice, and encouraging virtue. He entruſted the power of judicature to the ſenators and the knights alone, and by many ſumptuary laws reſtrained the ſcandalous luxuries of the rich. He reformed the calendar, and with the aſſiſtance of the ableſt aſtronomers, regulated the year according to the courſe of the ſun, allotting to each year 365 days, and adding one day more to every fourth year, which was called biſſextile or leap-year. This was afterwards named the Julian period or old ſtyle, in oppoſition to the new ſtyle or Gregorian period; which laſt, though it had been long uſed in the other kingdoms of Europe, was not introduced into England till the year 1752.

HAVING thus reſtored proſperity to Rome, he again found himſelf under a neceſſity of going into Spain, to oppoſe an army which had been raiſed there under the two ſons of Pompey, and Labienus, his former general. Cneius and Sextus, Pompey's ſons, profiting by their unhappy father's fate, reſolved to protract the war as much as poſſible. Cneius was then beſieging Ulla, and Sextus was in Corduba with a ſtrong garriſon. Cæſar advanced towards the latter city; upon which Cneius raiſed the ſiege of Ulla, and endeavoured to oppoſe him. Cæſar at firſt attempted to bring Cneius to a battle, but finding that impoſſible, he inveſted and reduced a great number of cities.

POMPEY, fearing that all the other towns in the province would ſoon ſhare the ſame fate, reſolved to come to a general engagement. The two armies accordingly met upon the plains of Munda, and a dreadful conflict enſued. Cæſar's men were animated by hope, Pompey's by deſpair. The former thought they ſhould make this a final period to their military labours; the latter having been pardoned upon their being defeated in Africa, had no farther mercy to expect, ſhould they again be overcome. The firſt ſhock was ſo terrible, that Cæſar's troops, who had hitherto been uſed to conquer, began to give way. Cæſar was never in ſo much danger as now: he threw himſelf into the very thickeſt of the fight, crying out to his men, "What, are you going to give up your general, who is grown grey in fighting at your head, to a parcel of boys?" Upon this the tenth legion, willing to recover their general's former favour, exerted themſelves with more than uſual bravery; and a party of horſe being detached by Labienus in purſuit

purſuit of a body of Numidian cavalry, Cæſar cried aloud, that they were flying. This cry inſtantly ſpread itſelf through both armies, animating the one as much as it diſcouraged the other. Now, therefore, the tenth legion preſſed forward, and a total rout ſoon enſued. Thirty thouſand men were killed on Pompey's ſide, and amongſt them Labienus and Varus, on whom Cæſar beſtowed the uſual funeral honours. His own loſs amounted to a thouſand killed, and about five hundred wounded. It is evident that the conteſt muſt have been extremely obſtinate; for Cæſar afterwards was often heard to ſay, that on all other occaſions he had fought for victory, but at Munda he fought for life.

As to the two Pompey's, Cneius eſcaped with a few horſemen to the ſea-ſide, but finding his paſſage intercepted by Cæſar's lieutenants, he was obliged to ſeek for a retreat in an obſcure cavern. There, wounded and deſtitute of all kind of ſupport, he patiently awaited the approach of the enemy. He was ſoon diſcovered by ſome of Cæſar's troops, who cut off his head, and brought it to the conqueror. His brother Sextus had better fortune. He concealed himſelf ſo well in the mountains of Celtiberia, that he eluded the reſearches of his moſt active purſuers; ſo that Cæſar was obliged to return without him, after having ſeverely puniſhed the cities of Spain for their late pretended revolt.

CÆSAR having, by this laſt victory, ſubdued all his avowed enemies, returned to Rome to receive an accumulation of new dignities.

THE ſenate indeed ſeemed to be more eager to load him with honours than he was to accept them. He was ſo far from claiming any merit from the victory he had gained at Munda, that he did not even ſend an account of it to Rome; but the news of it had no ſooner reached that city, than the ſenators, with a ſervility which marks their degeneracy, decreed that public thankſgivings ſhould be returned for it to the gods for the ſpace of fifty days. Still, however, Cæſar maintained an appearance of moderation in his outward conduct, though he left no opportunity of increaſing his real power. He left the conſuls to be named by the people, but as he retained to himſelf the whole authority of the office, it was of little conſequence by whom it was poſſeſſed. He was even pleaſed to pardon all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him; but not till he had deprived them of the power of reſiſtance. Nay, he replaced the ſtatues of Pompey, which, however, as Cicero obſerves, was only an artful way of ſecuring his own.

HAVING thus ſeized into his own hands the whole power of the ſtate, he began to undertake ſuch magnificent works as might

might dazzle the eyes of his countrymen, and make them insensible of the disgrace they had sustained in the loss of their liberty. He intended to add to the ornaments of Rome by two superb edifices, of which he had already formed the plans, and laid the foundations. One was a theatre of an immense extent at the foot of the bottom of the Capitoline hill; the other was a temple to Mars, which was to be much bigger than any that had been yet seen in the world. Both these works were completed by his successor. He employed the learned Varro to form a library of all the Greek and Latin authors, which he intended for the use of the public. He rebuilt Carthage and Corinth, sending colonies to both cities: he proposed making a road all the way from the Adriatic sea to Rome, across the Appenine mountains, and to drain the Pontine marshes, which were not only useless, but extremely noisome; and he even designed to cut a canal through the isthmus of Corinth, so as to save the seamen the trouble of doubling the extremity of Peloponnesus.—But the greatest of all his undertakings, was the expedition he intended against the Parthians, by which he designed to revenge the death of Crassus, who, having penetrated too far into their country, was overthrown, himself taken prisoner, and put to a cruel death, by having molten gold poured down his throat, as a punishment for his former avarice. From thence Cæsar intended to go, by Hyrcania, to the borders of the Caspian sea, to pass mount Caucasus, then to penetrate into Scythia, whose frightful deserts he meant to traverse, and lastly to return, by Germany and Gaul, into Italy. These, it must be owned, were mighty projects, though some of them perhaps were scarce to be effected by any human power, and have been since attempted in vain by several princes, particularly the draining of the Pontine marshes, and the cutting a canal through the isthmus of Corinth.

CÆSAR, however, by these means gained the principal end he aimed at: he impressed his countrymen with such a firm belief of the extraordinary powers and abilities of his mind, that they actually looked upon him as something more than human, and they accordingly continued to load him with fresh honours and dignities. They called one of the months of the year after his name, namely the month of July, which had hitherto been called *Quintilis*, as being the fifth month from March, when the Romans began to reckon their year; but from this time forward it was called July, in honour of *Julius* Cæsar; and hence is derived our present month July. They even decreed him divine honours, sacrifices, incense, libations, altars, temples, fixt feasts, priests, and lastly the appeal-

appellation of *Jupiter Julius*; and Antony, his colleague in the conſulſhip, was appointed the prieſt of this new deity. Orders were iſſued for ſtatues to be erected to him in every temple and every city; and particularly two in the place of harangues; one of which wore the *corona civica*, implying that he had ſaved the citizens; and the other the corona obſidionalis, ſignifying that he had delivered his country. He alſo had a ſtatue erected to him in the temple of Quirinus, by the name of the invincible god; and another in the capitol, cloſe to thoſe of the ancient kings of Rome, in the midſt of which ſtood that of Lucius Brutus, the author and avenger of the Roman liberty. Theſe two laſt ſtatues ſeemed rather to be ominouſly placed for the perſon they were intended to honour. Quirinus, or Romulus, was torn in pieces by the ſenators, as a tyrant and oppreſſor; and Cicero ſays, in a letter to Atticus, that he was much better pleaſed to ſee Cæſar aſſociated with Quirinus than with the goddeſs of ſafety. As to Cæſar's ſtatue, which was placed next to that of the elder Brutus, it probably ſerved as a hint to the younger Brutus, who afterwards became the principal conſpirator.

BUT though Cæſar was now inveſted with the whole power of the ſtate, and certainly enjoyed all the authority of a king, he yet was not ſatisfied unleſs he had the title; and to obtain this, he employed a variety of expedients. Upon his return from mount Albany, where he had been to celebrate the Feriæ Latinæ, he entered the city in a kind of petty triumph; and among other compliments which his creatures paid him, ſome had even the temerity to proclaim him king. But the people, inſtead of ſhewing their approbation, teſtified their aſtoniſhment by their ſilence; and the dictator finding they were not yet diſpoſed to grant him ſuch a favour, replied, that he was not king, but Cæſar.

HITHERTO, however, he had done nothing that could ſubject him to the charge of directly affecting the royalty; but the following circumſtance was univerſally conſidered as a ſign of aiming at ſuch a diſtinction. Some perſon having, on this very occaſion, put a crown on one of Cæſar's ſtatues, two of the tribunes, Epidius Marullus and Cæſetius Flavus, not only ordered the crown to be taken off, but committed the man to priſon. They even made enquiry about thoſe who had proclaimed Cæſar king, and having diſcovered them, they likewiſe ſent them to priſon, and threatened to commence a proſecution againſt them.

IN point of good policy, Cæſar ſhould have commended the zeal of the tribunes; but inſtead of acting with ſo much prudence, he bitterly complained of the affront they had offered him

him. He ſaid they had deprived him of the glory of declining an honour that had been illegally conferred upon him, and had done all in their power to make the people believe that he aſpired to the royalty. Nor did he confine himſelf to complaints, but inſiſted that the tribunes ſhould be removed from their office; and this they accordingly were by a law propoſed by Cinna, one of their number, and a devoted partizan of the dictator's. Nay, he carried his reſentment ſo far, as to require the father of Cæſetius to diſinherit him; but this the old man refuſed to do; and Cæſar, who, even in his greateſt acts of injuſtice, always preſerved ſome ſentiments of generoſity, could not be offended at ſo laudable a reſolution.

THIS affair, however, ſerved to betray his thoughts with reſpect to the royalty; and notwithſtanding the different pretences he uſed to cover his reſentment againſt the tribunes, there was no perſon ſo dull as not to perceive the real motive. Or had there been any doubt remaining, Antony took care to remove it, and that too in the moſt public manner. In celebrating the Lupercalia, or feſtival of Pan, Antony, though at that time actual conſul, officiated as one of the Luperci, or prieſts of this extravagant ceremony. While the people were engaged in attending to the ſports, Cæſar was ſitting on a golden throne in the place of harangues, dreſſed in triumphal robes, and crowned with laurel. In this ſituation, he was accoſted by Antony, who preſented him with the diadem. The univerſal murmuring of thoſe who were preſent was a ſufficient hint to Cæſar to decline the proffered honour; and the huzzas which accompanied his refuſal ſhewed that the people highly approved of his conduct. Antony, however, made a ſecond attempt, and even fell down before the dictator, as if it had been to move him to compliance. But the people ſtill obſerved a profound ſilence, and by that means prevented Cæſar from accepting of what he moſt earneſtly deſired. Inſtead of putting the crown on his head, he placed it upon his throne; but perceiving that the people were not yet ſatisfied, he ſent it to the capitol, obſerving, at the ſame time, that Jupiter was the only king of the Romans. He permitted it, however, to be regiſtered in the Faſti, or journal of public events, that, on the feaſt of Pan, the conſul Antony having, by order of the people, tendered the crown to Cæſar, he had had the magnanimity to reject it.

FINDING it now impoſſible to obtain the title of king at Rome, he reſolved, at leaſt, to procure it in the provinces. With this view he perſuaded Cotta, one of the prieſts who had the keeping of the Sybilline books, to repreſent to the ſenate, that, according to the predictions contained in theſe

books, the Parthians could not be conquered but by a king; and that it was therefore neceſſary, before Cæſar ſet out on his Parthian expedition, to inveſt with that title at leaſt in the provinces. This is generally acknowledged as a fact; and it is the more remarkable, as Cæſar appears to have been ſenſible of the danger he incurred by ſuch an open affectation of the royalty; for the very day, on which Antony had offered him the crown as he returned home, he laid bare his throat, and ſaid, that his enemies now had nothing to do but to ſtrike, as they were certainly furniſhed with the moſt ſubſtantial of all reaſons for putting him to death.

HIS obſervation undoubtedly was well founded; and it was at that very time that the conſpiracy, by which he fell, was firſt ſet on foot. The Romans in general were exaſperated againſt him; and they took care to ſhew their reſentment in the moſt conſpicuous and yet in a covert manner. On the ſtatue of the elder Brutus, the following inſcription was placed—"Would thou couldſt come to life again!" And on that of Cæſar—"Brutus, for having expelled the kings, was created the firſt conſul; and this man, for having expelled the conſuls, is at laſt become king." The eyes of men now began to be turned towards Marcus Brutus, who then enjoyed the office of prætor; and he received ſeveral hints, exhorting him to ſhew himſelf worthy of his name. He frequently heard it ſaid—We want a Brutus; and he found, on the tribunal where he ſat as judge, ſeveral billets and inſcriptions, which reflected on his inactivity—"Brutus, you are aſleep; you are no true Brutus." He continued not long, however, to merit this accuſation, but ſoon became the principal leader and conductor of the conſpiracy. Not that the anonymous exhortations were his principal motive, or that he himſelf was the firſt contriver of the plot: Caſſius was the perſon that engaged him in it.

THIS man had long harboured a deſign againſt Cæſar's life; and he intended, at one time, to have effected his purpoſe by private aſſaſſination; but having now formed a more regular plan for ridding himſelf at once of a perſonal enemy, and his country of a tyrant and oppreſſor, he endeavoured to procure the aſſiſtance of as many of his friends as poſſible. With this view he began to ſound them; and they all promiſed moſt readily to join him, provided that Brutus would conſent to undertake the management of the plot. "We muſt not build our hopes (ſaid they) on our numbers, nor even on our courage; but the great point is to get ſuch a man as Brutus at our head, whoſe name alone can juſtify our proceedings. Without that, we ſhall want reſolution, and our meaſures will be

be liable to cenſure; for no one will believe, that if we had equity on our ſide, Brutus would have refuſed to be of our party." So high an opinion had the people of Brutus's virtue, which he enjoyed unenvied by Caſſius; and the latter, to ſhew his approbation of what had been ſaid, was willing to make the firſt advances to his brother-in-law; for Caſſius had married Brutus's ſiſter, and a coldneſs had for ſome time ſubſiſted between them in conſequence of a diſpute they had had about the right of precedence in the prætorſhip, which they both then enjoyed.

ACCORDINGLY Caſſius waited upon Brutus, and after a reconciliation made, and reciprocal aſſurances of friendſhip given, he aſked him whether he ſhould be at the ſenate on the firſt day of March, on which, he ſaid, he had heard, that Cæſar's friends intended to make him king. Brutus having anſwered, that he ſhould not be there; "But what (ſaid Caſſius) if we ſhould be perſonally cited?" "My duty then (replied Brutus) will teach me not to be ſilent, but to defend the cauſe of freedom, though death ſhould be the conſequence." Theſe words encouraged Caſſius, who now made no ſcruple to explain himſelf. "And is a Roman living, (replied he with ſome warmth) will ſuffer you to die before him? Can you be ſo ignorant of your own worth, or of the high eſtimation in which you are held by all your fellow citizens? Can you poſſibly think, that the inſcriptions, which you have read on your tribunal, were placed there by the mob, and by people of no conſequence, and not by the principal and moſt dignified perſons in the republic? Let others indulge their taſte for magnificence by diſplaying their liberality, and exhibiting public ſhows and combats of gladiators: from you 'tis expected, as a debt due to your name, and to the glory of your anceſtors, that you ſhould free your country from tyrants. All honeſt citizens are ready to join you, could they once be convinced that you are heartily engaged in the cauſe."

AFTER this, Brutus made no farther difficulty in undertaking the management of the plot; and he and Caſſius exerted themſelves ſo ſtrenuouſly, that the number of conſpirators was ſoon raiſed to upwards of ſixty. Among theſe were Legarius, Trebonius, Labeo, Servilius, Caſca and his brother, Tullius Cimber, Menacius Baſilus, and others, all of them perſons of the firſt rank in Rome. Even a woman was let into the ſecret; or, to ſpeak more properly, having half diſcovered their deſign, ſhe compelled them to admit her. This was the noble Porcia, whoſe fortitude was ſuch as might have been expected from the daughter of Cato, and the wife of Brutus. Though the latter had undertaken the management

of an affair, in which were embarked the lives and fortunes of many of the principal citizens, he had yet ſufficient command over his paſſions to preſerve an air of ſerenity in his looks during the day, and in all public places; but when he returned home, and eſpecially during the night, he could not maintain the ſame kind of firmneſs, and his wife perceived, that his breaſt laboured with ſome mighty deſign, ſome important concern, which he carefully endeavoured to conceal from her. As ſhe loved him tenderly, ſhe was deſirous of ſharing with him in his preſent inquietude. But before ſhe would demand any explanation from him, ſhe reſolved to make a very extraordinary trial of her own fortitude. She accordingly took a knife, and having ſent her woman out of the room, ſhe ſtabbed herſelf with it in the thigh. The wound bled copiouſly, and the anguiſh that attended it was followed by a fever. Brutus was filled with the moſt terrible apprehenſions for the ſafety of his wife, who, in the extremity of her ſufferings, addreſſed her huſband thus—"Brutus, I am Cato's daughter, and was given you, not merely to ſhare your bed and table as a miſtreſs, but to partake of your good or your bad fortune. Your behaviour to me has been irreproachable. But how can I ſerve you, or in what manner can I ſhew my ſenſe of your goodneſs, if it be not in aſſiſting you to ſupport the latent uneaſineſs that now oppreſſes you, and to calm your diſturbed and diſtracted mind? Why then do you deny me your confidence? I know that women in general have no great reputation for ſecrecy; but a virtuous education, and the keeping of good company, have a great influence on the tempers and diſpoſitions, even of women: and who has a better right to claim ſome merit on thoſe accounts, than Cato's daughter, and Brutus's wife? However, I relied not on what is paſt; I reſolved to put my fortitude to a freſh trial; and I am now convinced, that pain itſelf cannot get the better of my courage." So ſaying, ſhe ſhewed him the wound ſhe had given herſelf, and acquainted him likewiſe with her reaſon for giving it. Brutus was wrapt in wonder and admiration at her extraordinary virtue, and with uplifted hands implored the gods, that, by ſucceeding in his enterprize, he might ſhew himſelf a huſband not unworthy ſo exalted a character as Porcia. He then acquainted her with the whole ſcheme of the conſpiracy, nor had he any reaſon to repent of the confidence he had repoſed in her.

THE plot being now brought to maturity, the next queſtion was, what was the moſt proper place for putting it in execution. Some propoſed the Campus Martius, while Cæſar ſhould be preſiding at the election of magiſtrates; others thought

thought it would be better to attack him while he was entering the theatre, or while walking in the ſacred ſtreet that led to the capitol; but the majority were of opinion, that the beſt method would be to kill him in the ſenate-houſe, and in the midſt of the ſenators while fully aſſembled. From this they hoped to derive two material advantages. In the firſt place it would furniſh themſelves with an opportunity of meeting without giving cauſe for any ſuſpicion, as almoſt all of them were ſenators; and, in the next place, it would enable ſuch of the other ſenators, as wiſhed well to their cauſe, to join them immediately on the death of the tyrant. Even the very place where the ſenate was to meet on the ides of March, the day on which they meant to execute their project, and the ſenate propoſed conferring upon Cæſar the title of king in all the provinces of the empire beyond the limits of Italy, ſeemed to have ſomething in it that might be conſtrued into a favourable omen. It was an apartment built by Pompey, contiguous to his theatre; it bore his name, and on the inſide was adorned with his ſtatue; ſo that if Cæſar could be killed in this place, the gods themſelves might ſeem to have brought to Pompey his moſt acceptable victim.

A PLOT, however, that was known to ſo many, could not well be conducted without giving cauſe for ſome ſuſpicion; even Cæſar began to be apprehenſive of the ſecret deſigns of Brutus and Caſſius. For one day, when he was adviſed to be on his guard againſt Antony and Dolabella; "O! (ſaid he) it is not thoſe plump, jolly, well-dreſſed fellows that I am afraid of; it is your pale, meagre ones;" alluding thereby to Brutus and Caſſius. Brutus particularly appeared formidable to him both on account of his extraordinary courage, the ſeverity of his morals, and the great number of his friends; and once, when he was cautioned againſt truſting him too far, "What (ſaid he, clapping his hand on his heart) do you imagine, that Brutus will not ſtay till this debilitated carcaſe has finiſhed its career?" This he ſeems to have ſaid from a conviction, that, after himſelf, no one had a better right, than Brutus, to enjoy the firſt poſts of power and dignity in Rome.

HAD Cæſar been of a ſuperſtitious, or even a ſuſpicious diſpoſition, there were ſeveral circumſtances that might have been conſtrued into prognoſtics of his fall. The augurs had foretold, that his life would be in danger on the ides of March, and for thirty days before. But what ſeemed to make the chief impreſſion upon his mind was a dream, which his wife Calphurnia had the night preceding his aſſaſſination. She dreamt of her holding him in her arms all bloody and covered with wounds. When ſhe awaked in the morning, ſhe ac-

quainted him with this circumſtance, and earneſtly intreated him not to go abroad that day; and as Cæſar happened to be ſomewhat indiſpoſed, he ſeemed at firſt inclined to follow her advice, and gave orders to Antony to go and diſmiſs the ſenate. But Decimus Brutus, one of the conſpirators, who happened to be preſent, proteſted ſtrongly againſt ſuch a reſolution. He repreſented to the dictator, that, by the propoſed delay, he would furniſh his enemies with arms againſt himſelf; that the ſenate, whoſe intent in aſſembling was to confer upon him the title of king, and the ſovereignty of all the provinces beyond Italy, would conſider ſuch a delay as a manifeſt affront; that ſhould they be told they muſt defer their deliberations till Calphurnia happened to have better dreams, every body would think he meant to reduce them, not only to a ſtate of abſolute ſlavery, but even to ſuch a contemptible condition, as to render them objects of ridicule to all the world; and finally, that if no arguments could diſſuade him from proroguing the ſenate, he had better go to it himſelf, and propoſe it to the members. He concluded his diſcourſe by taking the dictator by the hand, and as it were leading him out of his houſe.

THIS was a moſt critical moment to the conſpirators; for the plot was now diſcovered, and Cæſar had like to have been informed of it. When he came out of his houſe, there was a ſlave that attempted to ſpeak to him, but not being able to approach on account of the crowd, he went to Calphurnia, and deſired her to ſecure him till the dictator's return, as he had ſomething of the laſt importance to communicate to him.

IN his way to the ſenate, he received a circumſtantial account of the whole conſpiracy, which was put into his hands by Artemidorus, the Greek philoſopher. This man, who aſſiſted ſeveral of Brutus's friends in their ſtudies, had made a diſcovery of the whole plot; and having drawn up a memorial containing the heads of his information, he joined the perſons who were preſenting petitions to Cæſar. But obſerving, that the dictator delivered every paper, as he received it, to a ſecretary, he came cloſe up to him, and as he delivered his memorial, he ſaid to him, "Read this immediately, for it concerns you much." Cæſar, accordingly, kept the memorial; but by reaſon of the numbers that preſſed round him, and to whom he was obliged to give audience, he had no time to read it. As he entered the ſenate-houſe, he met Spurinna, the augur, who had foretold his danger, to whom he ſaid, ſmiling, "Well, Spurinna, the ides of March are come." "Yes, (replied the augur) but they are not yet gone."

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THE conſpirators had arrived ſome time before him, and longed for his appearance. Brutus had come alone: the reſt had attended Caſſius, whoſe ſon had that day entered into man's eſtate, and taken the cuſtomary habit; and after the ceremony, they all met in Pompey's portico, where the ſenate was convened.

Plutarch obſerves, that any ſpectator, who had been let into the ſecret, muſt have been ſtruck with admiration at the courage and intrepidity of theſe men, who, though they were upon the point of executing ſo hazardous an enterprize, yet maintained a ſerenity in their words and actions, as if they had intended nothing uncommon. Some of them were prætors, and actually ſat as judges, hearing cauſes with all the preſence of mind imaginable, diſcuſſing the various points that aroſe in the proceedings, and giving ſuch judgments as the nature of the caſe ſeemed to require: and when a perſon, whom Brutus had condemned, threatened to appeal to Cæſar, Brutus replied with great indifference, "Cæſar neither does nor will prevent my ſeeing the laws obſerved."

SEVERAL things, however, happened, ſufficient to alarm the fears of the conſpirators. The firſt and principal one was Cæſar's delay in coming, occaſioned, as we have ſaid, by Calphurnia's dream. Then Caſca, one of the party, had like to have divulged the ſecret, through an ambiguous compliment that was paid him. One of his friends came up to him, and ſaid, "You thought to have been very ſecret, but Brutus has acquainted us with the whole affair." Caſca thought this man had been informed of their deſign, and had he replied, the whole had been diſcovered. But his ſurpriſe gave the other time to add, with a ſmile, "What then, my friend, are you all of a ſudden grown ſo rich as to ſtand for the edility?" The words compoſed Caſca, who trembled to think of the danger, into which his inadvertency had almoſt led him.

BRUTUS himſelf had a moſt violent ſhock to ſuſtain; word being brought him, that his wife Porcia, who had been for ſome time indiſpoſed, was now at the point of death. Having drawn the ſecret from her huſband in the manner we have mentioned, ſhe had had the fortitude, for ſome time, to maintain the uſual ſerenity of her temper; but when the moment arrived for the execution of the plot, ſhe was ſuddenly ſeized with a moſt dreadful panic. The leaſt noiſe alarmed her; ſhe enquired of every one ſhe ſaw, whether any accident had happened to Brutus, and ſent meſſenger after meſſenger to bring her information. Unable, at laſt, to ſuſtain any longer ſuch a violent conflict of paſſion, ſhe grew pale, and preſently

loſt her ſenſes; and her attendants, with difficulty, got her into her chamber, and put her to bed. It was now generally thought that ſhe could not recover; and an account of this accident was immediately ſent to Brutus. He was greatly concerned; but not ſo much as to be drawn off from the proſecution of the public enterprize in which he had engaged: the intereſt of his country outweighed with him every private conſideration, even thoſe of the moſt tender and affecting nature.

THE conſpirators could not be ſaid to be free from alarms to the very laſt moment: for juſt as Cæſar ſtepped out of his carriage, a ſenator, named Popilius, came up and ſpoke to him for ſome time with much emotion; and Cæſar ſeemed to liſten to him with great attention. Now this Popilius had, ſome time before, come to Brutus and Caſſius, and ſaid, "I wiſh your deſign may ſucceed, and I adviſe you not to delay it any longer; for if you do, it will be diſcovered, as there are already ſeveral private accounts of it." From this diſcourſe they inferred, that Popilius was privy to their deſign; and when they ſaw him ſpeak to Cæſar, they and their friends, to whom they had communicated their ſuſpicions, began to conclude, that he was giving the dictator an account of the conſpiracy. The conſequence was, that an univerſal conſternation took place among them: they looked at each other, and agreed by ſigns not to wait till they were ſeized, but to kill themſelves, and thereby prevent the ignominy of a public execution. Nay, Caſſius and ſome of the reſt had already laid their hands on their daggers; when Brutus, obſerving, from the geſture and attitude of Popilius, that he rather appeared like a ſuppliant than accuſer, quickly perceived his error; and as he had no opportunity of ſpeaking to his aſſociates in ſo mixt an aſſembly, he, by the ſerenity of his looks and the compoſure of his countenance, endeavoured to make them know, that they were in no danger. In effect, after ſome minutes further converſation, Popilius kiſſed the dictator's hand, and retired; and Cæſar, at laſt, came into the ſenate.

HE had no ſooner taken his ſeat, than the conſpirators came near him under pretence of ſaluting; and Cimber, who was one of them, approached him in a ſuppliant poſture, pretending to ſue for his brother's pardon, who had been baniſhed by his order. All the conſpirators ſeconded him with great earneſtneſs; and Cimber, ſeeming to ſue with ſtill greater ſubmiſſion, took hold of his robe with both his hands, ſo as to prevent his riſing. This was the ſignal agreed on. Caſca, who ſtood behind, ſtabbed him, though ſlightly, in the ſhoulder.

ſhoulder. Cæſar turning round, and obſerving Caſca, "Wretch (ſaid he) what are your deſigns?" and at the ſame time wounded him in the arm with the ſtile of his tablet. By this time the conſpirators had all taken the alarm, and incloſing him round, he received a ſecond ſtab from an unknown hand in the breaſt, while Caſſius wounded him in the face. He ſtill defended himſelf with great vigour, ruſhing among them, and throwing down ſuch as oppoſed him, till he ſaw Brutus among the conſpirators, who, coming up, ſtruck his dagger into his thigh. From that moment Cæſar thought no more of defending himſelf; but looking ſteadfaſtly on Brutus, he exclaimed, "And you too, my ſon?" Cæſar uſed to call him by that tender name, either on account of the paternal affection he had conceived for him, or becauſe he really believed him to be his ſon, having formerly carried on an intrigue with his mother, Servilia. Finding now his fate inevitable, he covered his head, and ſpreading his robe before him in order to fall with the greater decency, he reeled towards Pompey's ſtatue, where he fell, after receiving twenty-three wounds from thoſe whom he vainly ſuppoſed he had diſarmed by his benefits.

Cæſar was killed in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and he had attained to his fortieth before he began the conqueſt of Gaul; ſo that all the great actions, which have immortalized his name, and the proofs he gave of a genius in appearance even more than human, were comprized within the ſpace of about fourteen years. He was certainly born to command mankind, if great qualities alone could entitle him to that diſtinction. Had his birth or a regular election placed him on a throne, he had doubtleſs been an example worthy the imitation of all ſovereign princes. But his private conduct is by no means entitled to the ſame praiſe, his whole life being one continued ſcene of rapine and extortion, luxury and profuſion, and a brutal indulgence in the moſt criminal pleaſures.

CHAP. XXIII.

From the Death of CÆSAR, *to the Eſtabliſhment of the* IMPERIAL POWER *in the Perſon of* AUGUSTUS.

[ANN. ROM. 710.]

AS the conſpirators had reaſon to think, that the majority of the ſenate approved of their deſign, they fondly hoped, that, now it was completed, they would have the courage openly to declare in their favour. In this, however, they were greatly diſappointed; for when Brutus attempted to harangue them, and explain to them the motives of his own conduct, and that of his aſſociates, they were ſo far from liſtening to him with a favourable ear, that they inſtantly broke up in the greateſt confuſion. The people, too, hearing of the dictator's death, began to be alarmed, and leaving their uſual occupations, ran tumultuouſly through the city, ſome for the ſake of further information, others to provide for their own ſafety, but the far greater part with the hope of enriching themſelves by plunder. In this diſpoſition of men's minds, the conſpirators thought it unſafe for them to make their appearance in public; and they therefore retired to the capitol, which they eaſily ſeized, and ſecured with a body of gladiators belonging to Brutus.

MEANWHILE the friends of the late dictator, and particularly Antony and Lepidus, obſerving the preſent irreſolution of the ſenate, and knowing the ſtrong attachment which the people had always had to Cæſar's perſon, and the regard they ſtill ſeemed to retain for his memory, imagined that this was a favourable opportunity for gratifying their ambition under the veil of promoting juſtice. With this view they took poſſeſſion of the Forum with a band of ſoldiers that lay in the neighbourhood; and Antony, as being conſul, was permitted to command them. Their firſt ſtep was to get into their hands all Cæſar's papers and money, which were readily delivered to them by Calphurnia; and their next was to convene the ſenate.

NEVER had this aſſembly been convened upon ſo delicate an occaſion, as it was to determine whether Cæſar had been a legal magiſtrate or a tyrannical uſurper; and whether thoſe, who put him to death, deſerved rewards or puniſhment. Some thought,

thought, that they not only deſerved rewards, but even additional honours and dignities. Others, without mentioning rewards, which, it is probable, the conſpirators themſelves did did not expect, propoſed, that public thanks ſhould be returned them; and the leaſt favourable were of opinion, that they ought all of them to be indulged with a pardon. But there were ſome who obſerved, that before any thing could be determined concerning the conſpirators, it was neceſſary to inquire into Cæſar's character and conduct; becauſe the treatment the former were to receive would depend upon the idea they ſhould form of the latter.

THE intention of thoſe, who propoſed ſuch an inquiry, was to have Cæſar declared a tyrant. Antony eaſily perceived their aim, and in order to defeat it he ſtarted an objection, which, however natural, had never been thought of before. He repreſented, that if Cæſar was declared a tyrant, his acts and ordinances muſt of courſe be repealed. This, he ſaid, was impoſſible, becauſe thoſe acts affecting the whole empire, the repeal of them would be productive of univerſal confuſion. "But without extending our views ſo far (added he), let us begin by ſettling one ſingle point. All of us, who are the leading men of the ſenate, have received many favours from Cæſar; for 'tis to him we are indebted for the employments we have lately held, which we now hold, or hope ſhortly to enjoy."

THIS objection made a great change in the ſentiments of the aſſembly. Thoſe, who imagined they had nothing to do but to paſs ſentence upon Cæſar, began to perceive, that their own private intereſts were no leſs concerned than thoſe of the public; and that they could not condemn the memory of the late dictator without running the riſk of loſing the whole, or at leaſt the greateſt part of their fortunes. They therefore readily accepted a propoſal that was made them by Antony; and that was, that no farther inquiry ſhould be made into Cæſar's death, and yet that all his acts ſhould be ratified. This propoſal, which was ſoon converted into a decree, contained a groſs and manifeſt contradiction. It, in ſome meaſure, declared Cæſar to be both innocent and guilty at the ſame time; for if he was innocent, his murderers ought to have been puniſhed, and if he was guilty, his acts ſhould not have been confirmed: but as it was calculated to gratify the wiſhes and to promote the intereſts of both parties, it was readily adopted. It ſecured the conſpirators from all the danger to which they might have been expoſed on account of their putting Cæſar to death, and it left every one in the quiet enjoyment of thoſe honours and dignities, which, by the dictator's bounty, they

already poſſeſſed. Nay, it put ſome of them in poſſeſſion of freſh honours; for either in conſequence of an order which Cæſar had made, or becauſe it was known to be agreeable to his views, the government of Macedonia was beſtowed upon Brutus, that of Syria upon Caſſius; Aſia, properly ſo called, was aſſigned to Trebonius, Bithynia to Tullius Cimber, and Decimus Brutus was confirmed in the government of Ciſalpine Gaul. To ſhew their ſincerity in this accommodation, Antony and Lepidus, the two leading men on the one ſide, invited Brutus and Caſſius, the moſt capital characters on the other, to ſup with them. The invitation was accepted, and the evening paſſed with great gaiety and freedom. Only when Antony aſked Caſſius in jeſt whether he had ſtill a dagger under his robe, the other replied, "Yes, I have, and a ſharp one too, which I ſhall not ſcruple to employ againſt you, if you purſue the ſteps of the man I have killed." But though Antony had been the firſt propoſer of this compromiſe, he had no intention of adhering to it. He only meant it as an artful expedient to gain time until he ſhould be able to put himſelf in a condition of accompliſhing his grand object; and that was the exaltation of his own power under the appearance of revenging the death of Cæſar.

THE firſt ſtep he took for this purpoſe was to obtain the conſent of the ſenate to Cæſar's body being buried publicly, and at the expence of the ſtate, and to have his will carried into complete execution. Brutus too readily agreed to both theſe meaſures; but Caſſius ſtrongly oppoſed them, from a conviction, that they would naturally tend to revive the affection of the people for their late dictator, and involve the conſpirators in freſh difficulties. Nor was he miſtaken in his conjecture; for when Antony began to read to them Cæſar's will, (in which he had appointed his grand-nephew, Octavius, his ſucceſſor, and left the people the uſe of his gardens beyond the Tyber, and to every citizen about two pounds ſeven ſhillings in ready money) they were ſo deeply affected, that inſtead of conſidering the dictator as a tyrant, they regarded him as a tender parent, who, not ſatisfied with doing them good, while alive, thought even of benefiting them after his death. Antony finding things had taken the turn he both wiſhed and expected, now addreſſed the aſſembly in a more pathetic ſtrain. He preſented to them Cæſar's bloody robe, and, as he unfolded it, took care they ſhould obſerve the number of ſtabs in it: then diſplaying a waxen image all covered with wounds, which to them appeared to be the body (for the real body was placed on a funeral pile in the midſt of the Forum), "This," cried he, "is all that is left of him who was befriended by the gods,

gods, and loved by mankind even to adoration. This is he, to whom we vowed eternal fidelity, and whoſe perſon both the ſenate and people concurred to declare ſacred. Behold now the execution of theſe vows! behold here the proofs of our gratitude! The braveſt of men deſtroyed by the moſt ungrateful of the ſpecies. He, who ſhowered down his favours upon his fellow citizens, found his death as the only reward! Is there none to revenge his cauſe? Is there none, who, mindful of former favours, will ſhew himſelf now deſerving of them? Yes, there is one: behold me, O Jupiter, thou avenger of the brave, ready to offer up my life on this glorious occaſion. And you, ye deities, protectors of the Roman empire, accept my ſolemn vows, and favour the rectitude of my intentions." By this time the reſentment of the people was wound up to the higheſt pitch, and they fell upon various methods to expreſs it. Some propoſed burning the body of Cæſar in the chapel of Jupiter Capitolinus, and others in the hall where he had been murdered; but the authority of the prieſts and magiſtrates prevented theſe exceſſes, which might have been the ruin of ſome of the fineſt and moſt ſacred edifices in Rome. At this inſtant two armed men came up to the pile, and ſet it on fire; and the mob put in practice what they had done about nine years before in burning the body of Clodius. They pulled up the ſeats of the judges, and the counters of the bankers and ſhop-keepers, and threw them into the flames. They likewiſe flung into them the gifts and offerings that had been brought thither, and all the pompous decorations of the funeral. The ſoldiers alſo caſt in their arms, and ſome of them their crowns, or other military honours. Nay, the ladies could not refuſe to ſacrifice their ornaments to Cæſar, and they made their children follow their example. By this time the flames were become ſo violent as to reach the houſe of a patrician in the neighbourhood, which was thereby conſumed, and ſeveral other buildings, both ſacred and profane, would have ſhared the ſame fate, had not the conſuls taken care to prevent it by ſtationing ſoldiers in proper places. The rage of the populace continuing ſtill to increaſe, they ran with flaming brands to the houſes of the conſpirators, which they endeavoured to ſet on fire; but theſe laſt being prepared to receive them, the others were obliged to retire, though not without threatening to return the next day in much greater numbers. The fury of the mob againſt Cæſar's murderers proved fatal to one of his friends. This was Helvius Cinna, who coming late to the ceremony, and his name being mentioned, the people miſtook him for that Cinna, who was one of the conſpirators; and notwithſtanding his

his moſt ſolemn proteſtations that he was a quite different perſon, they tore him in pieces.

SUCH were the effects of the funeral oration, which Antony pronounced in honour of Cæſar. Finding, however, that, by this means, he had forfeited the friendſhip of the ſenate, he endeavoured to regain the good-will of that auguſt body, of whoſe aſſiſtance, he foreſaw, he might yet ſtand in need. With this view he aboliſhed the dictatorſhip, and the honour of the action he reſerved entirely to himſelf. He did not propoſe the matter to the ſenate, as was uſual, but he brought a decree with him ready drawn up, by which the office and title of dictator were for ever aboliſhed; imprecations were denounced againſt any one who ſhould attempt to revive it; and a power was given to every citizen to attack and kill him with the moſt perfect impunity. This was, in ſome meaſure, caſting a ſlur upon Cæſar's memory; but the vindication of Cæſar's honour, and the revenge of his death, were with Antony only ſecondary objects.

AT the ſame time he was no leſs ſerviceable to the ſenators, in ſuppreſſing ſpeedily a ſeditious mob, that, if not timely checked, might have proved fatal to them. The dictator's aſhes having been collected by his freedmen, and depoſited in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, the people erected an altar on the ſpot where his body had been burnt; and near the altar they built a marble pillar twenty feet high, with this inſcription, *Patri Patriæ*; to the father of his country. There public worſhip was performed to Cæſar; vows and oaths were confirmed by his name; and libations and ſacrifices were offered to him.

THE mob, which daily aſſembled in this place, was ſo much the more dangerous, as it was headed by a man of a daring ſpirit, who for ſome years had endeavoured, by a groſs impoſture, to raiſe himſelf into notice. He was of low extraction, and named Amatius; but from the reſemblance of the name he pretended to be a grandſon of the famous Marius, conſequently he claimed a conſanguinity with the Cæſars; and even during the dictator's life-time he had been hardy enough to broach this falſhood, and cunning enough to make it partly ſucceed. Several ladies that were related to Cæſar, had acknowledged him as their kinſman; and numbers of the people had become his partizans. This happened while Cæſar was engaged in the laſt Spaniſh war.

AMATIUS at that time put young Octavius's prudence to a ſevere trial. Hearing that this favourite nephew of the dictator's was coming to Rome, he went as far as the Janiculum to meet him, attended by all his followers, and demanded

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to be treated and acknowledged as a relation. Octavius knew not at firſt what anſwer to give. Convinced of the impoſture, he was unwilling to authorize it by any act of his, and yet he thought there might be ſome danger in denying a man with ſo numerous a retinue. He therefore choſe a very wiſe medium: "Cæſar (ſaid he to the impoſtor) is the head of our family, as well as of the empire. You ſhould therefore apply to him if you would be acknowledged as a relation. His deciſion ſhall be a rule to me, which, you may depend upon it, I will faithfully follow."

WHEN Cæſar returned to Rome, Amatius, ſo far from concealing himſelf, had the inſolence, in ſome meaſure, to vie with him; and when the dictator permitted the people to come and compliment him in his gardens, this wretch placed himſelf under an adjacent arcade, where he had almoſt as numerous a court as the other. Cæſar, however, ſoon put an end to this farce. He enquired into the man's hiſtory; and finding him to be no better than a farrier, he baniſhed him from Italy. After Cæſar's death, Amatius appeared again at Rome. He renewed his intrigues with the populace, and pretending to be zealous for the puniſhment of Cæſar's murderers, he began already to threaten the ſenate for having ſuffered them to eſcape ſo long. Antony freed them from this uneaſineſs. He ordered the pretended Marius to be ſeized, and to be ſtrangled in priſon. The ſenate were alarmed at this military execution; but the benefit ariſing from it was ſufficient, in their eyes, to excuſe the great irregularity of the proceeding. The death of Amatius, however, did not reſtore tranquillity to Rome. The people, though deprived of their leader, ſtill continued to pay religious homage to Cæſar. Dolabella, therefore, the other conſul, reſolved to cut up this evil by the roots: he overturned at once both the altar and pillar, diſperſed the multitude, and having ſeized the moſt mutinous among them, he cauſed ſuch of them as were freemen to be thrown from the top of the Tarpeian rock, and ſuch as were ſlaves he ordered to be crucified.

THE laſt proof which Antony gave of his complaiſance to the ſenate, was the readineſs with which he agreed to the reſtoration of Sextus Pompey to his native country. This unhappy repreſentative of the moſt popular family in Rome, after concealing himſelf for ſome time in the mountains of Celtiberia, at laſt made his appearance; and collecting the ſcattered remains of the battle of Munda, and being alſo joined by ſome other forces, ventured to ſeize upon ſeveral towns in the open country; and though he was attacked by two of Cæſar's lieutenants, Carinas and Pollio, he yet found means

means to repulſe them both. His affairs had already begun to wear a favourable aſpect, when he received the news of the dictator's death. This information increaſed his hopes, and ſtrengthened his party; and he had even the courage to write to Rome, deſiring leave to return home, and to be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his property. Antony ſupported his pretenſions in every thing but one, and that was the reſtoration of his property; for this Antony either poſſeſſed, or had ſquandered away: but he propoſed, in lieu of it, that Sextus ſhould be allowed about a million and a half ſterling out of the public treaſury, and moreover that he ſhould be appointed commodore of the ſeas, as his father had been before him. Nothing could be more agreeable to the ſenate than ſuch a propoſal. The affair, however, was delayed for ſome time; but when it was completed, the ſenate even allowed Sextus more than Antony propoſed: they gave him about five millions and a half ſterling, which plainly ſhewed, that their intention was not merely to indemnify him for his loſs, but likewiſe to arm him for the ſervice of the ſtate. Upon this Pompey departed from Spain, though he thought not proper immediately to return to Rome. He made uſe, however, of his title of commodore, or ſuperintendant of the ſeas, to aſſemble all the veſſels he could meet with in the ports of Spain or France; and he remained ſome time at Marſeilles to ſee what turn affairs were likely to take. Theſe indeed were now beginning to aſſume a new form.

ANTONY pretended, that, by the late ſteps he had taken, he had expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of the people; and he therefore entreated the ſenate to grant him a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon. The ſenate conſented; but they had no ſooner done ſo, than they had reaſon to repent of it; for, inſtead of a guard, Antony contrived to draw about him a body of about ſix thouſand veterans, with which he was able to controul all the proceedings of government.

HAVING thus aſſembled an army, his next care was to ſupply himſelf with money; and for this purpoſe he fell upon various expedients. Notwithſtanding ſome wholeſome decrees, which he himſelf had cauſed to be paſſed, he every day produced a number of pretended ordinances of Cæſar's, which granted privileges, protections and immunities of all kinds; which conferred the right of Roman citizens, not only on particular perſons, but on whole cities; which alienated the public revenue; which recalled ſeveral who were in exile; in a word, which decreed in favour of kings, ſtates, citizens, or ſtrangers, whatever could produce him any money. And on this occaſion he ſeemed to have loſt all ſenſe of ſhame; for having

having at his command one of Cæsar's secretaries, named Faberius, who had formerly been used to counter-sign acts of this kind, he only inquired what profits would arise from the granting of any letters-patent; and if these were considerable, the letters were immediately granted, though the imposture sometimes was so gross and palpable, that Cæsar was made to speak of events that did not take place till after his death. In a word, the house of Antony was now become a general mart for all kinds of offices, favours, and immunities; and money there was so very plentiful, that it went by the weight and not by tale. If to all this we add the sum of one hundred millions of sesterces, which Calphurnia paid him immediately after Cæsar's death, and seven hundred millions of sesterces, which the dictator himself had deposited in the temple of Ops, and which Antony seized, we may be able to form some idea of his immense riches, and consequently of the power he had to accomplish whatever he thought proper to undertake. Besides, he was supported by his two brothers, one of whom was prætor and the other tribune; and he had gained Lepidus to his side, by procuring for him the office of pontifex maximus in the room of Cæsar.

HAVING now concerted the necessary measures, he resolved to attack Brutus and Cassius, for whom he had hitherto professed to entertain the greatest regard. These two chiefs of the conspiracy had always been favourites with the senate; but not thinking themselves in any danger, and depending solely on the protection of the laws, they had taken no care to provide themselves either with men or money. Some of their friends proposed to raise them a military chest by a voluntary subscription among the Roman knights; but after some faint and ineffectual attempts, the scheme came to nothing. Finding themselves, therefore, in such a helpless condition, while the power of Antony was every day increasing, they began to think it was full time to put their party in some state of defence; and as three of their associates had provinces assigned them, and no objection could be made to their going to take possession of them, viz. D. Brutus of Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius of Asia, properly so called, and Tullius Cimber of Bithynia, they persuaded them to set out immediately, and at the same time to make a sufficient provision of men and money.

BUT as to themselves, they could not so easily determine; for being both of them prætors at that time, they were obliged to reside at Rome, particularly Brutus, who had the city-quarter under his jurisdiction. The governments of Macedonia and Syria had indeed been assigned them; but they

they were not to enter upon them till the expiration of their magiſtracy. Nothing, therefore, could be more diſtreſſing than their preſent ſituation. If they ſtaid in Rome, their lives were expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, for the city now ſwarmed with Cæſar's ſoldiers: if they left it, they would draw upon them the obloquy and reproach of all their enemies, open and concealed. At length, however, after ſome deliberation, they choſe to embrace the latter part of the alternative. Antony, who was as glad to get rid of them as they were to go, juſtified the irregularity by procuring them a diſpenſation from the people for their non-reſidence; and the ſenate, who wiſhed them well, and ſincerely pitied them, endeavoured to prevent any reflections that might be made upon their departure, or rather indeed their flight, by giving them a commiſſion to buy corn for the city in Sicily and Aſia.

SCARCELY had they quitted Rome when Antony began to throw off the maſk he had hitherto worn; and, in a little time, he ſtripped them both of their governments. That of Brutus he took himſelf; the other he beſtowed upon his colleague, Dolabella. In a word, it appeared from the whole of his conduct, that his intention was neither to revenge the death of Cæſar, nor to reſtore the republican government, but to raiſe himſelf to the ſame degree of power which the dictator had uſurped. But an obſtacle to his ambition aroſe from a quarter, whence he ſeems leaſt to have apprehended it. This was from Octavius Cæſar, afterwards called Auguſtus, the grand-nephew and adopted ſon of Julius Cæſar. He was at Apollonia when his kinſman was ſlain. He was then but eighteen years old, and had been ſent to Apollonia to improve himſelf in the ſtudy of Greek literature.

UPON the news of Cæſar's death, notwithſtanding all the arguments his friends could urge to the contrary, he reſolved to return to Rome, to claim the inheritance, and revenge the death of his uncle. From the former profeſſions of Antony, he expected to meet with the moſt cordial aſſiſtance from him; and he doubted not but, by his concurrence, he ſhould be able to take vengeance on all the conſpirators. In this, however, he was greatly diſappointed. Antony, whoſe ſole aim was to aggrandize himſelf, gave him but a very cold reception; and inſtead of granting him readily the fortune left him by the will, he put off the payment of it upon a variety of pretences. But Octavius, who ſeems to have inherited the ſpirit and the liberality of his uncle, was ſo far from making this a plea for delaying the payment of the legacies the dictator had left, that he even ſold his own patrimony in order to make them good, and eſpecially that to the people.

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BY theſe means he gained a degree of popularity, which his enemies endeavoured in vain to diminiſh, and which indeed he was extremely well qualified to acquire, as well by his bodily as his mental accompliſhments. His converſation was elegant and inſinuating; his face comely and graceful; and his affection to the late dictator ſo ſincere, that every body was charmed with his piety, or, which is the ſame thing, with the well-counterfeited appearance of it: for it is to be preſumed, that the revenging of his uncle's death was with him only a ſecondary object; the exaltation of his own power was the principal end of all his actions.

WHAT contributed ſtill more to increaſe his popularity was his aſſuming the name of Cæſar, in conſequence of which the former followers of his uncle now flocked to him in great numbers. Theſe he managed with ſo much addreſs, as to attach them firmly to his intereſt; ſo that Antony began to conceive a jealouſy of his young opponent. And, in fact, he had reaſon to do ſo; for the army near Rome, which had long wiſhed to ſee the conſpirators puniſhed, began to turn from him to his rival, whom, they thought, they ſaw more ſincerely bent upon gratifying their deſires. Antony alſo having procured the government of Hither Gaul from the people, two of his legions, that he had brought home from his late government of Macedonia, went over to Octavius, in ſpite of all his endeavours to prevent them. This produced, as uſual, interviews, complaints, recriminations, and pretended reconciliations, which only tended more to widen the breach between them. Thus the ſtate was divided into three different parties: that of Octavius, who aimed at procuring the inheritance of his uncle, and revenging his death; that of Antony, whoſe ſole view was to render himſelf maſter of the empire; and that of the conſpirators, who wanted to reſtore the ſenate to its former authority; ſo that the party of the ſenate and that of the conſpirators might be conſidered as one and the ſame.

EACH of theſe parties endeavoured at firſt to carry on their ſcheme ſeparately and by their own proper ſtrength; but two of them afterwards were ſometimes obliged to unite, in order to overpower the third, though this they had no ſooner done, than they began to quarrel and to turn their arms againſt one another. As the party of Antony appeared in the beginning to be the moſt powerful, and conſequently the moſt dangerous, a kind of union took place between Octavius and the ſenate, to check the ambition of that demagogue. Accordingly Octavius marched againſt him into Hither Gaul, which he had ſeized, after having driven out D. Brutus, the former

former governor, and even beſieged him in Mutina. The ſenate ordered Antony to evacuate the province, and raiſe the ſiege: but the latter, proud of his great ſtrength, and elated with the advantage he had gained over Brutus, refuſed to comply; upon which the ſenate declared him a public enemy, and commanded Octavius to purſue him as ſuch. He did ſo; and after ſome ineffectual ſkimiſhes, the two armies came to a general engagement, in which Antony was compleatly defeated, and obliged to fly to Lepidus, who commanded a body of forces in Farther Gaul.

THIS victory, however, which promiſed the ſenate ſo much ſucceſs, produced effects very different from what they expected. The two conſuls, Hirtius and Panſa, who were in the action, were mortally wounded; but the latter, before his death, called Octavius to his bed-ſide, and ſpoke to him thus: "The life of your father was always dearer to me than my own. If, like yourſelf, I adhered to the ſenate from prudential motives, yet I always cheriſhed a deſire, and hoped one day to meet with an opportunity of revenging his death. Mine, which is now impending, deprives me of that conſolation; but before I cloſe my eyes, I will at leaſt acquit myſelf to the ſon of the obligations I owe to the father. Know, then, that you are as much ſuſpected by the ſenate, as Antony your enemy. They deteſt you as well as him; they were overjoyed at your late diſſenſions, and hoped, by that means, to effect the ruin of both. The only reaſon of their declaring for you was, that they believed your party the weakeſt, and conſequently the eaſieſt to be deſtroyed. My deſign, far different from theirs, was to compel Antony to a reconciliation with you, afterwards to join our armies, and then revenge together the murder of our common benefactor. This is the only courſe you can either in prudence or gratitude take. Join, therefore, with Antony, whom you will find leſs haughty now than he was before his late overthrow."

THE advice of the dying conſul made a deep impreſſion upon the mind of Octavius, who, from that time forward, only ſought for a plauſible pretext to break with the ſenate. Their giving the command of a part of his army to Decimus Brutus, in order to purſue Antony, and their denying him a triumph ſoon after, ſerved to alienate his mind entirely from them, and made him reſolve to join Antony and Lepidus. He was willing, however, to make one trial more of their ſentiments before he came to an open rupture. With this view he ſent to demand the conſulſhip; and in order to render his requeſt the more palatable, he begged he might have Cicero for his colleague; that ſo, as he ſaid, he might have

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an opportunity of ſtudying the art of government under ſo great a maſter. Notwithſtanding this palliative, his demand was rejected; upon which Octavius, thinking himſelf freed from all obligations to keep any further meaſures with the ſenate, ſent privately to Antony and Lepidus, propoſing a junction of their forces, and attacking their common enemies with their united ſtrength. This propoſal was eagerly accepted; and the two former generals, being now ſure of the aſſiſtance of Octavius, upon their arrival in Italy, immediately croſſed the Alps, with an army of ſeventeen legions.

THE ſenate, at laſt, began to be ſenſible of their error in daring to offend Octavius: they therefore gave him the conſulſhip, which they had ſo lately refuſed; and to prevent his joining with Antony, they flattered him with new honours, and gave him a power ſuperior to all law. The firſt uſe he made of his new authority, was to procure a law, condemning all the conſpirators, and particularly Brutus and Caſſius; and then to join his forces with thoſe of Antony and Lepidus.

THE meeting of theſe uſurpers of their country's freedom was in a ſmall iſland of the river Panarus, near Mutina, now called Modena. Eager as they were for an union, they were yet afraid to meet in a more open and unguarded place; ſo little confidence had they to place in one another. Lepidus entered the iſland firſt; and finding all things ſafe, made the ſignal for the other two to approach. Upon their firſt meeting they embraced each other; and Auguſtus began the conference by thanking Antony for his zeal in putting Decimus Brutus to death; who being deſerted by his army, was taken as he was endeavouring to eſcape into Macedonia, and beheaded by Antony's order.

THEY then entered upon the buſineſs which they had met to ſettle, without taking any review of the paſt. Their conference laſted for three days; and, in this period (to uſe an expreſſion of Plutarch's), they divided the Roman empire among them, as if it had been their patrimonial eſtate. They firſt reſolved, that the ſupreme authority ſhould be lodged in their hands, under the title of the Triumvirate, for the ſpace of five years; that Antony ſhould have Gaul; Lepidus, Spain; and Octavius, Africa, and the Mediterranean Iſlands. As for Italy, and the eaſtern provinces, they were to remain in common, until their general enemy was entirely ſubdued.

BUT the laſt article of their union was a dreadful one. It was agreed that all their enemies ſhould be deſtroyed, of which each preſented a liſt. In theſe were comprized, not only the enemies, but the friends of the triumvirate, ſince the friends of the one were often found among the enemies

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of the other. Thus Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus to the vengeance of his colleagues; Antony conſented to the proſcription of his uncle Lucius; and Octavius delivered up the famous Cicero, to whom he lay under the greateſt obligations. The moſt ſacred rights of nature were violated: three hundred ſenators and above two thouſand knights were included in this terrible proſcription, which is ſaid to have been more bloody than even that of Sylla; their fortunes were confiſcated, and their murderers enriched with the ſpoil. Rome ſoon felt the effects of this infernal union; nothing but cries and lamentations were to be heard through all the city, ſcarce a houſe eſcaping without a murder. No man dared to refuſe entrance to the aſſaſſins, though he had no other way of defending either himſelf or his friends. Whoever harboured or aſſiſted any of the proſcribed, was ſubject to the ſame puniſhment as the proſcribed themſelves: and as to ſuch of them as had no fortune, their murderers were rewarded with a gratuity of an hundred thouſand ſeſterces; and if it was a ſlave that put them to death, he was to have forty thouſand ſeſterces, together with his liberty.

AMONG the victims of the cruelty of the triumvirs, Cicero was, on many accounts, one of the firſt. Not only himſelf, (as we have already obſerved) but his ſon, his brother, his nephew; in a word, all thoſe who had any connection with him, either by blood or friendſhip, had been proſcribed. He could not promiſe himſelf a better fate; and he well knew he had no more reaſon to hope for favour from Antony, than Brutus and Caſſius had to expect it from Octavius. He therefore quitted Rome on the approach of the triumvirs; and his firſt deſign was to croſs the ſea with his brother, and go to Brutus's camp in Macedonia. They travelled together for ſome time, mutually deploring their common misfortune; but as their departure had been precipitate, they wanted many neceſſaries. Quintus, therefore, the brother, went back to procure them; and Cicero continued his journey to Gaeta, when, hearing nothing of Quintus, he embarked. Sometimes, however, the contrary winds, and ſometimes the agitation of the waves, which he was little able to ſupport, obliged him to land. At laſt, finding himſelf quite tired of flying, and even of life itſelf, he returned to a country-houſe, which he had about a mile from the ſea—"I muſt die, ſaid he, in my native country, which I have ſo often ſaved." He then went to bed, and ſlept ſome time; but his ſervants hearing of the approach of the enemy, forced him up, and endeavoured to carry him back to the ſhip. Hardly had they departed, when the aſſaſſins arrived, and perceiving him

him to be fled, they purſued him immediately, and overtook him on the road. They were headed by one Popilius Lenus, a tribune of the army, whoſe life Cicero had formerly defended and ſaved; and who now, in return, accepted a commiſſion to kill his benefactor. As ſoon as the ſoldiers appeared, the ſervants prepared to defend their maſter's life, at the hazard of their own; but Cicero commanded them to ſet him down, and to make no reſiſtance. They ſoon cut off his head and hands, and returned with them to Rome, as a moſt agreeable preſent to their cruel employer. Antony received them with a ſavage joy; and after feaſting his eyes with them for ſome time, he ordered them to be fixed upon the roſtrum, a place whence Cicero had often ſpoken with an eloquence that was never yet excelled, and hardly ever equalled.

POSTERITY, however, has done juſtice to his memory, and has revenged his cauſe upon his cruel murderer. No death was ever more bitterly deplored than that of the man, who had done ſo much honour to letters. Poets, orators, and hiſtorians, have all ſignalized themſelves in bewailing the unhappy fate of Cicero; and, by a natural conſequence, have poured out the keeneſt reproaches againſt his ſavage aſſaſſin. We find in the works of Seneca the elder a great many fragments of orators and hiſtorians, who have exerciſed their talents upon this ſubject. Velleius Paterculus, as great a flatterer as he was, allows himſelf here to be carried away by his zeal, to interrupt the thread of his narrative, and to quit the ſtile of an hiſtorian, and aſſume that of a declaimer, in order to inveigh againſt Antony's cruelty. Pliny the elder expreſſes himſelf very ſtrongly upon it, though very briefly affirming, that Cicero was not proſcribed by Antony, but that Antony proſcribed himſelf, and expoſed himſelf to eternal infamy by this barbarous action.

THE triumvirs, when they publiſhed their proſcription, declared, that no perſon ſhould be expoſed to danger on account of his wealth; but it ſoon appeared that this was a mere pretence. They not only ſeized the property of the men, they even extended their avarice to the women. They pitched upon fourteen hundred of the richeſt women in Rome, whom they ordered to give an account of their fortunes, that ſo they might be taxed in proportion.

THIS hardſhip, however, was, in ſome meaſure, warded off; or, at leaſt, it was conſiderably leſſened by the ſpirit and addreſs of the ladies themſelves. They firſt applied to Octavia, the ſiſter of young Cæſar, and to Julia, the mother of Antony, from both of whom they received very flattering promiſes;

promiſes; but having been haughtily treated by Fulvia, Antony's wife, a proud and arrogant woman, they were ſo pierced, that they reſolved to go to the Forum, and apply to the triumvirs in perſon. A reſpect for their birth and rank having engaged the mob, and even the guards, to ſeparate and make room for them, they approached the tribunal, and Hortenſia, the daughter of the orator Hortenſius, addreſſed the triumvirs in the following terms—"We followed," ſaid ſhe, "the laws of modeſty, which become us, in making our application firſt to perſons of our own ſex, in hopes, that by their means we might obtain juſtice. But having been treated by Fulvia with an indecent arrogance, we are now reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of addreſſing ourſelves to you. You have taken from us our fathers, our children, our huſbands and brothers; and if you alſo take from us our fortunes, you will reduce us to a ſituation, that is neither ſuitable to our birth, nor our manner of living. If you think we have done you an injury, why do you not boldly proſcribe us as well as the men? But if the very weakneſs of our ſex exempts us from ſuch an imputation; if we have neither declared any of you enemies to the public, nor corrupted the fidelity of your ſoldiers, nor ſent armies againſt you, nor thrown any difficulties in the way of your acquiring thoſe honours and offices which you poſſeſs; why ſhould we have any ſhare in the puniſhment, who have had none in the offence? Why ſhould we be loaded with taxes who neither diſpute with you the command of the legions, nor the authority of the ſtate?

"But you tell us, that you have a war to ſupport. And, pray, when have men been free from wars? And yet has any of them ever thought of impoſing, on that account, a tax upon women? The univerſal conſent of mankind has confirmed this exception in our favour, which nature herſelf ſeems to have granted us. Our anceſtors, it is true, in the exigencies of the ſtate, when attacked by Hannibal, contributed towards the expences of the public; but they did it voluntarily. What they gave was not levied upon their eſtates, their dowries and houſes, reſources without which free women cannot live. They only contributed to it the ornaments of their perſons. They were neither ſubject to any eſtimation, nor to the cruelty of informers. They were perfectly free from all force and conſtraint; they not only determined upon what they were to give, but likewiſe upon the manner of raiſing it. What then is the danger that now threatens the empire? If there were a war with the Gauls or Parthians, you ſhould find us ready to imitate the example of our anceſtors; but heaven forbid,

forbid, that ever we ſhould help you, by our contributions, to deſtroy and extirpate one another. We were charged with no taxes in the war between Cæſar and Pompey. Neither Cinna, nor Marius, nor even Sylla himſelf, that cruel tyrant, ever thought of impoſing ſuch a hardſhip upon us."

THOUGH this ſpeech did not procure them an entire exemption from the tax, it yet helped conſiderably to diminiſh it; for inſtead of fourteen hundred, the triumvirs were content with taxing only four hundred women, though they made up the deficiency by extending the tax to a greater number of men, about a hundred thouſand of whom were compelled to furniſh ſupplies to the ſubverſion of their country's freedom. At laſt, both the avarice and vengeance of the triumvirs being ſatisfied, they went to the ſenate, and declared, that the proſcription was finiſhed; and thus having deluged the city with blood, Octavius and Antony left Lepidus to defend Rome in their abſence, while they themſelves ſhould lead their forces againſt the conſpirators, who were now at the head of a formidable army in Aſia.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, the principal of theſe, had quitted Italy, not only without an army, but even without any proſpect of raiſing one. But having gone to Athens, they perſuaded the Roman ſtudents, who were proſecuting their ſtudies there, to declare for their country; and having thus begun to collect forces, they ſoon ſucceeded ſo far in their levies, that at length they found means to aſſemble an army ſufficient to enable them to maintain a conteſt, even where the empire of the world was at ſtake. Their firſt intention was to go againſt Cleopatra, who was making preparations to aſſiſt their enemies; but hearing that Octavius and Antony were approaching, they reſolved to ſtop ſhort, and oppoſe them.

AFTER having been abſent from each other for ſome time, in order to have the wider range for making their levies, they at laſt met at Sardis, where they reſolved to have a conference before they proceeded any farther. They accordingly ſhut themſelves up in the firſt convenient houſe they found, and gave orders to their ſervants to admit no perſon to them. Brutus began by reprimanding Caſſius for having beſtowed upon his favourites ſome important offices, which ſhould ever be the reward of merit, and for having over taxed the tributary ſtates. Caſſius retorted the imputation of avarice with the more bitterneſs, as he knew the charge to be altogether groundleſs. The debate grew ſo warm, that, from high words, they burſt into tears. Their friends, who were ſtanding at the door, overheard the increaſing vehemence of their voices, and began to be apprehenſive for the conſequences, till Favo-

nius, who valued himſelf upon a cynical boldneſs, entered the room with a jeſt, and calmed their animoſity. The characters of theſe two great men, though ſo cloſely united, were extremely different. Caſſius was, no doubt, a man of abilities, but of a paſſionate, unequal temper, naturally harſh in his commands; but ſo indulgent to his friends, that he would ſometimes ſacrifice to them all the laws of juſtice: he was not averſe to pleaſure in private company, and, upon the whole, his morals were not quite ſincere. But the conduct of Brutus was always perfectly ſteady. An uniform gentleneſs, a noble elevation of ſentiments, a ſtrength of mind, over which neither paſſion nor pleaſure could have any influence; an inflexible firmneſs in the defence of juſtice, compoſed the character of that great man. In conſequence of theſe qualities, he was beloved by his army, doated upon by his friends, admired by all good men, and not hated even by thoſe who made war againſt him.

THE perfect confidence which all men had in the purity of his intentions, is what chiefly gained him their love and veneration. This is a glory peculiar to himſelf, and that diſtinguiſhes him from the other leaders of parties in the civil wars of the Romans. For it is not thought that Pompey would ever have been inclined to reſtore the ſovereign power to the people, had he conquered Cæſar. It is generally believed he would have kept himſelf at the head of the government, under the name of conſul and dictator, or ſome other title of magiſtracy, that would have thrown a decent veil over his ambition, and amuſed the vulgar. Many people think, that Caſſius had a deſign of the ſame nature; and though his averſion to tyranny cannot be doubted, yet it is difficult to believe, that a man of ſo proud and haughty a diſpoſition would have engaged in a war, and expoſed himſelf to all the dangers with which it is neceſſarily attended, merely to re-eſtabliſh his fellow citizens in the enjoyment of their liberties. If we aſcend ſtill higher, neither Marius nor Cinna can be ſaid to have fought for their country: they looked upon it rather as a prize, or a prey, upon which they wiſhed to ſeize; and they almoſt frankly owned, that the acquiſition of ſovereign power was the object of their wiſhes. But Brutus is perfectly free from any ſuſpicion of this kind: even his greateſt enemies did him juſtice in this point; and Antony was frequently heard to ſay, that, of all thoſe who engaged in the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, Brutus was the only one, that was actuated by public motives; the reſt were influenced by private intereſt.

AFTER the conference between Brutus and Caſſius, the latter invited the former to an entertainment, where freedom and

and chearfulneſs, for a while, took place of political anxiety, and ſoftened the ſeverity of wiſdom. Upon retiring home it was that Brutus, as Plutarch informs us, ſaw a ſpectre in his tent. He naturally ſlept but little; and this wakeful diſpoſition he increaſed by habit and ſobriety. He never allowed himſelf to ſleep in the day-time, as was then common in Rome, and only gave ſo much of the night to reſt, as could barely repair the waſte of nature. But eſpecially now, when oppreſt with ſuch a load of cares, he only ſlept a ſhort time after his nightly repaſt, which was his only one; and waking about midnight, generally read or ſtudied till morning. It was in the dead of night, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet, that Brutus was thus employed in reading by a lamp that was juſt expiring. On a ſudden he thought he heard a noiſe, as if ſome body entered, and looking towards the door perceived a gigantic figure, with a frightful aſpect, place itſelf before him without uttering a word. At laſt Brutus had courage to ſpeak to it—"Who art thou? (ſaid he)—Art thou a demon, or a mortal man? And why comeſt thou to me?"—"Brutus, (replied the phantom) I am thy evil genius; thou ſhalt ſee me again at Philippi."—"Well then, (anſwered Brutus, without being diſcompoſed) we ſhall meet again." Upon this the phantom vaniſhed; and Brutus called to his ſervants, and aſked if they had ſeen any thing; to which receiving an anſwer in the negative, he again reſumed his ſtudies. But as he was ſtruck with ſo ſtrange an appearance, he mentioned it the next day to Caſſius, who being an Epicurean, and conſequently believing neither in ſpirits nor providence, repreſented it as the effect of an imagination, overheated with too intenſe ſtudy. Brutus ſeemed ſatisfied with this ſolution of the matter; and as Antony and Octavius had now arrived in Macedonia, Brutus and his colleague came over from Aſia into Thrace, and advanced to the city of Philippi, near which the forces of the triumvirs were poſted.

ALL mankind now began to regard with terror the approach of two ſuch mighty armies. Their fate, they ſaw, muſt ultimately depend upon the iſſue of a battle; as from victory on the one ſide they had to expect freedom; but from that on the other ſlavery and ſubjection. Brutus was the only man, who looked upon theſe great events before him with calmneſs and tranquillity. Indifferent as to ſucceſs, and ſatisfied with having done his duty, he ſaid, in a letter to Atticus, a little before the battle: "My condition is now as happy as I could wiſh. If I gain the victory, I ſhall reſtore liberty to my country; if I loſe, I ſhall at leaſt, by dying, deliver

myself from slavery. Thus I run no risk; my resolution is fixed; and the only uncertainty that remains is, whether I shall live free, or carry my liberty with me to the grave. It is Mark Antony, that henceforth must suffer for his folly. He might have been put in the same rank with Brutus, Cassius, and Cato; but he chose rather to degrade himself to an inferior station, and to be second to Octavius, with whom, however, he must one day fight, unless he now happens to be overcome by us."

THE republican army consisted of eighty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. The army of the triumvirs amounted to an hundred thousand foot, and thirteen thousand horse. Thus complete, on both sides, they met, and encamped near Philippi, a city on the confines of Thrace. The republicans posted their troops upon two adjacent hills; the triumvirs took their station in the plains below. It was, therefore, the interest of the former to avoid a battle as long as possible, and to harrass the enemy by continual skirmishes: the latter, on the other hand, endeavoured to bring on an engagement as soon as they could; and in this they at last succeeded. Cassius, indeed, who was fully sensible of the advantage of his situation, strenuously insisted upon protracting the war; but Brutus, who began to suspect the fidelity of some of his officers, was no less eager for bringing it to a conclusion. "I am impatient (said he) to put an end to the miseries of mankind; and in this I hope to succeed, whether I conquer or not."

AT length Brutus was able to bring over Cassius to the same way of thinking with himself; and the army accordingly was drawn up in array: the generals then gave the signal for engaging, but previous to the action they had a short conference. Cassius asked Brutus how he intended to act in case he should be defeated. To this Brutus replied, "That he had formerly, in his writings, condemned the death of Cato, and maintained, that avoiding calamities by suicide, was an insolent attempt against heaven that sent them; but he had now altered his opinion, and having given up his life to his country, he thought he had a right to his own way of ending it: he was therefore resolved to change a miserable being here, for a better hereafter, if fortune turned against him."—"Well said, my friend, (cried Cassius, embracing him) now we may venture to face the enemy; for either we shall be conquerors ourselves, or we shall have no cause to fear those that are so."

BRUTUS commanded the right wing of the army; Cassius the left. The former was opposed by Octavius, or rather by the troops of Octavius; for that triumvir being sick, or at least pretending to be so, was not in the action. Cassius, on the other hand, was opposed

poſed by Antony, who made a dreadful irruption upon the lines of his opponent; and penetrating to his camp, he at laſt ſtormed and took it. Brutus did the ſame with the troops of Octavius, and in a little time likewiſe he took poſſeſſion of his camp. But delaying too long to return to the field of battle, Caſſius began to conclude that his colleague had been as unſucceſsful as himſelf, and he therefore retired to his tent in deſpair, and put an end to his life. Brutus was overwhelmed with grief when he heard of the death of Caſſius. He embraced the body, and bathed it with his tears; he ſaid that Caſſius was *the laſt of the Romans*, and that Rome would never again produce ſuch another heroic defender of liberty. He then cauſed the body to be wrapped up decently, and to be carried to the iſland of Thaſos, there to receive the laſt honours, leſt the funeral ſolemnity, if performed in the camp, ſhould tend to weaken the courage of the ſoldiers.

IT was only the precipitate deſpair and falſe heroiſm of Caſſius that gave the advantage to the triumvirs; for, till then, both ſides may be ſaid to have been upon an equality; or rather the republicans had the ſuperiority. The left wing of both armies was defeated, and one of the camps of each party was forced and plundered. But the number of ſlain on the ſide of the triumvirs was double of what it was on that of the republicans; the former loſing ſixteen thouſand men, the latter only eight thouſand. Beſides, the camp, which Brutus took, being common to the two armies of Antony and Octavius, proved a greater loſs to them, than the camp which Antony took from Caſſius, proved to the republicans; for that camp belonged to Caſſius alone: whilſt the camp of Brutus remained perfectly entire, and furniſhed a ſecure retreat to their army. The raſhneſs of Caſſius alone made the balance incline in favour of that ſide, which, in other reſpects, was the moſt unſucceſsful. It deprived the republicans of their moſt ſkilful general, and Brutus of a companion, who was extremely uſeful to him in directing his military operations. It alſo gave freſh ſpirits to the enemy, who, before they heard of this event, were greatly diſmayed. But when a ſlave of Caſſius came to inform them of it, and brought with him, as proofs, the coat of arms and ſword of his maſter, they again reſumed their former courage, and thought they were now abundantly able to make head againſt their enemies.

THE firſt care of Brutus, when he became the ſole general, was to aſſemble the diſperſed troops of Caſſius, and animate them with freſh hopes of victory. As they had loſt their all by the plundering of their camp, he promiſed them two thouſand denarii a man, in order to make up the loſs they

had ſuffered. This was the moſt effectual way of inſpiring them with new ardour. They admired the magnificence of ſuch a gift, and with ſhouts of applauſe declared, that he alone of all the generals was invincible and victorious. Still, however, he could not truſt them ſufficiently to lead them againſt the adverſary, who the very next day offered him battle. His ſcheme was to ſtarve his enemies, who were in extreme want of proviſions, their fleet having been lately defeated. But his ſingle opinion was not ſufficient to withſtand the united inclinations of his army, who every day grew more confident of their ſtrength, and more eager for a new engagement. At laſt, therefore, after an interval of twenty days, he was obliged to comply with their ſolicitations, and to try the fate of a battle. Both armies being drawn up, they remained a long while oppoſite to each other without offering to engage. Brutus did not obſerve among his troops that air of joy and alacrity, which he had perceived upon former occaſions. The cavalry were in no hurry to begin, and ſeemed to wait till the infantry ſhould ſhew them the example. He himſelf is ſaid to have loſt much of his natural ardour by having again ſeen the ſpectre the night preceding. However, he encouraged his men as much as poſſible, and gave the ſignal for battle within three hours of ſun-ſet. He had, as uſual, the advantage where he commanded in perſon. At the head of his infantry, he bore down the enemy, and, ſupported by his cavalry, made a dreadful ſlaughter among them. But his left wing, fearing to be taken in flank, ſtretched itſelf out in order to enlarge its front, by which means the middle became too weak to reſiſt the violent efforts that were made by the enemy. It was there that the army began to give way; and Antony puſhing forward drove the enemy ſo far back as to be able to turn and attack Brutus in rear. The troops, which had belonged to Caſſius, ſtill trembling with the memory of their late defeat, communicated their terror to the reſt of the forces, till at laſt the whole army began to fly. Brutus, ſurrounded by the braveſt of his officers, fought for a long while with incredible valour. It was here that the ſon of Cato made amends, by a glorious death, for the follies of his youth. For he had not imitated the diſcretion and modeſty of his father; but had formed a connection with a Cappadocian woman, that expoſed him to a good deal of raillery. On this occaſion, however, he appeared worthy of the blood, from which he was ſprung, and ſhewed, that it is much eaſier to reſiſt the fears of danger, and even of death, than the allurements of pleaſure. He was always ſeen in the heat of the engagement, and, though overpowered by numbers, he neither retreated

treated nor fled: but calling aloud to his enemies, and repeatedly pronouncing his own name and that of his father, he fell, at laſt, upon a heap of dead bodies, with which the ground around him was covered. The brother of Caſſius ſhared the ſame fate; and Brutus, at laſt, ſeeing it in vain to make any farther reſiſtance, was obliged to yield to neceſſity, and fly. This, however, he found it very difficult to do; for the triumvirs had given expreſs orders not to ſuffer him by any means to eſcape; and in all probability he would have been taken, had it not been for the generoſity of his friend Lucilius, who reſolved, by his own death, to ſave the life of his general. Upon perceiving a body of Thracian horſe cloſely purſuing Brutus, and juſt upon the point of ſeizing him, he boldly threw himſelf in their way, telling them that he was Brutus. The Thracians, overjoyed with ſo great a prize, immediately diſpatched ſome of their companions, with the news of their ſucceſs, to Antony; for Lucilius, the better to carry on the deception, had begged to be carried to that triumvir, who was his old friend, and not to Octavius, who had always been his enemy. Upon this, the ardour of the purſuit cooled, and Antony marched out to meet his enemy. He was followed by a great number of officers and ſoldiers, ſome ſilently deploring the fate of ſo virtuous a man, others highly blaming him for degenerating ſo far from the glory of his anceſtors, as to ſuffer himſelf, from a mean love of life, to become a captive to his enemy. When Antony ſaw the Thracians approach, he was at a loſs to know in what manner he ſhould receive Brutus; for though naturally of a paſſionate and fiery diſpoſition, he had a great deal of generoſity in his temper. But Lucilius eaſed him of this difficulty, by ſtepping forward and ſaying—"It is not Brutus that is taken; fortune has not yet had the power of committing ſuch an outrage upon virtue. You will find Brutus, dead or alive, always worthy of himſelf. I have deceived your ſoldiers, and paſſed myſelf upon them for him; and I am here ready to ſuffer whatever puniſhment you may think proper to inflict upon me." At this the joy of the Thracians, who had captured Lucilius, was changed into ſhame and indignation, and they ſeemed altogether confounded. "Be not troubled at the miſtake, (ſaid Antony to them) you have taken a much better prize than that you were in queſt of. You wanted to take an enemy, and you have brought me a friend. I take all the gods to witneſs, that I ſhould have been very much puzzled how to behave to Brutus. But men, ſuch as Lucilius, I love much better to have for my friends than my enemies." So ſaying, he ſtretched out his hand to Lucilius,

embraced him cordially, and committed him to the charge of one of his friends, whom he ordered to take care of him. Lucilius ever after continued attached to Antony, and ſerved him with the ſame fidelity as he had ſerved Brutus.

IN the mean time Brutus, with a ſmall number of his friends, paſſed over a rivulet, and, night coming on, ſat down under a rock, which concealed him from the purſuit of the enemy. After taking breath for a ſhort time, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, that was all ſpangled with ſtars, and repeated a line from Euripides, containing a wiſh to the gods, "That he who was the occaſion of all theſe calamities might meet with the puniſhment he deſerved!" To this he added another from the ſame poet: "O virtue! thou empty name; I have worſhipped thee as a real good, but thou art only the ſlave of fortune." He then called to mind, with much concern, thoſe whom he had ſeen periſh in battle; and thinking that the number of ſlain was not ſo ſo great as was commonly imagined, he ſent out Statilius to bring him information as to that particular; but Statilius never returned, being killed by a party of the enemy's horſe. Brutus, judging very rightly of his fate, now reſolved to die likewiſe, and earneſtly intreated thoſe who ſtood round him to lend him their laſt ſad aſſiſtance. None of them, however, could be perſuaded to do him ſo melancholy a piece of ſervice. And in order, if poſſible, to divert him from his preſent intention, one of them obſerved that it was not ſafe to ſtay longer where they were, that they ought to fly. "Yes, (replied Brutus briſkly) it is neceſſary to fly; but it muſt be with the aſſiſtance of the hands, and not of the feet." In pronouncing theſe words, he raiſed himſelf, and ſtretching out his hands to thoſe around him, ſaid, "That he was happy in the fidelity of his friends; happy in the conſciouſneſs of his own virtue; and though he fell, yet was his death more glorious than the triumphs of the enemy, ſince they were ſucceſsful in deſtroying, he failed in defending the liberties of his country. He concluded by exhorting them to conſult their own ſafety. He then retired to a little diſtance with two or three perſons, one of whom was Strato Egeates, his maſter in rhetoric. This man he entreated to aſſiſt him in putting an end to his own life. Strato, however, diſcovered great reluctance to take upon him ſo ſhocking an office. Brutus, therefore, ſeeing him ſo averſe, called to one of his ſlaves to perform what he ſo ardently deſired; but Strato then offered himſelf, crying out, "that it ſhould never be ſaid, that Brutus, in his laſt extremity, ſtood in need of a ſlave for want of a friend." So ſaying, and turning away his face, he preſented the

ſword's

ſword's point to Brutus, who threw himſelf upon it, and inſtantly expired.

ANTONY, who was naturally humane, and never cruel but when tranſported by paſſion, cauſed the laſt honours to be performed to the body of Brutus, and the aſhes to be ſent to Rome to his mother Lucilia. But Octavius, who was much leſs generous, had taken care to have the head ſevered from the body before the funeral, and he intended to ſend it to Rome to be thrown at the foot of Cæſar's ſtatue: it was loſt, however, in the paſſage to Italy.

As to Portia, Cato's daughter, and Brutus's wife, ſhe no ſooner heard of the death of her huſband, than ſhe is ſaid to have killed herſelf by ſwallowing burning coals. This ſtory, however, though generally credited, is ſuppoſed to be falſe; and the more probable opinion is, that ſhe died before Brutus, of a lingering diſeaſe, with which ſhe had, for ſome time, been afflicted.

FROM this time the triumvirs began to act as abſolute ſovereigns, alike regardleſs of the good opinion of the ſenate or the people. Their firſt care was to wreak their vengeance upon thoſe who had formerly incurred their diſpleaſure, and from whom they ſtill feared to meet with oppoſition; and ſome of theſe acts of ſeverity were attended with the moſt barbarous circumſtances. Hortenſius, Lucullus, Quintilius Varus, and Volumnius, all men of the firſt rank in the commonwealth, either killed themſelves, or were ſlain. A ſenator and his ſon petitioned for their lives; they were told that one of them muſt ſuffer, and they were deſired to caſt lots which ſhould be the man: but they generouſly rejected ſo barbarous an offer; the father gave himſelf up to the executioner, and the ſon ſtabbed himſelf before his face. Another begged to have the rites of burial after his death; to which Auguſtus replied, "That he ſhould find a grave in the vultures that devoured him."

BUT of all thoſe that periſhed upon this occaſion, the death of Livius Druſus was perhaps the moſt remarkable. He was the father of Livia, who was ſoon after married to Octavius, and whoſe ſon, Tiberius, was afterwards raiſed to the empire. Yet this very Druſus was obliged to kill himſelf, to avoid falling into the hands of the man that was going to be his ſon-in-law. Nor is it probable that he would have obtained a pardon, had he applied for it; for Octavius, who was the author of moſt of theſe cruelties, was determined to make away with all thoſe that were likely to oppoſe him in his ambitious projects; and Druſus had always adhered to the republican party.

THE triumvirs having now eſtabliſhed their authority at home, began to extend their views to the remote parts of the empire. Antony went into Greece, to regulate affairs in that quarter. He thence paſſed over into Aſia, where all the monarchs of the Eaſt, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to pay their court to him; while the faireſt princeſſes ſtrove to gain his favour by the greatneſs of their preſents, or the allurements of their beauty. In this manner he proceeded from kingdom to kingdom, attended by a crowd of ſovereigns, and every where exacting immenſe contributions. The ſums he is ſaid to have collected upon this occaſion, amounted to two hundred thouſand talents, that is, to upwards of thirty-ſeven millions and a half of our money.

NOR was he leſs liberal of his favours than cruel in his exactions. He preſented the kingdom of Cappadocia to Syſemes, merely on account of the beauty of Galaphyra, his mother. He ſettled Herod in the kingdom of Judea, and ſupported him againſt every rival. But of all the ſovereigns of the Eaſt, who partook of his bounty, none had ſo large a ſhare as Cleopatra, the celebrated queen of Egypt.

THIS princeſs was accuſed of having aſſiſted the conſpirators. Antony now ſummoned her before him to anſwer for her conduct. This ſummons ſhe readily obeyed, depending as well upon the goodneſs of her cauſe (for the accuſation was falſe) as upon the power of her beauty. She had already experienced the force of her charms upon Cæſar and Pompey's eldeſt ſon; and ſhe made no doubt of being able to add Antony to the liſt of her admirers.

ANTONY was in Tarſus, a city of Cilicia, when Cleopatra reſolved to attend his court in perſon. She ſailed down the river Cydnus, at the mouth of which the city ſtood, with the moſt ſumptuous pageantry. The ſtern of her galley was covered with gold; the ſails were of purple ſilk, large, and floating in the wind; the oars, of ſilver, kept time to the ſound of flutes and cymbols, which were uſed inſtead of trumpets and other warlike inſtruments. She herſelf lay reclined on a couch ſpangled with ſtars of gold, and with ſuch ornaments as poets and painters uſually aſcribe to Venus. On each ſide were boys like Cupids, who fanned her by turns; while the moſt beautiful nymphs, dreſſed like nereids and graces, were placed at proper diſtances around her. Upon the banks were kept burning the richeſt perfumes, while an infinite number of people gazed upon the ſight with a mixture of delight and admiration. It happened as Cleopatra had foreſeen: Antony was inſtantly captivated with her beauty, and abandoning

doning buſineſs to ſatisfy his paſſion, ſhortly after followed her into Egypt.

WHILE he was thus ſquandering away his time in idle amuſements and vicious pleaſures, Octavius returned to Rome with the veterans, in order to ſettle them in the lands that had been promiſed them. This, however, was no eaſy matter, as they could not be put in poſſeſſion of their new grants, without turning out the inhabitants. The conſequence was, that multitudes of women, with children in their arms, whoſe tender years and innocence excited univerſal compaſſion, daily filled the temples and the ſtreets with their diſtreſſes. What rendered the matter ſtill worſe, the ſoldiers were not ſatisfied with the lands that were aſſigned them; they wanted to ſeize on the poſſeſſions of their neighbours, and when oppoſed, they were apt to proceed to the moſt brutal acts of violence, even to the downright commiſſion of murder. This was the treatment the poet Virgil had well nigh met with. By the intereſt of Mæcenas he had obtained an exemption from the general confiſcation; but being ſettled in the neighbourhood of one Arius, a centurion, who wanted to enlarge the limits of his eſtate, that ruffian contrived to pick a quarrel with him; and in the conteſt would probably have killed him, had he not found means to eſcape the danger by a precipitate flight.

STILL farther to increaſe the difficulty, a petty war now broke out about this very diviſion of the lands. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, alledged, that her huſband ought to have a ſhare in the diſtribution as well as Octavius; and in this claim ſhe was ſupported by her brother-in-law, Lucius, who was then conſul. Octavius offered to refer the matter to the veterans themſelves; but Lucius rejected this propoſal; and being now at the head of ſix legions, chiefly compoſed of ſuch as were diſpoſſeſſed, he reſolved to compel the enemy to accept of whatever terms he pleaſed.

MATTERS being come to this extremity, Octavius drew out his forces; and dividing them into armies, hemmed in Lucius in ſuch a manner, as to oblige him to ſurrender at diſcretion. Having thus finiſhed the war in a few months, he returned to Rome in triumph.

ANTONY, hearing of the defeat of his brother, and his wife's being forced to abandon Italy, was determined to oppoſe Auguſtus. He accordingly ſailed, at the head of a conſiderable fleet, from Alexandria to Tyre; from thence to Cyprus and Rhodes, and had an interview with Fulvia, his wife, at Athens. He blamed her greatly for having excited the late diſturbance; expreſſed the utmoſt contempt for her

perſon; and leaving her upon her death-bed at Sycion, haſtened into Italy to fight Octavius.

THEY met at Brunduſium; and it was now feared that the flames of a civil war were going to burſt out once more. The forces of Antony were numerous, but not well diſciplined, being moſtly new-raiſed; however he was aſſiſted by Sextus Pompeius, who, in theſe civil conteſts, was every day growing into power. Octavius was at the head of thoſe veterans, who had always been invincible, but who ſeemed rather averſe to fight againſt Antony, their old general. A negociation, therefore, was inſtantly ſet on foot, and a reconciliation. All offences on either ſide were forgiven; and, to cement the union, a marriage was concluded between Antony (now become a widower by the death of Fulvia), and Octavia, the ſiſter of Octavius. A new diviſion of the Roman empire was made between them: Octavius was to have the command of the weſt; Antony, of the eaſt; and Lepidus was obliged to be content with the provinces of Africa.

As to Sextus Pompeius, he was allowed to retain all the iſlands he already poſſeſſed, together with Peloponneſus: he was alſo granted the privilege of ſtanding for the conſulſhip, though abſent, and of diſcharging the duties of it by proxy. It was likewiſe ſtipulated to leave the ſea open, and to pay the people the corn that was due to them out of Sicily. Thus a general peace was concluded, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who thought they were now delivered from all their calamities. In this, however, they were greatly diſappointed; for Octavius having formed a ſcheme for taking into his own hand the whole power of the ſtate, determined to get rid of all thoſe that were likely to oppoſe him. He firſt contrived to remove young Pompey, who was totally defeated in a naval engagement, and ſoon after ſlain. He then exerted himſelf with ſo much addreſs, that he perſuaded all the ſoldiers of Lepidus to deſert their general, and to range themſelves under his ſtandard.

ANTONY was now the only remaining obſtacle to the accompliſhment of his ambitious views, and him he reſolved effectually to remove in the ſame manner as he had done Lepidus. With this view he endeavoured to render his character as contemptible at Rome as poſſible. Antony's own conduct, indeed, was ſuch as helped very much to promote the deſigns of his ambitious colleague. He had marched againſt the Parthians with a prodigious army, but was forced to return with the loſs of one fourth of his forces, and all his baggage. This tended greatly to hurt his reputation; but his

his entering Alexandria in triumph on account of this very expedition, ſerved to render him completely ridiculous. Antony, however, ſeemed equally regardleſs of the contempt or reſentment of his countrymen. Alive only to pleaſure, and totally diſregarding the buſineſs of the ſtate, he ſpent whole days and nights in the company of Cleopatra, who was every day transforming herſelf into new characters, in order to amuſe. At one time ſhe was a queen, at another a bacchanal, and at a third a huntreſs. She invented a ſociety called the Inimitable, in which the members were to contend for a prize; and that was always adjudged to the perſon that made the moſt ſumptuous entertainments. Not ſatisfied with ſharing, in her company, all the delights which Egypt could afford, Antony was reſolved to enlarge the ſphere of his enjoyments, by granting her many of thoſe kingdoms which belonged to the Roman empire. He gave her all Phœnicia, Tyre and Sidon, Celo-Syria and Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia, Arabia, and Judæa; gifts which he had no right to beſtow, but which he pretended to grant in imitation of Hercules. And when the Romans reproached him with this complication of prodigality and injuſtice, he replied, that the grandeur of Rome appeared leſs in what ſhe poſſeſſed, than what ſhe gave away to her allies.

THE people, however, were by no means ſatisfied with this anſwer: on the contrary, they were exaſperated to the higheſt degree, and Octavius took care to inflame their reſentment by ſetting forth in the moſt conſpicuous light the defects of his colleague. At length, when he found their minds ſufficiently irritated againſt him, he reſolved to ſend Octavia to him, as if with a view of reclaiming him from his vices, but, in reality, to furniſh a pretext for declaring war againſt him, as he knew that Antony would diſmiſs her with contempt.

IT happened exactly as he had foreſeen. When Antony heard of his wife's arrival at Athens, whither ſhe had come in her way to join him, he ſent her peremptory orders to proceed no farther; and proceeding now from one act of folly, or rather indeed madneſs, to another, he reſolved to divorce her, and own Cleopatra for his lawful ſpouſe.

ACCORDINGLY he aſſembled the people of Alexandria in the public theatre, where an alcove of ſilver had been raiſed; and under this were placed two thrones of gold, one for himſelf, and the other for Cleopatra. There he ſeated himſelf, dreſſed like Bacchus, while Cleopatra ſat beſide him, clothed in the ornaments and attributes of Iſis, the princi-

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pal deity of the Egyptians. He then declared her queen of all the countries he had beſtowed upon her; while he aſſociated Cæſario, her ſon by Cæſar, as her partner in the government. To the two children, which he had by her himſelf, he gave the title of king of kings, with very extenſive dominions; and to crown his abſurdities, he ſent an account of his proceedings to the two conſuls at Rome, who were indeed his friends, but were yet aſhamed of his folly.

HAVING thus acted his part as the firſt of men, he reſolved to act up to the dignity of the other character he aſſumed; that is, the character of a god: and with this view, new luxuries and pageantries were invented, and new modes of profuſion deviſed; and the ſums laid out upon theſe occaſions were ſuch as almoſt to exceed belief. Cleopatra, in particular, gave an inſtance of her prodigality, that perhaps never was equalled, at leaſt never exceeded.

FOR this ſtory we are indebted to Pliny the elder, who relates it at ſome length. Antony's table, according to him, was at all times extremely ſumptuous; yet Cleopatra, who acted both as miſtreſs and queen, put on airs of diſdain, and affected to deſpiſe the entertainments of her lover. Antony, picqued at her contemptuous behaviour, aſked her one day if it was poſſible to add to the magnificence of his table. Cleopatra replied, that nothing was more eaſy, and that ſhe herſelf could lay out ten millions of ſeſterces, that is ſixty-two thouſand pounds ſterling, upon one ſupper. Antony ſaid he thought it was impoſſible; but ſhe inſiſting upon the practicability of the thing, a wager was laid between them. On the day appointed for the deciſion of the queſtion, Cleopatra gave a ſupper, which was no doubt magnificent; but not more ſo than their entertainments commonly were. Antony, therefore, began to triumph on his anticipated victory, and deſired the queen to ſhew him the bill. She told him, that what he had yet ſeen was only the ſupper; the deſert was to come, and in that lay the whole, or the great part of the expence.

UPON this ſhe ordered an officer, who had been previouſly inſtructed, to ſet before her a cup of vinegar, ſo ſtrong as to be able to diſſolve pearls. She had at that time two of the moſt beautiful pearls in the world, which ſhe wore in her ears; and taking one of them out, and throwing it into the vinegar, ſhe diſſolved it, and drank it off. She then put her hand to the other pearl, and was going to do the ſame with it; but Plancus, one of the company, laid hold of her arm, and ſtopped her, declaring that Antony had already loſt the wager. They add, that after Cleopatra fell into the hands

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of Octavius, this pearl, which was ſaved by Plancus, was cut into two, and faſhioned into pendents for the ears of the Venus in the Pantheon; ſo that that goddeſs was magnificently adorned with a jewel, which was only half the value of one of the ſuppers of Antony and Cleopatra.

OCTAVIUS had now attained to ſuch a degree of power, that he wanted, if poſſible, to engroſs the whole, and render himſelf ſole maſter of the Roman empire. The only obſtacle in the way of his ambition was Antony, and he therefore determined to get rid of him. With this view he endeavoured to render him both odious and contemptible; and this, indeed, was an eaſy matter: for Antony's conduct was at once ſo vicious and ſo ridiculous, that it could neither ſecure him the eſteem of any rational, nor the love of any virtuous perſon. He was ſo captivated with the charms of Cleopatra, with whom he lived in Egypt, that he became totally eſtranged from his wife Octavia, Auguſtus's ſiſter, whom he had lately married. Nay, in a little time after, he actually divorced her, and publicly eſpouſed Cleopatra, as his lawful wife.

NOT ſatisfied with this, he gave her all Phœnicia, Celo-Syria, Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia, Arabia, and Judæa, gifts, which he had no right to beſtow, but which he pretended to grant in imitation of Hercules. He likewiſe aſſociated Cæſario, her ſon by Cæſar, as her partner in the government; and to the two children, which he had by her himſelf, he gave the title of king of kings, with very extenſive dominions. This complication of vice and folly totally alienated the Romans from him; and Octavius thinking he had now a ſufficient pretext for declaring war againſt him, informed the ſenate of his intention to do ſo. However, he delayed the execution of his deſign for a while, being then employed in ſuppreſſing an inſurrection of the Illyrians.

THE following year was chiefly taken up in preparations againſt Antony, who, perceiving his deſign, remonſtrated to the ſenate, that he had many cauſes of complaint againſt his colleague, who had ſeized, he ſaid, upon Sicily without affording him a ſhare; had deprived Lepidus of the province he commanded, and kept it to himſelf; and even divided Italy among his own ſoldiers, without leaving any thing to recompence thoſe in Aſia. To this complaint Octavius returned a ſarcaſtic anſwer. He ſaid, it was ridiculous to complain of his diſtribution of a few trifling diſtricts in Italy, when Antony, having conquered Parthia, might now reward his ſoldiers with whole cities and provinces. (It is to be obſerved, that Antony had invaded Parthia with a view of making a conqueſt of that country; but had been obliged to abandon

abandon the enterprize with the loſs of one third of his men, and the whole of his baggage.) At this ſarcaſm he was ſo enraged, that he ordered his troops immediately to march into Europe, to meet Octavius, while he and Cleopatra followed to Samos, in order to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. There, however, they trifled away their time in idle pleaſures, without minding the buſineſs about which they came. The ſame they did afterwards at Athens, where Antony carried Cleopatra to receive new honours; and theſe ſucceſſive delays were extremely advantageous to Auguſtus, who was hardly at firſt in a condition to meet his opponent: but at length, having collected a ſufficient force for the purpoſe, he openly declared war againſt him.

THE hoſtile armies now began to approach each other, and may be ſaid to have been anſwerable to the object that was at ſtake. Antony's force compoſed a body of an hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe; while his fleet amounted to five hundred ſhips of war. Auguſtus muſtered but eighty thouſand foot; but equalled his adverſary in the number of cavalry; his fleet, indeed, was but half as numerous as Antony's; but his ſhips were better built, and armed with much better ſoldiers.

THE great deciſive engagement, which was a naval one, and was to determine the fate of Antony and Octavius, and even, in ſome reſpects, of the whole human ſpecies, was fought near Actium, a city of Epirus, at the entrance of the gulph Ambracia. Antony ranged his ſhips before the mouth of the gulph; and Octavius drew up his a little farther out, having the ſea open behind him. Neither general took any fixed ſtation to command in, but went about from ſhip to ſhip, wherever he found it prudent or neceſſary. In the mean time, the two land armies were drawn up, on oppoſite ſides of the gulph, merely as ſpectators, and, by their ſhouts, encouraged the fleets to engage. The battle began, on both ſides, with great ſpirit, and after a very unuſual manner. The prows of their veſſels were armed with brazen pikes; and with theſe they drove furiouſly againſt each other. In this conflict, the ſhips of Antony, which were large and heavy, came with greater force; but thoſe of Octavius, which were light and eaſily managed, avoided the ſhock with greater dexterity. On Antony's ſide, the ſterns of the ſhips were raiſed in form of a tower, from whence they threw arrows from machines made for the purpoſe. Thoſe of Octavius made uſe of bucklers, long poles ſhod with iron, and fire pots. They fought in this manner for ſome time with equal animoſity; nor was there any advantage on either ſide, except a ſmall

a ſmall appearance of diſorder in the centre of Antony's fleet. But all of a ſudden, Cleopatra determined the fortune of the day. She was ſeen flying from the engagement, attended by ſixty ſail; ſtruck, perhaps, with the terrors natural to her ſex, and influenced probably further by that treacherous ſpirit, for which ſhe was remarkable. In this conduct of hers, therefore, there was nothing very ſurpriſing. But all men were amazed when they ſaw Antony himſelf following her, and leaving his fleet at the mercy of the conquerors. The engagement, nevertheleſs, continued with great obſtinacy till five in the evening; when Antony's forces, partly overpowered by thoſe of Octavius, and partly perſuaded by the promiſes he made them, ſubmitted to the conqueror. The land-forces ſoon after followed the example of the navy, and all yielded to Octavius without ſtriking a blow, the fourth day after the battle.

PLUTARCH, in talking of Antony's flight, ſays, that, in this particular inſtance, he diſcovered neither the prudence of a general, nor the ſpirit of a man. He ſeemed even to have loſt the power of following his own inclinations, and verified the remark that is commonly made of lovers, viz. that their ſoul dwells entirely in the perſon whom they love. Juſt as if he had been but Cleopatra's ſhadow, and obliged to obey all her motions, he no ſooner ſaw her run away, than, forgetting what was due as well to himſelf as to thoſe he commanded, he ſtepped into a five-oared galley, and went in queſt of the woman, who had been the ruin at once of him and of herſelf. Cleopatra, ſeeing him approach, cauſed the pavilion of her ſhip to be pulled up, in order to prevent her being ſeen by him. It is probable, however, that he was as unwilling to ſee her, as ſhe was to ſee him. She was in the ſtern, and he went to the prow, where he continued for the ſpace of three days, without ſo much as inquiring about her. At laſt, upon their arrival at Tenarus, the queen's female attendants reconciled the two lovers, and every thing went on as before.

STILL Antony had the ſatisfaction to believe, that his army continued faithful to him, and in this belief he diſpatched orders to his lieutenant, Canidius, to conduct it into Aſia. But he was ſoon undeceived when he arrived in Africa, where he heard of its ſubmiſſion to his rival. At this information he was ſo enraged, that he was with difficulty prevented from killing himſelf; but at length he was prevailed on to return to Alexandria, though this indeed he did in a very different ſituation from that in which he left it.

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THE female mind, though in general more flexible, is likewiſe perhaps, upon ſome occaſions, more firm than that of males. Cleopatra ſeemed, in the midſt of her misfortunes, to retain that fortitude, which had utterly abandoned her admirer. Having amaſſed conſiderable riches by means of confiſcation, and other acts of violence, ſhe formed a very ſingular and unheard of project. This was to convey her whole fleet over the iſthmus of Suez into the Red Sea, and thereby ſave herſelf, with all her treaſures, in another region, beyond the reach of Rome. Some of her veſſels were actually tranſported thither, purſuant to her orders; but the Arabians having burnt them, and Antony diſſuading her from the deſign, ſhe abandoned it for the more impracticable one of defending Egypt againſt the conqueror. She did every thing in her power to execute this latter project, and made all kinds of preparations for war; at leaſt hoping thereby to obtain better terms from Octavius.

IN fact, ſhe had always loved Antony's fortunes rather than his perſon; and if ſhe could have fallen upon any method of ſaving herſelf without him, or even at his expence, there is no doubt but ſhe would have embraced it with joy. She even ſtill had ſome hopes, from the power of her charms, though ſhe was almoſt arrived at the age of forty; and fondly thought, that that beauty, and thoſe arts of pleaſing, which had captivated young Pompey, Cæſar, and Antony, might yet be ſufficient to make a conqueſt of Octavius.

IN this, however, ſhe was greatly diſappointed. She had now to do with a man of a very different character from any of the preceding, and one whoſe love of power was always found ſuperior to his appetite for pleaſure. He therefore freely ſuffered her to practiſe all her arts, convinced, as he was, of his being perfectly proof againſt them. Nay, he formed a ſcheme for deceiving her in his turn; intending firſt, by her means, to get rid of Antony, and then to make himſelf maſter of her perſon, treaſures, and kingdom. It is neceſſary to keep in view this double plot of Octavius and Cleopatra, which is the only key that can unlock the negociations between them. Thus, in three embaſſies which were ſent, one after another, from Antony to Octavius in Aſia, the queen had always her ſecret agents, charged with particular propoſals in her name. Antony deſired no more than that his life might be ſpared, and to have the liberty of paſſing the reſt of his days in a private manner at Athens, unleſs Octavius would allow him to remain in Egypt. Cleopatra alſo ſent public propoſals in favour of her children, on whom ſhe demanded that the kingdom of their father ſhould be beſtowed;

ſtowed; but at the ſame time, by a private meſſenger, ſhe reſigned to Octavius her crown, ſceptre, and all the other enſigns of royalty. With theſe public propoſals (to neither of which, however, any anſwer was returned) Antony was perfectly acquainted; but to the private one he was totally a ſtranger. To this laſt Octavius replied, by aſſuring the queen of his favour and friendſhip, provided ſhe either ſent away Antony, or put him to death. Secret, however, as this negociation was endeavoured to be kept, it could not be long concealed from Antony, who was no ſooner informed of it than he fell into a paſſion; and, ſeizing upon Thyrſus, an emiſſary from Octavius, he cauſed him firſt to be ſeverely ſcourged, and then ſent back to his maſter. He took care, however, to ſend a letter by him, importing, that he had chaſtiſed Thyrſus for inſulting a man in misfortunes; but withal he gave Octavius leave to avenge himſelf by ſcourging Hipparchus, Antony's freedman, in the ſame manner. The revenge, in this caſe, would have been highly pleaſing to Antony, as Hipparchus had deſerted him, and gone over to his rival.

MEANWHILE the operations of the war went vigorouſly forward, and Egypt once more became the theatre of the contending armies of Rome. Gallus, the lieutenant of Octavius, took Paretonium, which laid open the whole country to his incurſions. On the other hand, Antony, who had ſtill conſiderable forces both by ſea and land, wanted to retake that important place. He therefore marched towards it, flattering himſelf, that as ſoon as he ſhould ſhew himſelf to Gallus's ſoldiers, who had formerly ſerved under him, their affection for their old general would revive. He approached, therefore, and exhorted them to remember their former vows of fidelity; but Gallus ordering all the trumpets to ſound, effectually prevented Antony from being heard: nay he even ſallied out upon him, and put his troops in diſorder.

ANTONY's fleet likewiſe met with a great misfortune. It entered the port of Paretonium, which Gallus had left open on purpoſe; but having ſtretched out chains below the water, and raiſed them up immediately after the ſhips were got in, he contrived effectually to block up the harbour. Thus the fleet, being caught as in a net, was preſently attacked on all ſides, both from the ſea, the ſhore, and the city. In this unequal conflict ſo many of Antony's were deſtroyed, that few of them, in the end, were able to eſcape.

ANTONY's fortunes were now become ſo deſperate, and his folly ſo incorrigible, that his beſt friends every day began to deſert him. Among others was Herod, king of the Jews, who ought to be particularly mentioned. This prince, having formerly

formerly received many ſignal favours from Antony, had hitherto attached himſelf to him with unſhaken fidelity; but now ſeeing him obſtinately bent on his own deſtruction, he did not think that either juſtice or gratitude required that he ſhould periſh with him. He therefore waited upon Octavius without his diadem, and in every other reſpect, in the character of a ſuppliant, but ſtill maintaining the dignity of his rank by his noble and intrepid behaviour. According to Joſephus, he addreſſed him in the following terms.

"CÆSAR, ſaid he, it was Antony who made me king of the Jews, and I own that I have employed that fortune, which I owe to him, in his ſervice. I am not afraid to own to you, that if the war againſt the Arabians had not prevented me, you ſhould have ſeen me fighting in perſon againſt you. However, I aſſiſted him both with troops and proviſions to the utmoſt of my power. Since the misfortune which happened to him at Actium, I have not deſerted my benefactor, and when I could be no longer an uſeful ally to him, I performed the office of a faithful counſellor. I repreſented to him, that the only way to retrieve his ruined affairs, was to put Cleopatra to death; and on that condition I offered him my riches, ſtrong holds, troops, and perſons to enable him to ſupport the war againſt you. But the charms of Cleopatra have made Antony deaf to all my counſels; and god, who has been pleaſed to give you the victory, has hindered him from hearkening to ſuch ſalutary advice. I am, therefore, vanquiſhed with my benefactor, Antony, and my throne is overturned together with his fortune. I preſent myſelf now before you, without placing my hopes of ſafety in any thing but my virtue. I expect, however, that you will conſider with what fidelity I have ſerved my friend, and not what particular friend I have ſerved."

THIS noble and intrepid behaviour made ſuch an impreſſion upon the mind of Octavius, that he ordered Herod to take back his crown, confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and promiſed to continue his friendſhip to him.

NOR did Herod, by his ſubſequent conduct, appear unworthy of the favour he had received. He immediately returned into his own dominions, to make preparations for receiving Octavius, who meant to paſs that way in his march towards Egypt. He furniſhed him with eight hundred talents, entertained him and all his attendants in the moſt ſplendid and magnificent manner; and as there was a ſandy deſert on the confines of Egypt, he ſent thither a large quantity of water for the uſe of the army.

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THAT ſupply came very opportunely; for Octavius was now advancing towards Peluſium, which, by its ſtrong ſituation, might have retarded his progreſs for ſome time. But the governor of the city, either wanting courage to defend it, or previouſly inſtructed by Cleopatra to give it up, permitted him to take poſſeſſion of the place; ſo that Octavius had now no obſtacle in his way to Alexandria, whither he marched with all expedition.

ANTONY, upon his arrival, ſallied out to oppoſe him, and putting the enemy's cavalry to flight, purſued them to their intrenchments. This ſlight advantage once more revived his drooping ſpirits, and being naturally vain, he entered Alexandria in triumph. Then going, all armed as he was, to the palace, he embraced Cleopatra, and preſented her a ſoldier who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the late engagement. The queen rewarded him very liberally; preſenting him with an head-piece and breaſt-plate of gold. With theſe, however, the ſoldier went off the next night to the enemy's camp; prudently reſolving to ſecure his riches by keeping on the ſtrongeſt ſide.

ANTONY was extremely mortified at this deſertion; and in order to retaliate upon his rival, he cauſed billets to be thrown among the ſoldiers of Octavius, promiſing the ſum of fifteen hundred drachmas to every one of them that would come and enliſt in his ſervice. But Octavius was ſo little apprehenſive of any bad effects that might ariſe from this manœuvre, that he aſſembled his army, and read one of the billets to them; the only conſequence of which was, that his men were fired with a keener indignation againſt Antony, and conceived a ſtronger and more cordial attachment to their own general. Antony being now reduced to deſpair, had the folly (for it deſerves no better name) to ſend a challenge to Octavius, offering to terminate their quarrel by ſingle combat; but the other was too ſenſible of the great difference of their ſituations to accept of ſuch a deſperate offer: he only, therefore, coolly replied, that if Antony really ſought for death, he certainly had many other ways of procuring it. Death, indeed, he now began to perceive, was altogether inevitable; and in order to procure it in the moſt honourable manner, he determined ſtill to make one expiring effort before he gave up the conteſt.

FOR this purpoſe he fixed upon the firſt of Auguſt; and on the evening before, he ordered a grand entertainment to be made. "Give me good wine and good cheer, (cried he to his friends) let me rule to-day; to-morrow, perhaps, you may ſerve another maſter." About midnight, as Plutarch relates,

lates, while a melancholy ſilence reigned throughout the city, a noiſe of voices, inſtruments, and dancing, was heard, as if paſſing through the town, and ſeeming to go out of the gate which looked towards the enemy.

AT day-break, Antony drew his land-forces upon a riſing ground, near the city; and from thence ſent orders to his gallies to engage the enemy. There he waited to be a ſpectator of the combat, and at firſt he had the pleaſure to ſee them advance in good order; but in a little time after he was equally ſurpriſed and exaſperated when he ſaw his ſhips only ſaluting thoſe of Octavius, and both fleets uniting and ſailing back into the harbour. At the very ſame inſtant his cavalry deſerted him. He tried, however, to lead on his infantry; but theſe were eaſily vanquiſhed, and he himſelf compelled to return into the town. His rage was now altogether ungovernable: he could not help crying out aloud as he paſſed, that he was betrayed by Cleopatra, and delivered by that ungrateful princeſs to thoſe, who, for her ſake alone, were his enemies. Theſe ſuſpicions, indeed, were but too well founded, for it was by ſecret orders from the queen that the fleet had paſſed over to the enemy.

CLEOPATRA, conſcious that, by many parts of her conduct, ſhe had incurred the reſentment of Antony, and fearing that it might now break out with irreſiſtible fury, took a very effectual method to guard herſelf againſt it. Near the temple of Iſis, ſhe erected a building, which was ſeemingly deſigned for a ſepulchre. Hither ſhe removed all her gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and other moſt valuable effects, covering them over with torches and faggots. This ſepulchre ſhe deſigned to anſwer a double purpoſe; as well to ſcreen her from the reſentment of Antony, as to make Octavius believe that ſhe would burn all her treaſures, in caſe he refuſed her proper terms of accommodation.

HERE, therefore, ſhe retired from Antony's preſent fury, ſhutting the gates, which were ſtrengthened with bolts and bars of iron; but in the mean time, ſhe cauſed her attendants to ſpread a report that ſhe was actually dead. This news, which ſoon came to the ears of Antony, and was firmly believed by him, recalled all his former love and affection. Paſſing therefore, as was uſual with him, from one extreme to another, he now lamented her death with the ſame violence he had but a few minutes before ſeemed to deſire it. "Wretched man, (cried he) what is there now worth living for; ſince all that could ſooth or ſoften my cares is departed! O Cleopatra, (continued he, being got to his chamber) our ſeparation does not ſo much afflict me, ſince we ſhall preſently meet

meet again, as the diſgrace I ſuffer in permitting a woman to ſhew me, that I have leſs courage than ſhe." He then called to one of his freedmen, named Eros, whom he had previouſly engaged to kill him whenever fortune ſhould drive him to this deſperate extremity. Eros being commanded to perform his promiſe, immediately drew his ſword, and brandiſhed it as if he meant to execute his orders; but turning about his face, he plunged it into his own boſom, "I commend thee, Eros, (cried Antony, ſeeing him fall at his feet) inſtead of doing that office, which your regard for me would not allow you to perform, you have at once the courage and the humanity to ſet me the example." So ſaying, he drew his ſword, and plunging it in his belly, fell back upon a little couch.

THOUGH the wound was mortal, yet the blood ſtopping, he recovered his ſpirits, and earneſtly entreated thoſe who were come into the room to put an end to his life; but they all fled, being ſeized with fright and horror. While he continued crying out, and writhing his body with pain, one of the queen's ſecretaries, named Diomedes, came from her to propoſe that Antony ſhould be conveyed to her in the tomb. By this he underſtood that ſhe was ſtill alive; and far from expreſſing any reſentment againſt her for the deſperate ſtep to which ſhe had driven him, he only deſired thoſe about him to take him in their arms, and carry him to the place where ſhe was. They did ſo; but the queſtion was how to get him admitted; for the queen would not allow the gates, by any means, to be opened, leſt ſome of her enemies might enter at the ſame time. She, therefore, appeared at the window, and letting down ſome cords, to which they tied him, ſhe, with the aſſiſtance of her two maids, was at laſt able to pull him up, though not without making the moſt violent efforts, and ſtraining every nerve of her body. As ſoon as ſhe had got him up, ſhe took him in her arms, and carried him to her bed, where ſhe gently laid him. She then gave vent to her ſorrow, tearing her clothes, beating her breaſt, and kiſſing the wound of which he was dying. She called upon him as her lord, her huſband, her emperor, and ſeemed to have forgot the greatneſs of her own ſufferings in the affliction ſhe felt for his. Antony entreated her to moderate the violence of her grief, and aſked for ſome wine, either becauſe he was thirſty, or becauſe he thought it would haſten his end. After he had drank, he entreated Cleopatra to endeavour to preſerve her life, if ſhe could do it with honour; and mentioned Proculeius, a friend of Octavius, as one ſhe might rely on with the greateſt ſafety. "With regard to me, (ſubjoined he) do not lament my preſent misfortunes, but congratulate

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me on the happineſs I have enjoyed. I have lived the greateſt and moſt powerful of men, and though I fall to-day, my fate is not inglorious; a Roman myſelf, I am by a Roman overcome."

JUST as he had done ſpeaking he expired, and Proculeius made his appearance by command of Octavius, who had already been informed of Antony's fate. He was ſent to try all means of getttng Cleopatra into his power: Octavius having a double motive for wiſhing to accompliſh this point; one to prevent her deſtroying the treaſures ſhe had taken with her into the tomb, and the other to preſerve her perſon as an ornament to grace his triumph. Cleopatra, however, was upon her guard, and would not confer with Proculeius except through the gate, which was well ſecured. But it was not poſſible for them to come to an agreement. Cleopatra demanded the crown of Egypt for her children, and Proculeius adviſed her to throw herſelf entirely on the mercy of Octavius.

IN the mean time having ordered Gallus, one of his fellow ſoldiers, to carry on the conference in his abſence, he procured a ladder, and placing it againſt the wall, he entered, with two others, at the window, through which Antony had been conveyed. As ſoon as he entered, he ran down to the gate, and one of the women crying out, that they were taken alive, Cleopatra turned about, and ſeeing what had happened, ſhe drew a poniard, and attempted to ſtab herſelf; but Proculeius running to her, and laying hold of her arms, prevented her committing ſuch a deſperate action. "You are unjuſt (ſaid he) Cleopatra, both to yourſelf and to Octavius. You would deprive him of the pleaſure of ſhewing his mercy, and make the moſt gentle of all conquerors paſs for an inexorable tyrant." So ſaying, he forced the poniard out of her hand, and examined her clothes to be certain that ſhe had no poiſon about her. Thus leaving every thing ſecure, he went to inform Octavius of what he had done. Octavius was highly pleaſed at finding Cleopatra in his power. He ſent Epaphroditus to bring her to his palace, and to watch her with the utmoſt care. He was likewiſe ordered to uſe her. in every reſpect, with that deference and ſubmiſſion which was due to her rank, and to do every thing in his power to render her captivity ſupportable.

ANTONY being dead, and Cleopatra a priſoner, Octavius made his entry into Alexandria. He took care, however, to mitigate the terror of the inhabitants by converſing familiarly, as he went along, with Areus, a philoſopher, who was a native of the place. The citizens, nevertheleſs, trembled at his approach;

proach; and when he placed himſelf upon the tribunal, they proſtrated themſelves, with their faces to the ground, before him, like criminals who expected to hear the ſentence of their execution pronounced.

OCTAVIUS immediately ordered them to riſe, telling them, that three things induced him to pardon them: his reſpect for Alexander, who was the founder of their city; his admiration of its beauty; and his friendſhip for Areus, their fellow citizen. Two only of particular note were put to death upon this occaſion; Antyllus, Antony's eldeſt ſon by his firſt wife Fulvia; and Cæſario, the ſon of Julius Cæſar by Cleopatra; both of them betrayed by their reſpective tutors, who themſelves ſhortly after ſuffered for their perfidy. As for the reſt of Cleopatra's children, he treated them with great gentleneſs, leaving them to the care of thoſe who were entruſted with their education, who had orders to provide them with every thing ſuitable to their birth.

As to the queen herſelf, he granted her every indulgence that was conſiſtent with the plan he had formed of keeping her in captivity, in order to lead her to Rome in triumph. He permitted her to have the honour of burying Antony; an honour ſo much the greater, as it was a mark of diſtinction which ſeveral kings and princes had earneſtly ſolicited: but to all theſe it was denied in compliment to Cleopatra, who was not only allowed to perform the ſolemn ſervice, but was furniſhed with every thing neceſſary to render it magnificent. Yet ſtill it is not to be ſuppoſed, but that the many cruel mortifications ſhe had ſuffered muſt have greatly affected her health. Add to this, that the blows ſhe gave her breaſt, had produced an inflammation, which was followed by a fever, and ſhe ſeemed firmly reſolved to take this opportunity of ſtarving herſelf to death. She accordingly abſtained from all kind of food, under pretence of a regimen neceſſary to her diſorder; hoping thus to put an end, at once, to her life and to her miſeries. But Octavius, being informed of her real motive, began to threaten her with regard to her children; and Cleopatra, overcome by the tenderneſs natural to a mother, deſiſted from her fatal purpoſe: ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be treated as they pleaſed, and in a little time recovered.

As ſoon as ſhe was recovered, Octavius came to viſit her perſon. She received him lying upon a couch in a careleſs manner; and upon his entering the apartment, roſe up to proſtrate herſelf before him. She had nothing on but a looſe robe. Her misfortunes had given an air of ſeverity to her features; her hair was diſhevelled, her voice trembling, her complexion pale, and her eyes red with weeping. Yet ſtill

her natural beauty ſeemed to gleam through the diſtreſſes that ſurrounded her; and the graces of her motion, and the noble ſprightlineſs of her looks, ſtill bore teſtimony to the former power of her charms. Octavius raiſed her with his uſual complaiſance, and deſiring her to be ſeated, placed himſelf beſide her.

CLEOPATRA had been prepared for this interview, and did every thing in her power to gain the good will of the conqueror. She tried apologies, entreaties, and allurements, to touch his heart, and ſoften his reſentment. She began by attempting to juſtify her conduct, and threw the whole blame of the war upon Antony, whom, ſhe ſaid, ſhe was under a neceſſity of obeying; but Octavius ſhewing her the futility of all theſe pretences, ſhe at laſt condeſcended to implore his mercy. She talked of Cæſar's humanity to thoſe in diſtreſs; ſhe read ſome of his letters to her, full of tenderneſs, and enlarged upon the long intimacy that had ſubſiſted between them. "But of what uſe (cried ſhe) are all his benefits to me? Why could I not die with him? Yet ſtill he lives; methinks I ſee him ſtill before me; he revives in you."

OCTAVIUS was no ſtranger to this kind of addreſs, and conſequently was the leſs likely to be inveigled by it; he ſtill continued to anſwer her with a cold indifference, which obliged her to give her attempts a very different turn. She now addreſſed his avarice, preſenting him with an inventory of her treaſure and jewels. This gave occaſion to a very curious ſcene, which, as a trait of the manners of the age, it may be worth the mentioning. Seleucus, one of her ſtewards, having alledged, that the inventory was defective, and that ſhe had ſecreted a part of her effects, ſhe fell into a violent paſſion, ſtarted from her couch, and catching him by the hair, gave him ſeveral blows on the face. Octavius ſmiled at this folly, and deſired her to deſiſt. "What, Sir, (ſaid ſhe) while you do me the honour of viſiting me in this melancholy ſituation, is it not provoking that one of my ſlaves ſhould dare to inſult me in your preſence? And even ſuppoſing that I have ſecreted a few trifles, am I to blame, when they are reſerved not for myſelf, but for Livia and Octavia, whom I hope to make my interceſſors with you?"

THIS excuſe, which intimated a deſire of living, was not diſagreeable to Octavius, who politely aſſured her, that ſhe was at liberty to keep whatever ſhe had reſerved, and that in every thing elſe ſhe ſhould be indulged to the height of her expectations. He then took leave and departed; imagining he had reconciled her to life, and to the indignity of being ſhewn in the intended triumph, which he was preparing for his return

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to Rome; but in this he was deceived. Cleopatra, all this time, had kept a correſpondence with Dollabella, a young Roman of high birth in the camp of Octavius, who, either from compaſſion, or perhaps ſtronger motives, intereſted himſelf in the fate of that princeſs. By him ſhe was informed of the intentions of Octavius, and that he was determined to ſend her off in three days, together with her children, to Rome. She now, therefore, took her final reſolution, and determined to put a period to her exiſtence; but previouſly entreated leave to offer her laſt libations at the tomb of Antony. This requeſt being granted, ſhe was carried, with her two female attendants, to the ſtately monument where he was laid. There throwing herſelf upon the coffin, "O, my dear Antony, (ſaid ſhe) a few days ago I ſhould have buried you with hands that were ſtill free; but now I offer you libations, a captive, a priſoner, and carefully watched, leſt by the violence of my grief I ſhould diſfigure this wretched body, this body that is enſlaved, and which theycarefully guard for the fatal pomp of a triumph over you. Expect no more offerings or oblations from me; theſe are the laſt you will receive from Cleopatra, who is now going to be forced away from you. Nothing could ſeparate us while both alive; but we are in danger of being ſtrangely removed from each other by death; ſince you, who are a Roman, have found your tomb here, and I, an Egyptian, muſt go in queſt of mine to Italy, the only good your country has ever procured me. But if the gods of the place which you now inhabit have any power, (for thoſe here have betrayed us) do not abandon your ſpouſe while ſhe continues to live, nor ſuffer them to triumph over you in my perſon. Conceal me here with you; ſhut me up in your ſepulchre; for amidſt all the misfortunes I endure, none has been ſo painful and afflicting to me as the ſhort ſpace of time I have lived without you."

AFTER theſe moving complaints, ſhe crowned the coffin with flowers, and having kiſſed it a thouſand times, ſhe returned home, to execute her fatal reſolution. She then bathed, and ordered a ſumptuous entertainment; and while it was getting ready, a peaſant brought her a covered baſket. The guards having aſked him what it was, he opened it, and taking out the leaves on the top, ſhewed them ſome figs. They admired the beauty and largeneſs of them, and the peaſant, with natural air, deſired them to take ſome of them. As they did not ſuſpect that he carried any thing elſe, they ſuffered him to paſs.

As ſoon as Cleopatra had finiſhed her dinner, ſhe gave Epaphroditus a ſealed letter to deliver to Octavius, and having

cauſed every body to retire except her two women, ſhe ordered them to ſhut the doors of her apartment. Octavius, upon opening the letter, found nothing in it but the moſt lamentable entreaties, Cleopatra deſiring, as the greateſt favour, to be buried beſide Antony. He eaſily gueſſed the meaning of this requeſt, and had thoughts, at firſt, of going to her himſelf; but he judged it more proper to ſend ſome of his attendants to ſee what had paſſed. This was accordingly done: they ran as faſt as poſſible, and found the guards quiet at their poſts, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that any thing uncommon had happened: but upon entering the chamber, they ſaw Cleopatra lying dead upon a gilded couch, arrayed in her royal robes. Of the two women who attended her, one, named Iris, lay dead at her miſtreſs's feet, and the other, whoſe name was Charmion, already ſtaggering, and hardly able to ſupport herſelf, was putting the diadem on Cleopatra's head. "Alas, (cried one of the perſons, who had been ſent by Octavius) was this well done, Charmion?" "Yes, (replied ſhe) it is very well done; ſuch a death becomes a queen deſcended from a race of glorious anceſtors." On pronouncing theſe words, ſhe fell down and expired.

As the death of Cleopatra had been ſo very ſudden, Octavius imagined that their might ſtill remain in her ſome principle of life, which might poſſibly be revived. He therefore tried counter-poiſons, and every other method he could think of, for re-animating the vital ſpark, if any yet exiſted; but all his attempts for this purpoſe proved finally ineffectual, and he was therefore obliged to ſee his triumph deprived of ſo great an ornament.

IT is plain, from the whole of this account, that no body could certainly know what were the means Cleopatra uſed to put an end to her life. Some thought, that under the figs which were brought to her by the peaſant, there was concealed an aſp, which ſhe cauſed to ſting her arm. They fancied they obſerved upon her arm, after her death, two very ſmall, and almoſt imperceptible punctures, like the bite of a ſerpent; but as to the animal itſelf, they ſaw nothing of it; only they imagined they could trace the marks of its body on the ſand oppoſite the windows of Cleopatra's apartment. All this, however, is very uncertain; but Octavius ſeems to have been firmly of this opinion, as appears from the nature of his triumph, in which he carried a picture, repreſenting Cleopatra with an aſp ſticking to her arm. Horace mentions the circumſtance as an undoubted fact; Virgil too has an alluſion to it; and moſt other writers have been of the ſame way of thinking.

CLEOPATRA

CLEOPATRA died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years, during the greateſt part of which ſhe partook in Antony's good fortune, and ſaw all the kings and princes of the Eaſt ſubmit to her power. In her ended the reign of the Lagides in Egypt, which, counting backward from her death, had laſted two hundred and ninety-four years. She was buried near Antony, according to her deſire, and Octavius even finiſhed the tomb which they had begun to build themſelves. He likewiſe ordered a decent funeral for the two women who had accompanied her to her death.

ANTONY, when he died, was, according to ſome, fifty-three years of age, and according to others fifty-ſix. He made a more ſhining figure than could well be expected from a man whoſe vices greatly ſurpaſſed his abilities. He is ſaid to have been naturally humane and generous; but the violence of his paſſions was ſuch, that it ſometimes hurried him into as great acts of cruelty as ever were committed by the moſt mercileſs tyrants.

The ſtatues, that had been erected to him, in different parts of the empire, were all thrown down after his death, by virtue of a decree of the ſenate, which paſſed when Cicero's ſon preſided, who was then conſul. This was remarked as a very ſingular circumſtance, and was conſidered by all the world as a kind of conſolation to the manes of Cicero, whoſe ſon gave the laſt blow of infamy and diſgrace to his enemy and murderer. For the ſame ſenatus-conſultum ordained, that whatever had been decreed in favour of Antony ſhould be aboliſhed, that his birth-day ſhould be numbered among thoſe called unfortunate, and that none of the family of Antony ſhould ever after bear the name of Marcus. The ſtatues of Cleopatra would have ſhared the ſame fate as thoſe of Antony, had not her generous friend, Archibius, taken care to preſerve them by paying a ranſom for them to Octavius, to the amount of 225,000 pounds.

BY the final victory over Antony and Cleopatra, Egypt became a conquered country, and in a little time a Roman province. Octavius making uſe of the right of a conqueror, carried out of it with him an immenſe quantity of plunder. The palace of its kings had been long filled with prodigious treaſures, and theſe Cleopatra had augmented by the moſt cruel extortions, and eſpecially by plundering the temples of every thing valuable they contained. The reproach of all theſe ſacrileges fell upon her; but Octavius reaped the fruit of them. He likewiſe made the Alexandrians, and all the Egyptians purchaſe the pardons he granted. In a word, the money he took out of Egypt amounted to ſuch a ſum as enabled

him to pay all he owed to his ſoldiers, and beſides to give thoſe who followed him in this laſt expedition a gratuity of about ſix pounds ſterling a man. This he did to indemnify them for the loſs of the plunder of Alexandria, of which he had been obliged to deprive them. He repaid all he had borrowed for ſupporting the war, and magnificently rewarded the Roman ſenators and knights who had ſerved him. In ſhort, Rome was enriched, and its temples adorned with the ſpoils of Egypt. Nothing can better diſcover the immenſe quantity of money that was brought into Rome upon this occaſion, than the change it made in the rate of intereſt, which was reduced from twelve to four per cent. This, indeed, might be partly owing to the general tranquillity that thenceforward enſued, and the firſt fruits of which the people had already begun to taſte.

A PROVINCE ſo rich, and ſo very fertile in corn, was a conſiderable acquiſition to the Roman empire. From this time forward, Alexandria became the nurſe of Rome, ſupplying that capital of the univerſe with proviſions for four months in the year. But, as there is no good without ſome evil, even this richneſs of the country, and this fertility of the ſoil, might be attended with danger. It might inſpire an ambitious governor with the thoughts of throwing off his dependence upon Rome, and erecting himſelf into an independent ſovereign. Alexander had formerly been ſo apprehenſive of the danger ariſing from this quarter, that in ſettling the government of the country, he had divided the authority among ſeveral perſons. Octavius took another method to prevent the like evil, but one at the ſame time that anſwered the purpoſe full as well. He committed the care of the province, not to an honourable magiſtrate, but to a ſimple Roman knight, with the title of prefect; and this man had under him only three legions, with ſome ſmaller bodies of troops diſtributed in different parts of the country. The firſt whom he inveſted with this office was Gallus, a perſon of low condition, and one who was indebted to him for all he poſſeſſed. Octavius carried his precautions ſtill farther; he would not allow any Roman ſenator to ſet foot in Egypt without having previouſly obtained leave.

IN order to put a check upon the reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition of the people, he would not ſuffer them to have either a ſenate or public council in Alexandria, though almoſt all the other towns of the empire enjoyed this privilege: and in general he did not eſtabliſh in Egypt that kind of government which the Romans introduced into their other new conqueſts, and which had always ſomething of a republican ſpirit in it. Egypt, on the contrary, was governed in another manner:

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it was ruled in a ſtyle almoſt entirely monarchical, its ancient kings being now repreſented by the Roman prefects.

BUT while Octavius was taking theſe ſeemingly ſevere, though perhaps indiſpenſably neceſſary meaſures for eſtabliſhing himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his new conqueſt, he was extremely attentive to the happineſs of the people that had become ſubject to his command. He wanted that Egypt, in return for the benefits ſhe procured the Roman empire, ſhould receive, if poſſible, from her new maſters, whatever ſhe ſtood in need of to make her people happy. The laſt kings of Egypt had been little better than a ſet of monſters, diſtinguiſhed for nothing but their cruelty, their rapacity, and their contempt of all laws human and divine. Under their government the people, in ſpite of the natural fertility and other advantages of their country, had been extremely unhappy. Under Octavius, however, things aſſumed, in a little time, a very different and a more pleaſing aſpect. Thoſe canals, which come from the Nile, and were equally neceſſary for fertilizing the ſoil, and carrying on the internal commerce of the country, had, through the negligence of the preceding kings, been entirely ſpoiled, and ſtopped up with mud. Octavius cauſed his troops to cleanſe the old canals, and to cut out new ones. But his chief attention was directed to the maritime commerce, for which Alexandria had been originally built, of which, by its ſituation, it ſeemed deſtined to be the center, and of which it certainly would have been ſo, had not the folly of its rulers prevented it. But the city being now put under a different kind of government, ſoon attained to that eminence to which it was entitled. It ſoon became the general magazine of all nations, and the chief link of that chain which connected the Eaſt with the Weſt. In a word, it was raiſed to the rank of the ſecond city in the world, and this diſtinction it continued to enjoy till its ſplendor was eclipſed by the building of Conſtantinople.

WHILE Octavius was at Alexandria, he viſited the tomb of its founder, Alexander the Great. He even touched the body; and Dio has thought proper to obſerve, that the tip of the noſe, on which he laid his hand, mouldered immediately into duſt. The marks of veneration he ſhewed to the aſhes of that great conqueror, the flowers which he ſtrewed upon his tomb, and the crown with which he adorned him, are circumſtances more worthy of notice. They wanted likewiſe to ſhew him the tombs of the Ptolemies; but he refuſed it, ſaying, that he was curious to ſee a king, and not dead bodies. He likewiſe excuſed himſelf from viſiting Apis by an expreſſion

ſtill more ſenſible and judicious: "I am accuſtomed," ſaid he, "to honour the gods, and not an ox."

UPON his return to Rome Octavius had three triumphs decreed him; one for his defeat of the Dalmatians and Pannonians, another for his victory at Actium, and a third for the conqueſt of Egypt. Theſe triumphs, though no doubt celebrated with all that pomp and magnificence which became the majeſty of the Roman empire, and the character of the perſon they were intended to honour, are not worth a particular deſcription. But one of them was attended with ſo very tender and affecting a circumſtance, as ought not to paſs unnoticed. It related to the two eldeſt ſons of Adjatorix. This man, who was deſcended from the tetrarch of Gallo-Græcia, had been appointed by Antony prince of the city of Heracleum and of Pontus. Part of that town was then inhabited by a Roman colony, and Adjatorix, taking advantage of the troubles that diſtracted Rome, attacked, in the night time, thoſe who compoſed the colony, and under pretence of an order from Antony, put them all to the ſword. This was a crime ſo very atrocious, that Octavius thought it deſerving the ſevereſt puniſhment. He accordingly led Adjatorix with his wife and children in triumph, and then condemned the prince himſelf, with his eldeſt ſon, to die. Adjatorix had three ſons, all of whom attended him on the day and at the place of execution; and when the fatal moment arrived for putting the ſentence in force, the ſecond, with a generoſity almoſt unexampled, ſtepped forward, and ſaid, that he was the eldeſt, and ought therefore to ſuffer the penalty of the law. But the eldeſt, whoſe name was Dyteutes, would not ſuffer himſelf to be outdone in generoſity by his brother, and he therefore inſiſted upon the privilege of his birth, which, however, was no other than inſtant and a bloody death. The diſpute between them continued for a long time, and was an exact repreſentation of that between Pylades and Oreſtes. But at laſt their relations repreſenting to Dyteutes, that as he was the eldeſt, he was of courſe the moſt capable of maintaining his mother and his youngeſt brother, he allowed his ſenſe of juſtice, and his fraternal affection to be thus overcome, and the ſecond brother of conſequence ſuffered in his ſtead.

THE celebration of theſe triumphs was followed by a ceremony, which, to a man of a humane and benevolent diſpoſition, muſt certainly have been more agreeable than any other honour that could poſſibly have been done him. This was no other than ſhutting the temple of Janus, which was never done but in a time of profound peace. Every body knows, that, ſince the foundation of Rome, the temple of Janus had never

never been ſhut but twice; firſt in the reign of Numa, and afterwards at the concluſion of the firſt Punic war. It was ſhut again for the third time, and by this it was declared, that *the gates of war*, as Virgil calls them, were effectually barred, and that all mankind was reſtored to the enjoyment of perfect peace and tranquillity.

CHAP. XXIV.

From the Eſtabliſhment of AUGUSTUS * *in the Imperial Power to his Death.*

[ANN. ROM. 723. BEFORE CHRIST 29.]

THE chief object that engaged the attention of Octavius after his return to Rome, was to determine with himſelf what kind of government he ſhould eſtabliſh; whether he ſhould replace every thing upon its former footing, and reſtore the republic; or whether he ſhould retain the ſovereign power in his own hands, and thus make himſelf maſter of the lives and liberties of his fellow citizens. The better to enable him to ſettle this important point, he took the advice of his two principal favourites and miniſters, Agrippa and Mæcenas. Agrippa, like an honeſt, open-hearted ſoldier, boldly adviſed him to embrace the firſt of theſe meaſures; while Mæcenas, like an artful, inſinuating courtier, ſtrongly recommended the ſecond; and this, which was moſt agreeable to the ſentiments of Octavius, was accordingly adopted.

IN order, however, to blind the eyes of the people, and make them imagine they ſtill poſſeſſed the ſubſtance, though they had only the ſhadow of liberty, he ſtill allowed them to retain all their old names of magiſtracy. They had ſtill their

* We begin our liſt of emperors with Auguſtus, becauſe Julius Cæſar, though frequently called THE FIRST ROMAN EMPEROR, was never formally acknowledged as ſuch, nor ever eſtabliſhed on the imperial throne.

conſuls, their tribunes, their prætors, ediles, and cenſors, who were very readily ſuffered to enjoy the names, while the whole power was veſted in the hands of Auguſtus; for that was the appellation the ſenate, among their other marks of flattery, now gave him. No perſon could be choſen into any of theſe offices without his expreſs permiſſion; nor, after he was choſen, dared he to exerciſe any part of his function, that was in the leaſt diſagreeable to the emperor; the name, which Auguſtus thought proper to aſſume, inſtead of that of king, as being leſs odious to the people; ſince king among the Romans was conſidered as ſignifying the ſame as tyrant, whereas emperor imported no more than the commander of an army: and this laſt character Auguſtus took care to reſerve entirely to himſelf. He beſtowed upon the ſenate the government of ſome of the interior provinces, which could eaſily be managed without any ſoldiers, but he kept in his own hands the government of the remote and frontier provinces, which required an army to regulate and defend them; and thus he contrived to be always at the head of the whole military force of the ſtate.

To carry his hypocriſy ſtill farther, and to prevent the people effectually from ſeeing into his deſigns, he actually offered to reſign the ſupreme power. But he had taken care previouſly to ſecure in his intereſt a majority of the ſenate, who rejected his propoſal, and adviſed him to retain the power he had aſſumed, which, they ſaid, no other man was equally well qualified to exerciſe, and which the intereſt of the public required to be exerciſed by a ſingle perſon.

IN this laſt aſſertion, indeed, there ſeemed to be too much truth. For the empire was now become ſo large, and the people ſo degenerate, that a republican government appeared to be no longer practicable; and ſince an abſolute monarchy was become neceſſary, perhaps it would have been difficult, if not impoſſible, to find a better abſolute monarch than Auguſtus. For though he had waded, through oceans of blood, to the attainment of the ſupreme power, yet no ſooner had he completely attained it, than he ſeemed all at once to change his nature, and from a cruel, ſuſpicious, and hard-hearted tyrant, he became inſtantly one of the moſt gentle and humane abſolute princes that perhaps ever exiſted.

HE even put on, upon ſome occaſions, an appearance of modeſty, which it would have been dangerous for a ſovereign, poſſeſſed of leſs power, to aſſume. He ſuffered his courtiers, and even his meaner ſubjects, to upbraid him publicly, and remind him of his duty. Although he was, by the authority of his ſtation, capable of condemning or acquitting whomſoever he pleaſed, he yet thought proper to let the laws take

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their proper courſe, and even ſometimes pleaded for thoſe he deſired to protect. Of this the following is a remarkable inſtance. Primus, governor of Macedonia, had, by his own proper authority, made war upon the Odriſii, a neighbouring people. For this breach of duty he was called to account, and alledged, in his defence, that he had acted by the command of Auguſtus. Auguſtus denied the charge, and even appeared in court to make good his aſſertion. Upon which the advocate for Primus aſked, with an inſolent air, what had brought Auguſtus thither, or who had ſent for him. To this the emperor ſubmiſſively replied, "The Commonwealth;" an anſwer which greatly pleaſed the people.

UPON another occaſion, one of his veteran ſoldiers entreated his protection in a certain cauſe; but Auguſtus, taking little notice of his requeſt, deſired him to apply to an advocate. "Ah! (ſaid the ſoldier) it was not by proxy that I fought for you at the battle of Actium." This reply pleaſed Auguſtus ſo much, that he pleaded his cauſe in perſon, and gained it for him. He was acceſſible to perſons even of the very loweſt rank, and wiſhed they ſhould approach him without fear. One day a perſon preſented him a petition with ſo much awe, that he was diſpleaſed at it. "What, friend, (cried he) you ſeem as if you were offering ſomething to an elephant, and not to a man; be bolder."

ONE day, as he was ſitting in judgment, Mæcenas perceiving by his look that he was inclined to be ſevere, attempted to ſpeak to him; but not being able to come near him for the crowd, he threw a paper to him, containing theſe words, "Ariſe, executioner;" on which Auguſtus immediately aroſe, and acquitted the perſons he ſeemed diſpoſed to condemn.

BUT what was the moſt ſtriking proof of a total alteration in his temper, was his behaviour to Cornelius Cinna, Pompey's grandſon. This nobleman had formed a conſpiracy againſt him; but the plot was diſcovered before it was ripe for execution. Auguſtus, for a long time, deliberated with himſelf what courſe he ſhould purſue, whether he ſhould baniſh or pardon the conſpirators; but at laſt his humanity got the better of his reſentment; he, therefore, ſent for thoſe who were guilty, and, after reprimanding them, diſmiſſed them. But he was reſolved to mortify Cinna by the greatneſs of his generoſity; for addreſſing him in particular, "I have twice (ſays he) given you your life; firſt, as an enemy; now, as a conſpirator: I now give you the conſulſhip; let us, therefore, be friends for the future, and let us only contend in ſhewing to the world, which ſhould be deemed moſt worthy of praiſe, your gratitude or my generoſity."

NOR was Auguſtus more remarkable for his modeſty and humanity, than he was for his ſagacity and political prudence. He took care, ſoon after his elevation to power, to enact a number of laws that were attended with the beſt and moſt ſalutary effects. He ordained, that none ſhould exhibit a ſhow of gladiators without orders from the ſenate, and then no oftener than twice a year, nor with more than an hundred and twenty at a time. This law was extremely neceſſary at ſo corrupt a period of the empire, when whole armies of theſe unfortunate men were brought at once upon the ſtage, and frequently compelled to fight till one half of them were ſlain.

IT had been uſual alſo with the knights, and ſome women of the firſt diſtinction, to exhibit themſelves as dancers upon the theatre: he ordered, that not only they, but their children and grandchildren, ſhould be reſtrained from ſuch exerciſes for the future. He fined many, who had refuſed to marry at a certain age, and rewarded ſuch as had many children. He ordained that virgins ſhould not be married till twelve years of age; and permitted any perſon to kill an adulterer taken in the fact. He enacted, that the ſenators ſhould be always held in great reverence, adding to their character what he had taken from their power.

HE made a law, that no man ſhould have the freedom of the city without a previous inquiry into his merit and character. He appointed new rules and limits to the manumiſſion of ſlaves, and was himſelf very ſtrict in the obſervance of them. With regard to players, of whom he was very fond, he ſeverely examined their morals, not allowing the leaſt licentiouſneſs in their lives, nor indecency in their actions. Though he encouraged the athletic exerciſes, yet he would not permit women to be preſent at them; holding it unbecoming the modeſty of the ſex to be ſpectators of theſe ſports, which were performed by naked men.

IN order to prevent bribery in ſuing for offices, he took conſiderable ſums of money from the candidates, by way of pledge; and if any indirect practices were proved againſt them, they were obliged to forfeit all. Slaves had been hitherto prohibited from bearing witneſs againſt their maſters; but he took off the reſtraint, and firſt ſold the ſlave to another, which, by altering the property, rendered the evidence legal. Theſe, and many other ſalutary laws, were enacted by Auguſtus, and the obſervance of them enforced with the greateſt care and attention. He likewiſe took care to reform the ſenate, by expelling from it, or, what pleaſed him better, by perſuading voluntarily to retire from it, all ſuch as were deemed unfit to be members of that auguſt body. By this

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means he reduced the number of ſenators from a thouſand, to which, during the civil wars, it had ſwelled, to ſix hundred, the number of which, during the moſt virtuous times of the republic, it had generally conſiſted. This was the moſt unpopular, and perhaps the moſt dangerous meaſure he attempted during his whole reign; and yet ſuch was his prudence or good fortune, that he was able to get through with it, not only without exciting any diſturbance, but even without meeting with much oppoſition.

HAPPY, however, as he was in his public capacity, he was far from being equally ſo in his private and domeſtic concerns. His daughter, Julia, whom he had by his firſt wife Scribonia, and whom he married, firſt to his general Agrippa, and afterwards to his ſtep-ſon and ſucceſſor, Tiberius, turned out to be a moſt profligate and abandoned woman, proſtituting herſelf, in the moſt ſhameleſs manner, to a variety of perſons, and even making her father's palace the ſcene of her debaucheries. At this the emperor was ſo highly enraged, that he threatened, at firſt, to put her to death; but, after ſome conſideration, he contented himſelf with baniſhing her to the iſland of Pandataria, where he kept her ever after cloſely confined. Notwithſtanding her vicious life, ſhe had two ſons by Agrippa, named Caius and Lucius; but they both died when very young.

THE emperor's ſeverity towards his daughter on account of her gallantries is the more remarkable, though perhaps not the leſs juſtifiable, that he himſelf was ſuppoſed to be not very delicate in matters of this kind. He is ſaid to have debauched the wife of his prime miniſter and favourite Mæcenas; and every body knows, that his ſecond and beſt-beloved wife, Livia, was, at the time he married her, the ſpouſe of another man, Tiberius Nero, who, it is true, gave her up voluntarily to the emperor, even after ſhe was ſix months gone with child, and that child, when born, who was named Druſus, was generally ſuppoſed to be his own ſon.

HAVING now attained to a good old age, and having no direct deſcendant of his own body, he began ſeriouſly to think of a ſucceſſor, and by the advice of Livia, he caſt his eyes upon Tiberius, her oldeſt ſon by her firſt huſband. Having thus fixed his choice, he deſired the ſenate no longer to ſalute him at the palace according to cuſtom, nor to take it amiſs, if, for the future, he could not converſe with them as formerly. From that time Tiberius was joined with him in the government of the provinces, and inveſted with almoſt the ſame degree of power. Auguſtus, however, could not entirely forſake the adminiſtration of the ſtate, which habit had,

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in ſome meaſure, rendered neceſſary to his happineſs; he ſtill continued a watchful guardian of its intereſts, and ſhewed himſelf, to the laſt, a lover of his people.

FINDING it now, therefore, very inconvenient for him to come to the ſenate, on account of his age, he deſired to have twenty privy-counſellors aſſigned him for a year; and it was decreed, that whatever meaſures they and the conſuls ſhould reſolve upon, ſhould have the full force of a law. He ſeemed to be apprehenſive of his approaching end; for he made his will, and delivered it to the veſtal virgins. He then ſolemnized the cenſus, or numbering of the people, whom he found to be four millions one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand; which ſhews Rome to be equal to four of the greateſt cities of modern times.

SOON after this, having accompanied Tiberius, in his march into Illyria, as far as Beneventum, he was then ſeized with a weakneſs of the bowels and ſtomach. Returning, therefore, from thence, he came to Nola, near Capua, and there finding himſelf dangerouſly ill, he ſent for Tiberius, with the reſt of his moſt intimate friends and acquaintance. He did not continue long to indulge vain hopes of recovery, but convinced that his end was at hand, patiently waited its arrival. A few hours before his death, he ordered a looking-glaſs to be brought, his hair to be dreſſed with more than uſual care, and ſomething to be done to conceal the extreme hollowneſs of his cheeks. He then ſpoke to his friends, whom he ſaw ſurrounding his bed, and aſked them, whether they thought he had properly played his part in life; to which being anſwered in the affirmative, he cried out with his laſt breath, "Then give me your applauſe;" and thus, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, after reigning forty-one, he expired in the arm of Livia, bidding her remember their marriage and farewell.

THE character of Auguſtus may be eaſily deduced from this account of his life and reign, ſhort and uncircumſtantial as it certainly is. Prudence, bordering upon cunning, ſeems to have been his chief characteriſtic. By this he contrived to keep the people in a conſtant belief, that he wanted to reſign the ſupreme power, though nothing, in reality, was farther from his wiſhes. He had the art, however, every tenth year of his reign, to make a ſhew of offering ſuch a reſignation; but he always took care to have a ſufficient number of friends in the ſenate to gratify his real views, and oppoſe his pretended inclinations.

IT muſt be owned, indeed, for his honour, that if an abſolute government was become neceſſary to the Romans, no man ſeemed to be better qualified for conducting it than

Auguſtus.

Auguſtus. He was certainly one of the beſt ſovereigns that ever exiſted; but the bulk of his ſucceſſors were ſuch a ſet of monſters as diſgraced not only the royal character, but even the character of humanity itſelf. Hence it was frequently ſaid of him, "That it had been happy for mankind if he had never been born, or had never died."

As the reign of Auguſtus was upon the whole a peaceable one, it was not diſtinguiſhed by many of thoſe military events, that conſtitute the moſt ſhining part of the hiſtory of moſt other monarchs. Not but that there were ſome petty wars in the remote provinces of the empire; but they were in general of too unimportant a nature to deſerve being here particularly mentioned. The moſt remarkable one was that carried on by Quintilius Varus. This general, invading the territories of the Germans, was induced to follow the enemy among their foreſts and marſhes, with his army in ſeparate bodies; there he was ſurrounded by night, and entirely cut off with his whole army. Theſe were the beſt and choiceſt legions of the whole empire, either for valour, diſcipline, or experience. This defeat made a deep impreſſion upon the mind of every Roman, and particularly upon that of Auguſtus. He was often heard to cry out, in a tone of anguiſh, "Quintilius Varus, reſtore me my legions;" and ſome hiſtorians pretend to ſay, that he never after recovered the former ſerenity of his temper.

THOUGH Julius Cæſar is commonly called the firſt Roman emperor, yet the imperial power cannot be ſaid to have been eſtabliſhed, till the time of Auguſtus, nor was it even firmly fixed till towards the middle of his reign. That the Romans were remarkable for ſimplicity of dreſs in the time of Auguſtus is ſufficiently evident from this circumſtance; that he himſelf wore no clothes but what were ſpun by his wife, his ſiſter, his daughter, or grand-daughters.

A TASTE, however, for ſimplicity of dreſs may be very conſiſtent with barbarity of manners; and that the manners of the Romans were then very barbarous, will be denied by no one who conſiders, that as they were all of them poſſeſſed of a power of life and death over their ſlaves, they ſometimes exerciſed that power with the moſt wanton cruelty. Of this the following is a remarkable inſtance. One Vedius Pollio, who had himſelf been a ſlave, being admitted to his freedom, and afterwards created a Roman knight, kept a large pond for his lampreys, which he was ſo ſavage as to feed with human fleſh; and the uſual puniſhment inflicted on his ſlaves, even ſometimes for the moſt trivial faults, was to be bound hand

and

and foot, and thrown into the pond to feed thoſe voracious animals.

THIS wretch, however, who ought to have been ſhunned and deteſted by every humane perſon, was numbered among the friends of Auguſtus, who certainly could derive no great honour from ſuch a connection. One day that the emperor dined with him, a ſlave happening to break a cryſtal vaſe, was immediately condemned to be thrown to the lampreys. The poor fellow, ſtruck with terror at ſuch a dreadful ſentence, fell at the feet of Auguſtus, and humbly implored, if not his life, at leaſt a leſs cruel and ſhocking death. The emperor, accordingly, ſolicited his pardon, and meeting with a refuſal from Vedius, he ordered all the vaſes that were upon the beaufet to be ſet before him, and he broke every one of them with his own hand. So ſeaſonable a leſſon had the deſired effect; it humbled the pride, and perhaps reformed the temper of Vedius, and it certainly ſaved the life of the unhappy ſlave.

EVERY body knows, that the age of Auguſtus, or the Auguſtan age, as it is commonly called, is only another name for an age of ſcience and polite literature. It is a miſtake, however, to imagine, that this was owing either to the example or encouragement of the emperor. A taſte for letters had been introduced into Rome long before the time of Auguſtus, and in many inſtances had been carried to the higheſt perfection. Lucretius, Terence, Cicero, Salluſt, and Cæſar flouriſhed before him, and had all, in their different walks, ſet ſuch example of excellence, as was rarely afterwards equalled, and certainly never exceeded. True it is, that the two greateſt Roman poets, Horace and Virgil, lived in the reign of Auguſtus, and were, both of them, honoured with his friendſhip, and loaded with his favours; and but for him, it is probable, they would never have attained to that high reputation they afterwards did. Certain it is that he granted them a pardon, which they both ſtood in need of, as, during the civil wars, they had been engaged in the oppoſite party; and, by rendering their circumſtances eaſy, he put it in their power to proſecute their ſtudies, and to compoſe thoſe admirable works that have tranſmitted their names with ſo much honour to poſterity. Ovid and Livy alſo were two great ornaments of the Auguſtan age: the latter, in particular, was ſaid to be as great in genius as the Romans were in arms.

THE moſt remarkable event of this reign, indeed the moſt remarkable that ever diſtinguiſhed any period, was the birth of our Saviour, who came into the world to teach new laws, and enforce the practice of every moral virtue. He was born in Judea,

Judea, in the ſeven hundred and fifty-ſecond year of Rome, the twenty-fifth of the reign of Auguſtus, and in the four thouſand and third year of the world, according to the common computation.

CHAP. XXV.

TIBERIUS, *the Second Roman Emperor.*

[ANN. ROM. 762. A. D. 14.]

ALTHOUGH Auguſtus had appointed Tiberius ſucceſſor, it was not becauſe he thought him the moſt proper perſon, but becauſe all his own poſterity being extinct, except Agrippa Poſthumus, the ſon of the general of that name by his daughter Julia, and he being of a moſt profligate character, he had hardly any other choice left. Beſides, he was prevailed upon to do ſo by the conſtant importunities of his wife Livia, whoſe eldeſt ſon Tiberius was by her firſt huſband Nero. Tiberius, indeed, who was in the fifty-ſixth year of his age at the time of his acceſſion, was a man of parts, and an excellent general; but then he was of a dark, gloomy, and cruel diſpoſition, committing the moſt unheard-of barbarities with the greateſt coolneſs and deliberation. This turn of mind, however, he had taken care to conceal, during the lifetime of Auguſtus; but being now freed from the reſtraint put upon him by the preſence of that prince, and finding himſelf poſſeſſed of abſolute and uncontrouled power, he gave full ſcope to the natural depravity of his temper. The firſt perſon that fell a victim to his jealouſy was Agrippa Poſthumus, whom we have juſt now mentioned. This youth had imitated the licentiouſneſs of his mother, rather than the prudence of his father, and had therefore been baniſhed by Auguſtus into the iſland of Planaſium. He was now put to death by Tiberius, who alledged, in his defence, that he received orders for doing ſo from Auguſtus, who was anxious for the ſafety of the ſucceſſion. He carried his diſſimulation ſtill farther. When the centurion, who had executed his commands, came with the account, Tiberius pretended that he had given no ſuch command, and that he ſhould anſwer for his conduct before the ſenate. The affair, however, was ſoon huſhed up, and no enquiry made after the murderer.

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THE beginning, however, of Tiberius's reign, except in this ſingle inſtance, was marked with ſuch traits of prudence, generoſity, and even mercy, as gave the people reaſon to hope he would prove a very different monarch from what he afterwards became. He rejected the titles of lord and maſter, by which the ſenate propoſed to addreſs him in quality of emperor: "I am maſter," ſaid he, "of my ſlaves; I am general of my ſoldiers; and chief of the people." He prohibited their erecting ſtatues to him but upon certain occaſions, and abſolutely forbade their worſhipping him as a deity; an impious honour, that had been offered both to Cæſar and Auguſtus. Even thoſe praiſes, which he might juſtly have received, ſeemed irkſome to him; and he appeared to deſire no other reward for his public labours, but the conſciouſneſs of having deſerved them.

WHEN the ſenate offered to take an oath to obey all the laws he had hitherto made, or ſhould make for the future, he reprimanded their ſervility, obſerving, that all ſublunary things were ſubject to change, and that the higher he was raiſed, he ſhould only be expoſed to the greater danger. From an affectation of modeſty, but really from a fear of ſeeing his own grandeur eclipſed, he oppoſed the exceſſive honours that were intended to be beſtowed upon his mother Livia, to whoſe credit, however, during the late reign, he had been chiefly indebted for his firſt riſe.

HE aſſumed alſo the appearance of great patience and moderation upon all occaſions; and though, in the ſenate, ſome things paſſed contrary to his will, yet he ſeemed not in the leaſt offended. Having heard that ſome perſons had ſpoken ill both of him and his government, he ſhewed no reſentment, but mildly replied, that in a free city, the tongues of men ought alſo to be free. When ſome governors had ſhewen him a method of increaſing his revenues, he with indignation anſwered, that a good ſhepherd ought to ſhear his ſheep, but never to flay them. He made many ſumptuary laws againſt taverns, and places of public reſort: he puniſhed wives who had violated their matrimonial vows, and even prohibited kiſſing by way of ſalutation. He carefully ſuppreſſed robberies and ſeditions, and cauſed juſtice to be duly and regularly adminiſtered in all the towns of Italy. He behaved in the moſt reſpectful manner to the ſenate, and in the beginning did nothing without their advice and approbation. They, on their part, were continually loading him with the moſt extravagant praiſes; ſo that no prince was ever more flattered than he. Nor is it an improbable conjecture to ſuppoſe,

ſuppoſe, that ſuch adulation induced him more boldly to throw aſide the maſk of diſſimulation.

HIS behaviour to Germanicus was the firſt thing that unveiled his real character, and ſet it in its true and genuine light. In a little time after his acceſſion to the throne he received intelligence, that the legions in Pannonia, hearing of the death of Auguſtus, and deſirous of novelty, had revolted; but theſe were ſoon reduced to obedience, and their leader, Parcennius, ſlain.

A COMMOTION in Germany was attended with more important conſequences. The legions in that part of the empire were conducted by Germanicus, the ſon of Druſus, late brother of Tiberius, a youth of moſt admirable qualities, and who had been, at the late emperor's requeſt, adopted, in order to ſucceed to the empire. The legions, under his command, had taken the opportunity of his abſence to revolt, and now boldly began to affirm, that the whole Roman empire was at their diſpoſal, and that its principal grandeur was owing to the ſucceſs of their arms. They therefore reſolved, upon the return of Germanicus, to elect him emperor, and as he was the darling of the ſoldiers, he might eaſily, had he thought proper, have made their election valid; but his ſenſe of duty prevailing over his love of power, he rejected their offer with the utmoſt indignation, and did every thing he could to oppoſe the ſedition. This at laſt he effected, though not without extreme danger to his own perſon, by cutting off many of the principal revolters, and then leading the troops againſt the Germans, who were conſidered as the common enemies of the empire.

TIBERIUS was as much pleaſed with the loyalty of Germanicus, as he was vexed at his popularity; his ſucceſs alſo, immediately after, againſt the Germans, expoſed him ſtill farther to the emperor's envy. He defeated the enemy in ſeveral engagements, and ſubdued many populous and warlike nations; but none of his victories was more honourable than that which recovered the ſtandards that had been taken from the unfortunate Varus, and erected trophies to his own troops upon that very ſpot, on which the legions of the former had been ſlain. Upon one of theſe monuments he placed a modeſt inſcription, mentioning only the people that were conquered and the army that conquered them; but omitting entirely his own name, either willing to avoid envy, or thinking that poſterity would ſupply the defect.

ALL theſe victories, however, at the ſame time that they increaſed the fame, tended rather to endanger the perſon of the general, by inflaming ſtill farther the jealouſy of the

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emperor. This very ſoon began to appear by Tiberius's making uſe of every pretence to draw Germanicus from the legions in Germany; and an invaſion of the Parthians, which happened about this time, furniſhed him with a very fair and a plauſible opportunity. That fierce and unconquerable people having ſlain two of their kings, and refuſed to accept another, who had been an hoſtage at Rome, and was ſuppoſed to be lawful heir, broke the peace which had been made in the reign of Auguſtus, and invaded Armenia, a kingdom tributary to the Romans.

TIBERIUS, inſtead of being ſorry, ſeemed rather to be pleaſed at this invaſion, as it gave him a pretence for recalling Germanicus, and thereby removing him from the command of thoſe legions, which were too ſtrongly attached to his intereſt. He began by procuring him a triumph for his victory in Germany, and then writing to him to return, in order to enjoy the honours the ſenate had decreed him; adding, that he had reaped glory enough in a country where he had been ſent nine times, and had every time been victorious; concluding that he had thereby more than merited a triumph, and that the moſt ſignal puniſhment that could be inflicted on the Germans was to allow them to deſtroy each other by their inteſtine diviſions. Germanicus accordingly returned to Rome, where, after enjoying a ſplendid triumph, which he richly deſerved, he ſet out for Aſia; and, by his admirable conduct, he ſoon ſuppreſſed all the diſturbances that had broke out in that country. But here he met with a new enemy, whom he little expected.

TIBERIUS was not ſatisfied with baniſhing him from Rome, (for the expedition to Aſia was little better than a real baniſhment) unleſs he alſo took ſecret meaſures for effecting his deſtruction. With this view he had appointed Cneius Piſo to be governor of Syria. This was a man of a furious and headſtrong temper, and, in every reſpect, qualified to execute the fatal purpoſes for which he was deſigned. His inſtructions were to oppoſe Germanicus upon every occaſion; to render him as odious as poſſible; and even to procure his death, if an opportunity ſhould offer. Germanicus, who, though a brave ſoldier, was naturally of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, choſe rather to elude the malice of his enemies than openly to oppoſe it. He therefore took a journey into Egypt under pretence of viewing the curioſities of that country, but in reality to avoid the machinations of Piſo, and thoſe of his wife Plancina. Upon his return, however, to Antioch, he was ſeized with a dangerous, and, as it ſoon appeared to be, a mortal diſtemper; and, from a ſtrong ſuſpi-

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cion that he had been poiſoned, he addreſſed his friends, who ſtood around his bed, in theſe terms: "Had my death been natural, I might have reaſon to complain of being thus ſnatched away from my parents, my wife, my children, and my country, at ſo early an age; but now my complaints are aggravated in falling the victim of Piſo and Plancina's treachery. Let the emperor, I conjure you, know the manner of my death, and the tortures I ſuffer. Thoſe who loved me, when living, thoſe even who envied my fortune, will feel ſome regret, when they hear of a ſoldier, who had ſo often eſcaped the rage of the enemy, falling a ſacrifice to the treachery of a woman. Plead then my cauſe before the people; you will be heard with pity; and if my murderers ſhould pretend to have acted by command, they will either receive no credit or no pardon." So ſaying, he ſtretched forth his hand, which his weeping friends tenderly preſſing, moſt ſolemnly ſwore, that they would loſe their lives, rather than their revenge. The dying prince then turning to his wife, conjured her by the regard ſhe had for his memory, and by all the ties of nuptial love, to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times, and to diſarm, if poſſible, the reſentment of her more powerful enemies, by not ſeeming to oppoſe it. Thus much he ſaid openly: ſomething more was uttered in private; intimating, as was ſuppoſed, his fears from the emperor's cruelty; and ſhortly after he expired.

NOTHING could exceed the grief of the whole empire upon hearing of the death of Germanicus. The people of Antioch broke out into the moſt frantic expreſſions of ſorrow. They flung ſtones at the temples of their gods, and overturned their altars; ſome threw their domeſtic deities into the ſtreets, and others expoſed the children that were born upon ſo black and inauſpicious a day. At Rome the people kept their grief within ſomewhat more decent bounds; but it was not, on that account, the leſs ſincere or the leſs general. A vacation immediately took place in all the public and private offices, and that too without waiting for any orders from the ſenate; the uſual places of reſort were deſerted; the houſes and ſhops were ſhut up; the ſtreets were filled with lamentations; and the whole city, from one extremity to the other, put on a face of the deepeſt mourning. In a little time after, the general affliction was greatly increaſed by the arrival of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, a woman in high eſteem for her virtue, who appeared bearing the aſhes of her huſband, and attended by two of her children. As ſhe approached the city, ſhe was met by the ſenate, and the whole body of the people of Rome, with a ſtrange mixture of acclamation and ſorrow.

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The veteran ſoldiers, many of whom had ſerved under Germanicus, expreſſed their ſorrow in the ſtrongeſt terms. The whole multitude, while the aſhes were depoſiting in the tomb of Auguſtus, at firſt regarded the ceremony with ſilent concern; but ſhortly after, as if by common concert, broke out into loud lamentations, crying, that all hopes of liberty were now extinct, and that the commonwealth was undone.

TIBERIUS, ſenſible that he was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having been privy to the death of Germanicus, endeavoured to wipe off that ſtain from his character, by conſenting to the trial of Piſo, who no ſooner returned to Rome, than he was accuſed before the ſenate, not only of having compaſſed the death of the prince, but likewiſe of his having treated good men with unexampled ſeverity, and even of his having made attempts to corrupt the legions. Piſo, either conſcious of his guilt, or overwhelmed with deſpair at ſeeing himſelf deſerted by the emperor, made but a poor defence againſt any part of the charge. However, the poiſoning of Germanicus could not be made out in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy his judges. His trial, therefore, was drawn out to a greater length than was expected; but, in the mean time, he cut it ſhort by putting an end to his life in his own houſe. His wife, Plancina, who was univerſally believed to be the moſt guilty of the two, eſcaped puniſhment by the intereſt of Livia; but ſhe was afterwards put to death on another account, and thus, at laſt, ſhe met with that fate, which, in all probability, ſhe but too well merited.

THE death of Germanicus was not only a loſs to the Roman people, as it deprived them of their ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful general, but as it likewiſe took off that reſtraint which the dread of his popularity had hitherto obliged the emperor to put upon his paſſions; for that ſalutary check was no ſooner removed, than he ſeemed all at once to alter his nature, and from being, upon the whole, a tolerably juſt and equitable prince, he became, on a ſudden, one of the moſt cruel and blood-thirſty tyrants that ever exiſted.

THE law of offended majeſty was now revived, and the firſt perſon that fell a victim to it was Cremutius Cordus, who, in his annals of the Roman empire, had extolled the character of Brutus, and called Caſſius the laſt of the Romans. But this was not his greateſt crime; he had been ſo imprudent as to drop ſome expreſſions reflecting on the conduct of Sejanus, the emperor's chief favourite; and it was therefore impoſſible he ſhould eſcape with impunity. An accuſation was brought againſt him; and he plainly ſaw, that his death was reſolved. His courage, however, did not deſert him, and he defended himſelf

himſelf in the ſenate with equal ſpirit and eloquence. "My actions (ſaid he) are blameleſs; and therefore my words are laid hold of to effect my ruin. All hiſtorians have mentioned the names of Brutus and Caſſius with honour. Several ſatirical pieces againſt Julius and Auguſtus Cæſar are ſtill extant. Theſe great men bore ſuch attacks with patience; and in ſo doing, I will venture to ſay, they ſhewed as much prudence as moderation; for libels ſoon ſink into oblivion when they are deſpiſed, but are always ſure to riſe into importance when their authors are puniſhed. It has, at all times, been lawful to ſpeak well of the dead, who are no longer the objects of fear or of favour. Poſterity will do juſtice to every man, and, if I am condemned, will not only remember Brutus and Caſſius, but perhaps even me."

He then went home, fully reſolved to evade the malice of his enemies by a voluntary death. This was the only way to diſappoint the avarice of the informers, who could not ſeize upon the property of the accuſed till after condemnation; and in ſpite of all their attempts to prevent him, he found means to put his deſign in execution. His books were ordered, by the ſenate, to be burnt; but they were ſoon after publiſhed afreſh, and bought up with the greateſt avidity. Tacitus, in ſpeaking of Cremutius, ſays, that ſeverities exerciſed againſt men of genius, only help to increaſe their fame, and that thoſe who have been ſo fooliſh as to treat them with rigour, have only thereby diſgraced themſelves, and proportionably heightened the reputation of the authors.

It was about this time that Tiberius took into his confidence Sejanus, a Roman knight, who found out the method of gaining his favour by the moſt refined ſpecies of flattery, and by a degree of hypocriſy ſuperior to that of the emperor himſelf. Having mounted, by his intrigues, almoſt to the very pinnacle of power, he began to form ſchemes for riſing, if he could, ſtill one ſtep higher, and actually ſeating himſelf upon the imperial throne. In the proſecution of this project, he thought he might derive a conſiderable aid from an office, with which he had lately been inveſted, namely, the command of the prætorian guards; a poſt, which had hitherto been looked upon but as of very little importance, but which he now hoped he ſhould be able to make ſubſervient to the accompliſhment of his ambitious views. He was ſenſible, however, that cutting off the emperor alone would rather retard than promote his deſigns, while his ſon Druſus, and the children of Germanicus, were yet remaining. He began, therefore, by corrupting Livia, the wife of Druſus, whom, after having debauched her, he prevailed upon to make away with her

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husband. This was effected (it is said) by means of a slow poison, which gave his death the appearance of a casual distemper. Tiberius, in the mean time, either naturally phlegmatic, or destitute, in some measure, of paternal affection, bore the death of his son with great indifference. He was even heard to jest upon the occasion; for when the ambassadors of Troy came somewhat late with their compliments of condolence, he answered their unseasonable address by condoling with them also upon the death of their countryman Hector.

SEJANUS, having succeeded in this, was resolved to make his next attempt upon the children of Germanicus, who were the undoubted heirs to the crown. But in order to have the emperor more entirely at his devotion, and remove from about him every person, that could in the least thwart his designs, he persuaded him to leave Rome, and retire to the island of Caprea, where he was sure that no kind of intelligence could possibly reach him but by his means. Having taken this necessary precaution, he continued every day to widen the breach between Tiberius and his grand nephew, and at last he rendered it so irreparable, that the two eldest princes, Nero and Drusus, were declared enemies to the state, and afterwards starved to death in prison, while their mother, Agrippina, was driven into banishment. In this manner Sejanus proceeded, removing all who stood between him and the empire, and continually increasing in confidence with Tiberius, and power with the senate. The number of his statues exceeded even those of the emperor; people swore by his fortune, in the same manner they would have done, had he been actually upon the throne, and he was even more dreaded than he that was in possession of the empire. But the rapidity of rise seemed only preparatory to the greatness of the fall. All we know of his first disgrace is, that Satirius Secundus was the man who had the boldness to accuse him, though this he is said to have done on the strength of intelligence received from Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, who herself joined in the accusation.

WHAT were the particulars of his guilt, it is difficult, if not impossible, at this distance of time, to learn. Certain it is, that he had formed a design for usurping the throne, and making an attempt upon the life of the emperor; but his own was justly substituted to that against which he aimed. How to proceed against him, however, was the difficulty. He was, at that time, captain of the Prætorian guards, who were strongly attached to his interest: he had likewise an infinite number of friends in the senate; and these circumstances,

ſtances, with many others, might have enabled him, had he been ſo inclined, to raiſe ſome very dangerous diſturbance.

TIBERIUS conducted the whole affair with his uſual caution, or, to ſpeak more properly, with his uſual hypocriſy. He granted Sejanus new honours, at the very time he had reſolved to deſtroy him; and the better to carry on the deception, he even choſe him for his colleague in the conſulſhip; for it is to be obſerved, that as the office of conſul ſtill ſubſiſted (in name at leaſt) the emperors frequently took it to themſelves. Tiberius's letter to the ſenate began only with ſlight complaints againſt his friend, but ended with an order for putting him in priſon. He entreated the ſenators to protect an old man, as he was, abandoned by all the world; and in the mean time propoſed ſteps for his flight, and ordered ſoldiers for his ſecurity. The ſenate, the majority of which had long been jealous of the favourite's power, and dreaded his cruelty, immediately took this opportunity of going beyond their orders. Inſtead of ſentencing him to execution, they condemned him to death. A ſtrong revolution was now to be ſeen in the city. Of all thoſe, who but a moment before had been making the favourite a tender of their lives and fortunes, not one was now to be found that would even ſeem to know him: he was deſerted by all; and thoſe who had formerly received from him the greateſt benefits, dreading the conſequence of ſuch a connection, when it came to the ears of the emperor, ſeemed now to be converted into his inveterate foes.

As he was conducting to execution, the people loaded him with inſults and outrages. If he attempted to hide his face, it was inſtantly uncovered, that he might ſuffer the bitterneſs of ſhame, as well as the ſeverity of puniſhment. He was purſued all the way with ſarcaſtic reproaches; his ſtatues were inſtantly thrown down, and he himſelf ſoon after ſtrangled by the executioner. Nor did the rage of his enemies terminate with his death; his body was ignominiouſly dragged about the ſtreets, and afterwards thrown into the Tiber. Such was the end of Sejanus; a memorable inſtance of the ſickleneſs of fortune, of the inſtability of every favourite's power, and the precariouſneſs of every tyrant's friendſhip.

ODIOUS, however, as Sejanus, no doubt, was, and well as he might merit the fate he met with, there was one circumſtance attending his death, that muſt excite our horror, that muſt inflame our indignation even againſt his proſecutors; and ſhews what barbarians the Romans were, at a time when they had become lords of the univerſe, and had probably ar-

rived at as great a degree of civilization as they ever attained. The whole family of Sejanus had been condemned to die with him. His eldeſt ſon ſuffered ſoon after his father. But the youth of his ſecond ſon, and ſtill more of his daughter, ſeems to have occaſioned ſome doubt whether they could properly be put to death for a crime, of which, on account of their tender years, they could not poſſibly be guilty. Some of the judges were at firſt inclined to mercy; but the fear of offending Tiberius, by an inſtance of lenity, which himſelf would not have ſhewn, was probably the cauſe of their committing an act of cruelty, which their hearts, in their cooler moments, could not fail to condemn. Both the children were ſentenced to death, and carried to priſon to be executed. The ſon was ſenſible of his misfortune; but the daughter ſo little knew what the officers were about, that ſhe aſked, with tears, what fault ſhe had committed, and where they were conducting her: ſhe proteſted ſhe would do ſo no more, and was willing to be corrected. Tacitus and Dio tell us, that as there was no example of a virgin's being capitally puniſhed, an attempt was made to palliate the inhumanity of the deed, though by committing a more violent outrage upon decency; and that the executioner had orders to violate the child before he ſtrangled her.

MOST people imagined, that the acts of cruelty, which Tiberius had lately committed, were owing to the advice of Sejanus; but they were ſoon convinced of the contrary, and found, that they had proceeded from the native malignity of his own heart. The favourite's death had only lighted up his rage for new executions. Sextus Veſtilius was now put to death, for having, as it was ſaid, written ſome ſatirical verſes againſt Caligula, the only ſurviving ſon of Germanicus; but his real fault was, that his ſevere virtues were become a ſatire, by implication, upon the vicious life of the emperor. Veſcularius Atticus and Julius Marenus, who had been his inſeparable companions in Rhodes, were executed by his command for being attached to Sejanus; and Memarcus Scourus was alſo obliged to prevent his execution by ſuicide, for having written a tragedy upon the ſtory of Atreus. The ſuſpicious emperor applied to himſelf the invective that was pointed againſt tyrants in general; and declared, in rage, that if he was become an Atreus, he would compel the author to become an Ajax. Vitia, a woman at the extremity of old age, was put to death, for having wept at the execution of her ſon, who had been a friend to Sejanus. Tuſius, and his wife Publia, being accuſed of treaſon againſt the emperor, were obliged to prevent their condemnation by a voluntary death.

Conſidius

Conſidius Proculus, as he was celebrating his birth-day, found himſelf, in an inſtant, dragged before the ſenate, accuſed of conſpiring againſt the emperor, and condemned, and he was ſoon after executed. Sextus Marcus was put to death, partly on account of his riches, which were immenſe, but ſtill more on account of the beauty of his daughter, whom the emperor wanted to enjoy.

THE infamous trade of informers now came greatly into vogue, and gave occaſion to many ſhocking ſcenes. A word, a jeſt, a look, nay a mere abſence of mind was wreſted to an ill meaning, and converted into treaſon. An old prætor very narrowly eſcaped an accuſation of this ſort, becauſe being preſſed by a natural occaſion, he forgot to take off his ring, on which was a head of the emperor.

ANOTHER inſtance occurred, that may be regarded as a monſter in the moral world. A ſon was ſo unnatural as to accuſe his own father, who appeared in court loaded with chains, and overwhelmed with ſorrow, while the other pleaded with all the gaiety and aſſurance imaginable. The unhappy father was baniſhed, and ſome of the judges even gave their opinion for putting him to death, only becauſe he had incurred the diſpleaſure of Tiberius.

THE priſons were now crowded either with real or ſuppoſed culprits, though moſt of them were confined on account of their being ſuſpected of having been privy to the conſpiracy of Sejanus. Tiberius began to grow tired of the tedious forms of law, and he therefore gave orders, that all who were detained on this latter account ſhould be put to death without further examination. The conſequence was, that the whole city was filled with ſlaughter and mourning. The place of execution was a deplorable ſcene, where perſons of every ſex and age were expoſed, racked, and mangled; dead bodies, putrefying, lay heaped on one another; and being ſurrounded by guards, who ſerved at the ſame time as ſpies, the friends of the convicts dared not even to diſcover the leaſt ſymptom of ſorrow.

SUCH were the miſeries that were brought upon the Romans by this gloomy and mercileſs tyrant; no perſon, however victorious, could be ſafe; or rather, every virtue was but the ſure road to ruin. Of twenty ſenators, whom he choſe for his council, he put ſixteen to death. "Let them hate me (ſaid he) ſo long as they obey me." He even declared, that, in his opinion, Priam, was a happy man, who outlived all his poſterity. So ſavage, indeed, was his temper, that he was not ſatisfied with depriving men of their lives, unleſs he likewiſe made them ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments,

and the moſt ſhameful indignities. When one Cornelius had killed himſelf, to avoid the torture; "Ah, (cried Tiberius) how has that man been able to eſcape me!" And on another occaſion, as he was reviewing ſome priſoners, and one of them begged for immediate death; "No (cried the tyrant) I am not ſufficiently your friend to ſhorten your torment." Sometimes he was pleaſed to be witty in his cruelties. Auguſtus had bequeathed the ſum of three hundred ſeſterces to every Roman citizen. Tiberius, it ſeems, had not yet paid this legacy. In order, therefore, to remind him of his duty, a wag, ſeeing a funeral proceſſion paſs by, went up to it, and whiſpered ſomething in the ear of the corpſe; and when he was aſked what he had been ſaying to it, he replied, that he deſired it to acquaint Auguſtus, that his will had not yet been executed. Tiberius, not approving of this piece of wit, ſent for the man, and having paid him his ſhare of the bequeſt, carried him immediately to be executed.

A FEW days after he was retired to Caprea, a fiſherman brought him a mullet of a prodigious ſize; and being unwilling to declare where he had caught it, he cauſed him to be beat about the face with it. He ſo much exerciſed himſelf in all ſorts of cruelty, that all ſubjects afforded him opportunities of indulging his temper; but with great virulence did he perſecute the particular friends of his mother, her grand-children, and daughter-in-law.

THE jealous and perſecuting temper of Tiberius was rather increaſed than diminiſhed by the death of Sejanus. In one reſpect, however, it was productive of ſome relaxation; for the emperor ſoon diſcovered that the crimes which Sejanus had imputed to and charged upon the Jews, at that time tributary to the Romans, and under their civil government, had principally originated in himſelf. Only a few notorious offenders were left to the ſeverity of the laws; the reſt were ſet at liberty, and encouraged, by an order of Tiberius to all the governors of provinces, who began to conſider the Jews as lovers of peace, and their cuſtoms as conducing to the public welfare and tranquility.

THE Sybilline books received an addition by the diſcovery of a new volume, which was now adopted by a decree of the ſenate. This, indeed, was not ſo pleaſing a matter to the emperor, who at this time afflicted more and more the city and nobility by his ſubtle, jealous, and tyrannical conduct. Though he lived at ſuch a diſtance from Rome, in a ſtate of retirement, the degeneracy of the ſenate, with the information of ſpies, and other wicked inſtruments, which are never wanting in ſuch caſes, occaſioned an infinite number of accuſations,

ſations, puniſhments, and executions. Such was the unfortunate condition of Rome and the Roman people. A concern for the glory of the empire was interpreted into a deſign of gaining it; and an innocent remembrance of liberty was conſidered as an aim to re-eſtabliſh the commonwealth. It was a capital crime to praiſe Brutus and Caſſius; a very heinous offence to bewail Auguſtus. Simplicity of diſcourſe was conſidered as concealing ſome evil deſigns; and a ſecret ſilence, as a cloak for miſchievous intentions. The paſſion of joy indicated a hope of the emperor's death; of melancholy, as envying his proſperity; of fear, as the juſt apprehenſions of a guilty conſcience.

IN ſo unhappy a ſtate were the Roman people, during the latter part of the reign of Tiberius, that whether men ſpoke with freedom of the poſture of public affairs, or were entirely ſilent upon matters relating to the emperor or his government; whether they were affected with joy or grief, fear or confidence; every thing was a crime, according to the caprice or partiality of the reigning powers, and the heavieſt puniſhments were often inflicted for actions which, in many reſpects, were highly commendable, and in any caſe ſcarcely merited the opprobrium of a cenſure. For virtue and a cautious prudence were no ſecurity at this time to great men; it was not ſufficient for them to be freed from the corruptions of accuſers, and the falſe reports and injurious ſuſpicions, of thoſe who were ſpies upon their conduct; for even the bare imagination of the emperor was a cauſe ſufficient to excite fears, and jealouſies, and apprehenſions for their perſonal ſafety. When, by their innocence, they ſuppoſed, as they had reaſon, that they were perfectly ſecure; the malice and ſubtilty of his conjectures might intercept all their hopes, and plunge them in irretrievable ruin.

THE death of Druſus, whom we have mentioned already, probably haſtened the deſtruction of Sejanus. He ſtudied, in his preſent retirement at Caprea, how to deviſe new torments, of the moſt horrible kind; for he ſpared no body, and only ſeemed to live for the exerciſe of the moſt dreadful cruelties. Many, whom he had cauſed to drink wine to exceſs, were afterwards puniſhed, by moſt cruel ligatures about their privy parts, which were productive of extreme pain, both from the ligature itſelf and the retention of their urine.

IN his abſence from Rome, two conſuls had the power and management of the ſovereignty; and though, by his cruelties, he made himſelf odious and deteſtable, yet, whether from boldneſs or deſperation, there were not wanting ſome perſons who dared to expoſe him to diſgrace and ignominy. His fears were

frequently predominant and unruly; and though he had deſtroyed the oracles in the vicinity of Rome, leſt they ſhould be deemed ſuperior to himſelf, he ſecretly applies to ſome cunning diviners, from whom he wiſhes to be informed of his future fate.

So frequently was he upbraided with his vices, that he was tempted to wiſh for their concealment; though at other times, ſuch was the inconſiſtency of his character, that he mocks at the reproaches of his ſubjects, and becomes the proclaimer of his own enormities. Theſe were, in conſequence of ſuch various cauſes, ſo much divulged and propagated, that Artabanus, king of Parthia, after reproaching him for his parricides, his murders, his effeminacy, and his violation of every principle of chaſtity, adviſes him to commit an act of ſuicide, to ſatisfy the hatred and juſt indignation of his ſubjects.

CONSIDERING the little veneration which he had for the gods, his conſultation of aſtrologers, and the great belief which he had in deſtiny, are ſomewhat aſtoniſhing. He was extremely intimidated with the ſound of thunder; and, in ſtormy weather, always wore a laurel crown, attentive to the tradition that this tree never experiences any diſagreeable effects from it. It is generally believed that he had ſome preſentiments of his death, and ſome abſurd ſtories are related as inſtances of his extreme fearfulneſs; but when he was really ſeized with the malady, which brought on his diſſolution, at Aſturia, he took much pains to conceal his indiſpoſition, and had ſome awful apprehenſions of the conſequences of a diſcovery, which might have terminated in a revolt from his allegiance.

SOME hiſtorians have recorded that he had been poiſoned by Caius Caligula, the only ſon of his nephew Germanicus who had eſcaped the general deſtruction, whom he had adopted as heir to the government, in conjunction with a young grandſon, named Tiberius, the ſon of Druſus. In this reſpect, conſidering the common practice which then prevailed, though we ſhall not determine, the probability is in favour of ſuch an opinion. The increaſe of his diſtemper prevented him from returning to Caprea, and after a few days he died at the country houſe of Lucullus, in the 78th year of his age, and 23d of his reign, on the 16th day of March. Seneca, who flouriſhed and periſhed in leſs than thirty years after, and muſt then have been living, has thus deſcribed his laſt moments. "Perceiving that his ſtrength failed him, he took "his ring from his finger, which he held for ſome time, as if "he wiſhed to deliver it to ſome perſon about him; but afterwards putting it again upon his finger, and holding his left "hand cloſe, he continued a long time without motion. At "laſt,

"laſt, having called his domeſtics, and no one anſwering him, "he ſuddenly raiſed himſelf, but his ſtrength failed him, and "he fell down by the ſide of his bed."

IT may probably ſeem, that literature, notwithſtanding theſe enormities in the conduct of Tiberius, flouriſhed and increaſed during his reign; but that is a matter much to be doubted. Fond of literary purſuits himſelf, the jealouſy and envy of his temper were a check upon thoſe of others. Celſus, Strabo, and Phædrus, are the only names of eminence which are handed down to us, as diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge and learning; and almoſt every one knows with what cautious prudence the laſt was obliged to publiſh his ſentiments in ſuch an age of ſuſpicion and apprehenſion. Tiberius wrote an elegy upon the deceaſe of Auguſtus, and ſome Greek poems, which he depoſited in the public libraries, amongſt the moſt celebrated authors of preceding times; and he peculiarly applied himſelf to fabulous hiſtory, which he frequently uſed in propoſing the moſt frivolous and ridiculous queſtions. As a proof that he wiſhed to be conſidered as ſuperior to others, he would ſuffer none to ſpeak in the Greek language, and therefore took meaſures to prevent the appearance of competition.

BY his will, which was made two years before his death, and written with his own hand, he left the empire jointly to his two grandſons, as we have ſaid; and gave many legacies to divers perſons, and amongſt others to the veſtal virgins, the ſoldiers, and all the citizens, and peculiarly to the various deputies of the provinces.

CHAP. XXVI.

CAIUS CALIGULA, *the Third* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 785. A. D. 37]

NOTWITHSTANDING the will and declaration of Tiberius, the Romans, who found a ſhort breathing after his death, manifeſted an extreme partiality for Caligula, and declared him ſole emperor. The diſpoſition of Caius was well known to Tiberius; and many have ſuppoſed, that he named him for a ſucceſſor, in the hope that the vices of the latter would efface the memory of the former. This was

not ſo well underſtood by the people, and therefore the rejoicings at the death of a tyrant, as might well be ſuppoſed, were unbounded, and manifeſted themſelves by every poſſible demonſtration of pleaſure and ſatisfaction.

FOR the ſake of his father, and in compaſſion to their deſolated family, as well as by the will of Auguſtus, he came to the empire with univerſal approbation and conſent. As he had ſpent the greater part of his life in the provinces, and amongſt the ſoldiers, his diſpoſition, which had occaſionally broke forth, was but little familiar to the people of Rome; and they welcomed his entrance into that city with the greateſt effuſions of ſacrifice. It is ſaid that 160,000 cattle were ſacrificed in three months time in different parts of the empire. And ſo great was the ſuperſtition of the citizens, that when he was ſick, ſome offered themſelves to combat with wild beaſts for his ſafety, and others devoted themſelves to death at his recovery.

THE beginning of his reign was, indeed, diſtinguiſhed by extraordinary inſtances of clemency and regularity. The inſtitutions of Auguſtus, which Tiberius had laid aſide, were revived; many abuſes in the ſtate were reformed; evil and corrupt governors were puniſhed, and, in particular, the Roman governor of Judæa was baniſhed, who had ſo lately and cruelly ſentenced to an ignominious death the Lord of Life and Glory. He gave to the magiſtrates a free juriſdiction, who were to judge of crimes committed againſt the ſtate without farther appeal. He recalled from baniſhment the numerous exiles, who had been driven from their country, and granted a general amneſty for all their paſt offences; and to remove every cauſe of fear, he ordered all the records and proceedings againſt his family to be collected together and ſet on fire, after calling the gods to witneſs that he had read none of them, and had not ſo much as touched them. Many other regulations were made at his entrance upon the empire; nor did he forget the ſacred rites which were due to the memory of his own family, whom Tiberius had ſo cruelly cauſed to be murdered.

IT was one of the firſt acts of his reign, after paying the laſt tribute of duty to his predeceſſor in the empire, to fetch the aſhes of his mother and brother from the iſland of Pontus; expoſing himſelf to the dangers of a tempeſt, that his piety might appear to greater advantage, which he received with much veneration, and put them in urns with his own hand. They were conveyed to Oſtium at the mouth of the Tiber, in a galley, and from thence to Rome up that river, and depoſited in the Mauſoleum by the moſt illuſtrious perſons. He appointed

appointed two ſolemn ſervices to be celebrated annually to their memory. In honour of his father, he wiſhed the month of September to be called Germanicus.

WE cannot enumerate the various means, by which, at the beginning of his reign, he ſet himſelf to gain the favour and eſteem of his ſubjects. He twice entertained, in the moſt magnificent manner, the ſenators and knights, with their wives and children; and, on the ſecond occaſion, he preſented the men with royal robes, and the women and children with purple ribbons. The paſtimes of gladiators, pugiliſm, the circus, with races, &c. were very highly encouraged. General illuminations were frequently diſplayed; and ſometimes he cauſed to be thrown to the people handfuls of money, with proviſions, and other comforts of life. He was the firſt emperor who had ever inſtituted the diverſion of a boat race. He alſo propoſed rewards for eloquence, and deviſed other amuſements for the pleaſure and ſatisfaction of his ſubjects; and embraced the moſt likely means of exciting in their minds a ſpirit of emulation.

BY this gentle treatment in the early part of his reign, he ſo ſtrongly ſecured the affections of the people that they almoſt idolized him. This grateful teſtimony of public approbation, though no more than his due, ſerved to infatuate and intoxicate his mind; he was not proof againſt the deluſions of ſuch interloping viſitors, and began to fancy himſelf that ſuperior being, which his ſubjects vainly declared him to be. From that moment, his whole conduct and diſpoſition were changed. The firſt effect of his aſſuming divine honours, was, to build a temple, which he dedicated to his own divinity; and, he was not ſatisfied barely with placing his own ſtatues amongſt thoſe of the gods, but he decapitated many of thoſe already ſet up in the temples, over which he placed the figure of himſelf.

IT was during the firſt few months of his mild government, that he baniſhed Pontius Pilate, who had, little more than three years before, raſhly and wickedly condemned the Lord of Life, againſt the checks of his own conſcience and the remonſtrances of his wife; without evidence of any thing to juſtify his detention, much leſs his death, merely to gratify the clamours of an inconſiderate mob, inſtigated by the Jewiſh prieſts and rulers.

THE temple of Auguſtus, and Pompey's amphitheatre, were both completed by this emperor, He alſo repaired the decayed walls and temples of Syracuſe, and formed a deſign to reſtore the royal palace of Samos, to finiſh the temple of

Apollo, and to build a city upon the very ſummit of the Alpine mountains; but theſe were not carried into effect.

THE prodigality and pride of Caligula equally contributed to haſten the change of his conduct. Of the former we have numerous inſtances on record; ſuch as, the madneſs of diſſolving pearls, the moſt valuable and precious in their kind, and drinking them at feaſts and public entertainments, and ſerving up loaves and proviſions of gold, boaſting, that "a man ſhould "be an œconomiſt, or an emperor." Of the great variety of expences which he contrived and invented, it would be tedious to enlarge; but we are informed that he ſpent in one year ſixty ſeven million and fifty thouſand crowns, according to the moſt moderate account which is left on record.

HIS pride transformed him from the conduct of a king or emperor, to the behaviour of a monſter. Notwithſtanding the pious acts of filial duty, ſo conſpicuous at his acceſſion to the empire, he now proceeds to diſclaim his anceſtry, refuſing to be conſidered as the grandſon of Auguſtus, and declaring the feſtival ſolemnities inſtituted to his honour, for the victories of Actium and Sicily, ſhould be aboliſhed. He cauſed his grandfather Antony and his brother Tiberius to be murdered, on the moſt frivolous pretences; and his godfather alſo ſhared a ſimilar fate, becauſe that he had not accompained him on the ſea, the agitation of which he could never endure. He ſuffered his uncle Claudius to live, only to make him a ſubject of mockery and ridicule.

THE inceſt to which he obliged all his ſiſters to ſubmit, was notorious, and a matter of public ſcandal; and every one in their turn ſat down in the place and character of his wife. One of them, in particular, called Druſilla was appointed heir to the empire and all his effects, at the time of his being afflicted with ſickneſs; but on her death, which happened before his own, he was inconſolable, and forbid every indulgence in the moſt innocent amuſements, on pain of death. He ſuddenly and ſecretly left the city for Syracuſe, and afterwards, on all occaſions, ſwore by the divinity of Druſilla. His reſpect for his other ſiſters was leſs; and he afterwards found means of condemning and baniſhing them, under a pretence of having ſome deſigns upon his life.

HIS marriages and divorces were equally ſhameful and diſgraceful. He took away the wife of Piſo, whom he detained for two years, only becauſe the other had ſaid, "That "nobody ought to touch his wife," and declared by a public edict, that he had married her, after the manner and in imitation of Romulus and Auguſtus. In like manner he compelled Caius Memmius, a man of conſular dignity, to ſurrender his

wife

wife to him, whom he took in marriage, after ſhe was brought to bed, and honoured with the name of his wife; declaring publicly that he was the father of the child, which ſhe had, and carrying it to the temples of all the goddeſſes, he put the child into the arms of Minerva, to whoſe protection he recommended his daughter, whom he called Julia Druſilla.

AMONGST other fantaſtical proceedings, he deviſed means of ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord betwixt the Roman knights and the common people, by cauſing the public ſports to begin at an earlier hour than uſual; from whence it happened that the places of the knights were occupied by people of lower condition in life. And, not content with theſe things, he cauſed the public granaries to be ſhut up, and a famine was announced to the citizens.

NUMEROUS were the cruelties which he wantonly exerciſed upon the people. He condemned many perſons of quality to the mines, after ſhamefully diſfiguring them, and compelled them to repair the roads, and to do other acts of ſervility. Fathers and mothers were even compelled to aſſiſt at the puniſhment of their children.

HIS language alſo was not leſs inſolent than his actions were barbarous. Having deſigned his brother's death, he thought that ſome preſervative had been uſed by him for fear of being poiſoned; on which he exclaimed, "What doſt thou "uſe an antidote againſt Cæſar?" A prætor, who had been retired to the iſland of Anticyra, on account of his indiſpoſition, had frequently entreated leave of longer abſence; on which the emperor commanded his death, ſaying, "That "blood was neceſſary to him who had ſo long uſed hellebore "without any conſolation." Every ten days he accuſtomed himſelf to ſign the ſentence of death againſt priſoners; this he called, "purging his book of reaſon." He was a great adept in lingering out puniſhments. It was an uſual direction at executions, which he very commonly attended in perſon, "Strike in ſuch a manner that they may feel them-"ſelves die;" and when he had been deceived with a man's name, whom he had cauſed to be executed inſtead of another, he ſaid, "that he had merited it full as much." His cruelties, indeed, had no bounds; and he declared that "he was "regardleſs of their hating him, ſo long as they feared him." Frequently did he treat the moſt reſpectable of the ſenators with the haughtieſt language, as the friends of Sejanus, or informers againſt his mother and brethren; and juſtified the cruelty of Tiberius, which he attributed to neceſſity.

IN depriving many diſtinguiſhed citizens of their ancient honours, his envy at the applauſes of the multitude to

Ptolemy, when he entered the theatre to be a witneſs of the games, is particularly to be noticed; whom he firſt degraded, and then deſtroyed.

NOT to mention his immodeſty, and the proſtitution of all decency and propriety; his expenſive follies were productive of all ſorts of rapines and plunders. He cauſed many wills to be ſuperſeded, and, under various pretences, ſequeſtered the effects of deceaſed perſons to his own uſe; and levied a contribution on many rich perſons in Gaul, by an invitation to the honour of ſupping with him, for which, it was ſufficiently intimated, they ſhould depoſit a conſiderable ſum. No ſort of fraud or diſſimulation was wanting, to raiſe ſupplies for theſe extravagancies. He laid a tax upon lives, and proceedings in the civil courts; even porters and proſtitutes did not eſcape him, who purchaſed by money the privilege of carrying on their ſeveral profeſſions, inſomuch that he authorized a brothel within his palace.

THE birth of a daughter was a new ſource or cauſe of impoſition and oppreſſion. He called for a bounty to ſupport this additional appendage to his family, as well as to lay up a portion for her; and he now became ſo extremely avaricious, that he literally rolled in money.

IN the courſe of his reign, he was only once engaged in war, and that was accidental and without deſign. Suddenly, on a journey of pleaſure which he made, to take a view of ſome woods and rivers, he was ſtruck with a fancy of making war upon the Germans; for which he inſtantly made new levies of troops, recruited his ſtanding forces, provided the neceſſary baggage, and marched with as much precipitation, as if the empire had been hourly threatened with an invaſion. The colours or enſigns were obliged to be conveyed on horſeback, ſuch was the rapidity of the firſt motions; when, all at once, he changed his plan, and advanced ſo ſlowly, that he only cauſed himſelf to be carried in a litter by eight men, but ordered that the people of the villages, by which he was to paſs, ſhould ſprinkle the roads with water, and ſweep them, on account of the duſt.

THERE cannot be a ſtronger proof of his wanton and arbitrary conduct, than the injurious treatment of the officers of this army, and his oppreſſion of the ſoldiers; by curtailing the latter of a conſiderable part of their pay, and by diſcharging ſuch of the former, without means of exiſtence, as were become weak and infirm, through age or misfortune. Yet his vanity led him to receive into his protection, the ſon of Cinobellinus, king of Britain, who had been expelled by his father.

IT ſoon appeared that this German expedition was unneceſſary; but he would not return, until he had made a ſhew of doing ſomething, which he effected, firſt, by ordering a party of his guards ſecretly to croſs the Rhine, and then, by cauſing an alarm to be ſounded, after haſtily approaching to the next foreſt, he cut down branches from the trees, as trophies of ſome victory obtained, which he diſpoſed in a ſuitable form, and returned with flambeaus, torches, &c. with great pomp and ſolemnity. Mock crowns, repreſenting the ſun, moon, and ſtars, were rewards aſſigned to the companions of this expedition; whilſt thoſe who declined it were accuſed of timidity.

ANOTHER ſimilar expedition was ſpeedily ſet on foot, againſt ſome tributary ſtates; of whom he cauſed it to be reported, that an inſurrection had commenced. On receiving this news, he roſe inſtantly from table, and immediately mounting his horſe, he purſued with ſome cavalry the hoſtages which had been ſuffered to eſcape; and, having taken them, he returned to ſupper, and made thoſe who had brought the intelligence, that the forces were retired, to ſit at table with him.

STILL more prepoſterous and abſurd was the marching to, and the marſhalling his army on the ſea-coaſt, as if he deſigned them for ſome expedition; when, all on a ſudden, he gave orders for their gathering as many cockles as their helmets and doublets would contain, which he termed "the ſpoils of "the ocean." For this doughty expedition, he had thoughts of preparing a triumph, and actually made arrangements for it; but it paſſed over with a ſmall triumph on his birth-day.

TERRIBLE as were the evils of his reign, he had meditated much greater than theſe. It appeared from two books, which were found in his cabinet after his death, one of which was called *the Sword*, and the other *the Poignard*, that many citizens had been doomed to death; and he had prepared ſuch variety of the moſt exquiſite poiſons, that the very fiſh of the Tiber were killed by them, when they were afterwards thrown into it by the command of his ſucceſſor.

IT would be to little purpoſe to give a deſcription of his perſon, which was not the maſt engaging. His affectation of appearing in women's apparel, ſometimes habited as a goddeſs, and other abſurdities, were ſufficient to render him truly contemptible. His eccentricities relating to his horſe, were equally prepoſterous; and his conduct, in every reſpect, was ſuch as made him odious.

IN

IN taking a review of his government of more distant provinces, much of the same disposition and character are met with. For this reign, short as it was, afforded many opportunities of change in the tributary and dependant governments, in various parts of the Roman empire. The banishment of Pontius-Pilate made way for the advancement of Marullus to the government of Judæa and Samaria. Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, was also advanced by the emperor to be governor of Palestine, from a particular friendship which they had contracted; he had formerly been in favour with Tiberius, but from some suspicion had been sent to prison, from whence he was now restored to liberty by Caligula, arrayed in royal robes, with a chain of gold and a diadem. He continued at Rome about a year, and then went to Palestine to settle his kingdom.

WHEN Agrippa, by advice of the emperor, was arrived at Alexandria in Egypt, which he took in his way, he met with a most unwelcome reception. The governor, Flaccus, instigated the inhabitants, whose inveterate hatred against the Jews needed little incitement, to ridicule and expose him in their stages, songs, speeches and all public places; thinking themselves highly affronted at the arrival of a king of that nation. These scoffings increased speedily to much greater violence; and the people of Alexandria, by encouragement of their governor, unanimously set up the images of the emperor, who had lately proclaimed himself a God, in all the synagogues and oratories of that people. When this was refused, they were burnt and demolished without distinction; the Jews, by public edict, were declared foreigners and strangers, denied the liberty of pleading their cause, and condemned without a hearing. To so great an extent were these violences permitted, that the common people were suffered to plunder their houses, which occasioned the most barbarous murders, and other intolerable cruelties. Some were burned alive, and tortured by slow fires; others were crucified, and many hanged. Old men were dragged along the streets, and cruelly scourged; many were tied to wheels, and others dragged with cords by the legs, through the market place, with the insults of the rabble, who did not spare them after they were dead. Even their young women, such was the infatuation and disregard of all decency and modesty, were shamefully exposed and most ignominiously treated.

ON the representation of these enormities to the emperor by Agrippa, who had partly been a spectator of them, and on whose account they had commenced, Bassus, a centurion, is sent to Alexandria; who upon his arrival after these outrages had

had continued for two months, arreſted Flaccus, and brought him to Italy, from whence he was baniſhed and afterwards put to death. After this, Agrippa relieved the Jews of Alexandria from the effects of theſe commotions, and ſettled himſelf in his dominions. This created the envy of Herodias, who prevailed upon her huſband to ſolicit this dignity from the emperor by the powerful rhetoric of magnificent preſents; being enraged at this advancement of Agrippa from a dungeon to a throne, and the power as well as title and ornaments of a king which he had obtained. Agrippa, who was aware of this ſtratagem, informed the emperor, by letter, of this ſubtle manœuvre, accompanying it with preſents; which alſo accuſed Herod of conſpiring formerly with Sejanus againſt Tiberius, and of his favouring Artabanus, king of Parthia, againſt Caligula himſelf, for whoſe ſervice he had prepared arms ſufficient for 70,000 men. As this laſt fact could not be denied, the traitor was immediately deprived of the governments both of Galilee and Peræa, his riches ſeized and himſelf baniſhed, with his wife, to Gaul. Agrippa became the fortunate poſſeſſor both of their riches and dominions. About this time Pontius Pilate, who had been governor of Judæa and Samaria in the reign of Tiberius, but baniſhed by Caligula, was reduced to extreme miſery, and killed himſelf with his own hands; ſo ſignally did the juſtice of heaven overtake him, as it had before done the betrayer of the Lord of Life and Glory.

THE pride and madneſs of the emperor became more and more inſupportable; and the Jews, who chiefly oppoſed this monſtrous humour of aſcribing divinity to him, ſeverely ſuffered on that account. Petronius, who had been made governor of Syria, received expreſs orders from Caligula to dedicate a large and coſtly image to him, and to ſet it up in the very temple of Jeruſalem. To make the dedication more pompous, and to prevent all poſſible reſiſtance, the ſtatue was to be accompained by half the army, which was ſtationed near Euphrates, for the protection of the eaſt; it was to be placed in the ſanctuary of the temple, which from thenceforth was to be called "The Temple of Illuſtrious Caius, and Propitious Jupiter." All Paleſtine and Judæa were thrown into the greateſt conſternation at this intelligence; but, by the greateſt ſubmiſſion, and the moſt diſtreſſing marks of ſupplication, Petronius found means to poſtpone, for a ſhort time, the execution of this command, and at the ſame time, though with extreme hazard, to ſatisfy the emperor. Agrippa, on his return to Rome, ventured ſtill farther, though he well knew Caligula's extravagant humour and vanity, and obtained

ed an aſſurance, after much ingenuity and addreſs, of which he was maſter, that the ſtatue ſhould not be dedicated.

THE numerous cruelties and extravagances, which he daily committed, rendered him inſupportable to the public. He proved, what his predeceſſor Tiberius had ominouſly predicted of him, another phaeton to the world, who, by his mad and ungoverned career, was, with all ſpeed, ſetting it on fire. But he was ſoon conſumed in thoſe very flames, which he had ſo induſtriouſly and furiouſly blown up; and when it was diſcovered, that neither his own reaſon, the humility of his ſubjects, nor the laws of his country, had any influence over him, to reſtrain him within the bounds of moderation, or to divert him from his tyrannical proceedings, conſpiracies conſequently were formed againſt him, which, in the end, though ſome of them miſcarried, proved fatal.

IT was during the celebration of one of the public games, of which he was remarkably fond, and in which he frequently bore a conſiderable part, that the long-meditated ſtroke was given. Politic as he had been on many occaſions, in deviſing modes of ſetting the different claſſes of people in oppoſition to one another, his oppreſſions were intolerable; and all heartily deſired to be freed from ſuch a tyrant. Caſſius Chæreas, an officer of his guards, was the perſon who undertook this dangerous taſk; and though it was neceſſary to engage others in the deſign, to which many of the ſenators, knights, and others, were unavoidable parties, all poſſible vigour and reſolution were employed in promoting it.

MANY preſages of his death, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, were manifeſt. It was even known by an oracle, which declared, that a perſon named Caſſius, was to be inſtrumental in his death; but he never ſuſpected the real character, whoſe uſual name was Cheræas, the ſuſpicion immediately falling upon Caſſius Longinus, governor of Aſia, whom he cauſed immediately to be deſtroyed.

ABOUT ſeven in the morning, of the 24th of January, and 41ſt year of the Chriſtian Æra, he was perſuaded to riſe and leave his apartments, on complaining of a load in his ſtomach, in conſequence of the banquets on the preceding day. In a private gallery, through which the emperor uſually paſſed to the baths, Chæreas, with a ſufficient number of companions, was placed; who ſeized an opportunity, whilſt he was ſpeaking to ſome young Aſiatics, to give him a ſtab, with this expreſſion, "Think upon this," which was followed by another from Cornelius Sabinus, another officer, who run him through. He ſtill ſurvived, and the reſt of the conſpirators, as well as Chæreas, repeated their ſtrokes, till they had completely

pletely diſpatched him. At the ſame time his wife Cæſonia fell a victim to their reſentment; and, in order to extirpate the whole race of ſuch a tyrant, they daſhed out the brains of his only daughter, being an infant, againſt the wall. Thus was the mad career of a deſpot concluded, in the 29th year of his age, after a ſhort reign of three years, ten months and eight days.

CHAP. XXVII.

CLAUDIUS, *the Fourth* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 793. A. D. 41.]

THE confuſion of the citizens on the firſt publication of the murder, may better be conceived than deſcribed. Such was the known temper and diſpoſition of Caligula, that many were in doubt whether it did not conceal ſome dark deſign of the emperor againſt the people; on which ſuppoſition, the caution exerciſed in expreſſing their ſentiments reſpecting that event, is alone to be accounted for. But the diſturbances of the palace ſoon manifeſted the authenticity of the report; and the murders which were committed in it left no room to heſitate, that the tyrant was no more.

CLAUDIUS, who was then in the 50th year of his age, notwithſtanding the cruelty of his nephew Caligula to all his relations, had been reſerved for the diverſion and entertainment of that tyrant. When a youth, his weakneſs and ſimplicity were ſo extreme, that neither his mother or grandmother could endure him in their preſence. Auguſtus had only left him a ſmall legacy, and never ſuffered him to poſſeſs the leaſt honours. When his mother was deſirous of reproving any perſon, ſhe would ſay, "He was a greater fool than her "ſon Claudius;" and his ſiſter, on its being one day repeated, that he would hereafter be emperor, ſaid openly, "It would "be the greateſt misfortune, which could happen to the Ro-"man people." Tiberius, throughout his reign, would never permit him to be advanced to the conſulſhip; who, in like

like manner, after the example of Auguſtus, only bequeathed a ſmall legacy to him, recommending him to the army, the ſenate, and the citizens.

CALIGULA had, indeed, but with the deſign juſt mentioned, admitted him to certain offices; for he exerciſed that of joint conſul with the emperor, and alſo ſometimes preſided at the ſhews in the place of his nephew, at which the people teſtified their ſatisfaction, both as he was the uncle of Caligula, and alſo as the ſon of Germanicus, whoſe memory was ſo revered. Yet on other occaſions he manifeſted great ſigns of folly and ſtupidity, and often was affronted and ridiculed in the groſſeſt manner.

BEING conſtantly about the palace, on the rumour of his nephew's death, he expected nothing but immediate deſtruction, and thereupon concealed himſelf in a gallery behind ſome curtains which hung before the door. Here it was that he was diſcovered by a ſoldier, whoſe curioſity, on perceiving his feet, induced him to the reſolution of drawing him from his concealment; when, on finding that it was Claudius, he threw himſelf on his knees, and ſaluted him as emperor, before the panic and fear of death had paſſed off. Being inſtantly put into a litter, he was carried round the camp upon their ſhoulders; and here he attracted the compaſſion of all, in conſideration of his ſimplicity and innocence. The night was ſpent in the camp, where a body-guard was appointed him; during which time, the conſuls and the ſenate, with the militia of the city, had ſeized upon the palace and the capitol, determining to reſtore public liberty. Great variety of opinions prevailed among the ſenators, and at laſt Claudius was ſent for to give his advice, who returned for anſwer, that he was not at liberty to come; and when, after he had been proclaimed emperor by the ſoldiers, they ſent again to diſſuade him from it, and adviſed him not to diſturb the public peace, Agrippa, with much difficulty, made his way through the multitude, and encouraged him to retain the power which the army had given him. The ſenate were conſequently obliged to ſubmit to the public voice, which demanded a governor; and the ſoldiers, determined to ſupport their choice, voluntarily took an oath of fidelity, upon which he was univerſally acknowledged.

CLAUDIUS, for the reaſons already given, was moſt unlikely to arrive at ſuch a dignity. His bodily diſtempers, groſs ſtupidity, and extreme timidity, had been inſurmountable obſtacles to his holding any public offices, except as we have mentioned. After he arrived to the government of the empire, his adminiſtration was of a ſimilar nature; though, in the

the beginning of his reign, by aboliſhing the cruel edicts of Caligula, and forbidding all perſons to ſacrifice to him, he gained great popularity and applauſe.

AGRIPPA, who had been promoted and advanced by Caligula, was ſtill farther honoured by Claudius. Not only his former dominions were confirmed to him, but Samaria and Judæa were added to them; ſo that he was governor of all Paleſtine. The gratitude and kindneſs of the emperor were ſtill farther manifeſted, by additional commendations; and their alliance was engraved in braſs, to perpetuate its exiſtence. He was alſo made conſul, and he gave Pretorian dignity to his brother Herod, with the kingdom of Colchis. The Jews, at the inſtigation of the citizens, were forbid, indeed, to aſſemble publicly in Rome, on account of their numbers, ſo that their colleges were ſuppreſſed, and their other uſual places of reſort; but in every other part of the empire, and eſpecially at Alexandria, where ſuch great diſturbances had formerly happened under Caligula, public edicts were proclaimed in their favour.

AGRIPPA, who was a zealous obſerver of the Jewiſh law, remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt an act of the Dorians, bordering on Phænicia, and informed Petronius, governor of Syria, that they had placed the emperor's image in the Jewiſh ſynagogue; on which Petronius, who was equally diſpleaſed, commanded the magiſtrates to puniſh the guilty perſons immediately, which put an end to the diſturbance.

NOTWITHSTANDING the moderation of Claudius, he did not neglect to make an example of a few of the conſpirators againſt Caligula. Divine honours were alſo commanded to be paid to the memory of his grandmother, and public ſacrifices to his father and mother, with annual ſports on his father's birth day. He finiſhed the marble arch near Pompey's theatre, and cauſed to be put amongſt the feaſts the day of Caius's aſſaſſination, as the commencement of his own empire.

CONSPIRACIES were not wholly unknown in his reign; but they were detected and prevented. A man was found about his chamber, amongſt a crowd, with a poignard; and two knights, on other occaſions, were armed to attack him. A civil commotion was alſo ſtirred up by Gallus Aſinius and Statilius Corvinus, followed by many ſlaves and freemen; and Furius Camillus Scribonianus, who commanded in Dalmatia, formed the deſign of a civil war, but was forſaken by his legions in the ſpace of five days. They had taken an oath of fidelity to the emperor, and that conſideration prevailed to keep them to their duty.

HIS

HIS attention to the diſtribution of juſtice was aſſiduous and exemplary. He was four times conſul, and did not always ſcrupulouſly regard the letter of the law in the judgments which he made, but frequently ſoftened their ſeverity with ſuch a ſweetneſs as to him appeared reaſonable; and he made many regulations amongſt the pleaders or profeſſed advocates, particularly guarding and protecting their unfortunate clients from extortion and fraud, by denouncing the moſt exemplary puniſhments againſt all ſuch offenders.

EXCEPTING his military expedition to Britain, we have nothing to record of a warlike nature conſiderably important. The ſenate had decreed him triumphal ornaments, of which he thought he ought not to accept, without ſome achievement to juſtify the honour. He determined, therefore, to go to Britain, where no perſon had been ſince Julius Cæſar; with whom he feigned to have cauſe of diſſatisfaction, as they had not reſtored ſome deſerters. A violent ſtorm prevented his embarkation at the port of Oſtium; but when at laſt he came into England from Calais, and part of the iſland ſubmitted to him in a few days, without oppoſition or effuſion of blood, he returned to Rome in about ſix months, where he triumphed with great ſtate and ſolemnity.

ONE of the firſt acts of the reign of Claudius was, to recal Petronius from the government of Syria; whether at the inſtigation of the malcontents among the Dorians, or on ſome other account, it is not perhaps eaſy to determine. Ubius Marſus, who was ſent in his room, diſcovered much oppoſition to Agrippa, for which reaſon the Jews were treated with leſs courteſy; the jealouſy of the emperor was excited, on the report of Marſus, to enjoin Agrippa to deſiſt from his magnificent fortifications round Jeruſalem, which had been repreſented as dangerous to the ſtate, and tending to deſtroy their ſubordination to the Roman government.

AGRIPPA, thus diſappointed in his favourite deſign, built a noble and ſpacious theatre, with baths and porticoes, at Berytus in Phænicia; which was opened, with its amphitheatre, by a diſplay of all kinds of muſic and feaſtings, plays and ſpectacles, ſplendidly decorated, and a formal combat of 1400 malefactors, in imitation of the Roman gladiators. After this he entertained five kings at one time at Tiberias, whither he had retired, with the Roman governor Marſus; on which the latter, ſuſpecting that ſome dangerous alliance was in contemplation, regardleſs of the laws of hoſpitality and ſociety, immediately gave orders to every one of them (as tributaries to the Roman government, and under his command) to depart to their own country. From that time

Agrippa

Agrippa conceived a mortal hatred againſt Marſus, and ſpared no meaſures to induce Claudius to remove him from the government of Syria.

FROM an anxious deſire of obtaining popularity among the Jews, Agrippa ſeverely perſecuted the followers of the crucified Jeſus, and many ſuffered under his tyranny. On his coming to Cæſarea, he proclaimed ſolemn games and other feſtival entertainments in reſpect to the emperor; upon which a great confluence of the nobility and magiſtrates from all parts aſſembled, when he ſubmitted to the flattery of ſome of his dependants without the leaſt diſapprobation, and permitted their attributing divine honours to him. But he was overtaken by the juſt judgment of Heaven; and, after ſuffering the moſt excruciating torments for five days, he died in a moſt miſerable and diſtreſſing manner.

CUSPIUS FADUS was appointed preſident of Judea, and of all Agrippa's dominions, in which Marſus was not ſuffered to interfere; with orders to puniſh thoſe who had inſulted the memory of his deceaſed friend, and the indecencies and affronts which the Cæſareans had offered to his daughters. The year following Marſus was recalled from his government of Syria; when his ſucceſſor, Caſſius Longinus, in conjunction with Fadus, marched with conſiderable forces to Jeruſalem, and demanded, in the name of the emperor, "that all the high "prieſts robes and ornaments ſhould be lodged in the caſtle "Antonia, and be at the diſpoſal of the Romans." Though the rulers of the Jews dared not to contradict this command, yet, after many ſubmiſſions and acts of ſecurity on their part, they obtained leave to repreſent their hardſhips to the emperor, and to requeſt a continuance of their privileges. By the interceſſion of Agrippa's ſon, who was then at Rome, and pleaded hard for his countrymen, the Jews obtained a decree in their favour. Herod, king of Chalcis alſo, by a petition to the emperor, obtained full power over the temple at Jeruſalem; and at this time Fadus, by a body of horſe diſpatched for the purpoſe, routed a Jewiſh mob which had aſſembled under the influence of a magician, took their leader, and many priſoners alſo fell into his hands.

CLAUDIUS, notwithſtanding his ſimplicity and timidity, greatly encouraged all public works; and put a finiſhing hand to many which were left imperfect. He brought water into the city by means of a canal or aqueduct, and rebuilt the theatre of Pompey; he alſo inſtituted various exerciſes, and made great improvements in the circus, in which he cauſed the ſurrender of the Britiſh kings to be repreſented, with a naval engagement, and other devices.

HE

HE decreed that none ſhould be eligible to the dignity of a ſenator, whoſe family had not been Roman citizens for three generations; and that all ſons of ſtrangers ſhould be firſt adopted by a Roman knight, before they were admitted to the rank of citizens. Such libertines and licentious perſons as called themſelves Roman knights, had their goods confiſcated; and if they proceeded to complain of it as a hardſhip, he reduced them to the ſtate of ſlaves. He made many regulations with reſpect to ſlaves, judging all perſons who ſhould kill a ſlave to be guilty of homicide; and he ordered that if any ſlave, when ſick, was ſent to the iſland of Eſculapius, he ſhould be ſet at liberty on his recovery. No ſtranger was permitted to take or uſe the name of a Roman Family.

THE government of Achaia and Macedonia, which Tiberius had aſſumed, were now reſtored to the ſenate. The Lycians, on the contrary, were deprived of their liberty for their civil diſcords; and the Rhodians, who had formerly offended, repenting of their crimes, were received into favour. The Trojans, as authors of the Roman people, were honoured with peculiar marks of diſtinction, and their tribute was remitted to them for ever.

ABOUT this time the German ambaſſadors were permitted to ſit in the orcheſtra of the theatre, with thoſe of the Parthians and Armenians. He aboliſhed entirely the religion of the Druids, on account of its cruelty, from which Auguſtus had heretofore reſtrained the Roman citizens; but he brought to Rome the Eleuſinian ſacrifices of Attica, and repaired the Temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily, by public contribution, which was become ruinous from old age. Yet in all his concerns he was led more by the fancy and caprice of his wives, and the people who ſurrounded him, than by his own will and diſpoſition.

THE nation of Thrace, which had formerly been ſubject to kings, was reduced in his time to a Roman province; and, in conſequence of the proſecution of the war in Britain, Caractacus, their king, was defeated, taken priſoner, and brought to Rome.

IT will intereſt our readers, to be more particular in deſcribing the progreſs of the Roman arms in Britain, after the departure of Claudius. Plautius and his lieutenant Veſpaſian, after fighting thirty battles with the enemy, reduced part of the iſland into the form of a Roman province. The ſucceſſor of Plautius met with oppoſition from them, and Oſtorius was compelled to uſe violence and force; but they were at laſt overcome, after a powerful reſiſtance, in which the inhabitants of South Wales were the moſt formidable opponents which the Roman generals

generals had ever encountered. By removing the ſeat of war into the more inacceſſible parts of the country, he kept the Romans for nine years in continual alarm; but a deciſive battle at laſt became neceſſary, and Caractacus, their king, addreſſed his people with a calm reſolution, and informed them that their liberty or ſlavery depended upon the iſſue of it. But Roman diſcipline prevailed, after an obſtinate conteſt, over confuſed valour, and the Britons were entirely routed, and his wife and daughter taken priſoners; and the queen of the Brigantes, to whom he had fled for refuge, treacherouſly gave him up to the conquerors.

HIS dignity and courage never failed him, though his condition was ſo greatly humbled. As he was conducted through the ſtreets of Rome, he remarked the ſplendor of every object around him; and pertinently obſerved, with ſurprize, "how ſuch a people, poſſeſſed of ſuch aſtoniſhing magnificence at home, could poſſibly think of envying Caractacus "his humble cottage in Britain." His conduct before the emperor was manly and intrepid; having no objection to accept of pardon, but diſdaining meanly to ſolicit it. "If I "had ſubmitted," ſays he, "tamely to your power, it would "have deſtroyed your glory, and my fortune would have been "no way memorable. If now, then, you ſpare my life, I "ſhall be a laſting example of your clemency." This noble declaration induced Claudius generouſly to pardon him; a triumph alſo was decreed for Oſtorius, but he did not live to enjoy it.

AT the concluſion of eight centuries from the building of the city of Rome, Claudius orders the celebration of the famous ſecular games, to ſolemnize the birth-day of the city. Of all the games amongſt the Romans, theſe were the moſt ſolemn and magnificent, and, in the regular order, were only exhibited once in a hundred years. Auguſtus had, indeed, diſplayed them about ſixty four years before; but that was out of the uſual courſe. To theſe were all perſons ſolemnly invited by an herald, "to be ſpectators of ſuch ſhews as they "never before had ſeen, or ever again ſhould ſee." They were attended with all imaginable pomp and ſplendor, and every kind of martial and cruel exerciſes; the greateſt variety of religious rites and Pagan ſuperſtitions, a ſufficient inſtance of the prevalent idolatry of the times, was alſo diſplayed.

TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, the governor of Paleſtine, who had been ſent to ſuperſede Fadus, was ſoon after this ſpectacle recalled from thence, after about two years continuance; in whoſe ſtead was ſent Cumanus, who joined the Samaritans, at enmity with the Galileans, and inſtead of redreſſing them againſt their oppreſſors,

oppreſſors, fell upon them with his ſtanding troops, killed many, and took many priſoners. Quadratus, governor of Syria, was alſo made a party, and completed what Cumanus had begun, by crucifying all his priſoners. But he afterwards underſtood that the Galileans had only been rouſed to reſiſt oppreſſion, that the Samaritans were the aggreſſors, and that Cumanus had been corrupted; upon which he firſt commands eighteen of the principal of the Samaritans to be beheaded, and then ordered the high prieſt, with Cumanus the governor, and a tribune, to go immediately to Rome, and anſwer to the emperor to all charges which ſhould be brought againſt them. Agrippa, who was now at Rome, and had ſo ſucceſsfully pleaded the cauſe of his countrymen on a former occaſion, had influence to induce the emperor to do juſtice: on which the tribune and many of the Samaritans were executed, and Cumanus deprived of his government, and ſent into baniſhment. Felix, who ſucceeded him in the government, was notorious for all ſorts of vices and corruptions.

CLAUDIUS was a man, who had been very unfortunate in his marriages. When he was very young, he had eſpouſed the Granddaughter of Auguſtus, whom he divorced before the marriage was conſummated, becauſe that her father and mother had offended the emperor. He next contracted to be married to Livia Medullina, who was of the ancient family of the dictator Camillus; but ſhe died on the very day appointed for the nuptials. In the next place, he married Plantina Urgalanilla, whoſe father had had a triumph, whom he divorced for unchaſtity, and on a ſuſpicion of her entertaining ſome deſign upon his life. He afterwards married Elia Petina, the daughter of a conſul, whom he alſo divorced for very ſlight reaſons. Valeria Meſſalina, the daughter of Barbatus Meſſala, his couſin, was the next whom he took to the honour of being empreſs; but ſhe was a woman of the moſt infamous practices, which produced infinite miſchiefs in the ſtate. As ſhe became more public in her lewdneſs, in which ſhe was impudent to exceſs, and triumphant in her adulterous deſigns, ſhe ſacrificed many of her gallants, who were not ſufficiently ſerviceable for her boundleſs deſires. Caius Silius, the moſt beautiful youth in the city of Rome, was the object of her paſſion, whom ſhe compelled, though reluctantly, to divorce his lady, that ſhe might be free from rivals. Her infamous conduct may be inferred from this, that they were openly married ſoon after, almoſt in the emperor's preſence: as ſhe fully relied on his ſtupid blindneſs, and the powerful influence which ſhe had over him. But Claudius was rouſed by his favourites;

favourites; and he assumed sufficient resolution to denounce death upon her and her confederates.

NOTWITHSTANDING he was freed from a dangerous and infamous wife, he once more gave way to a licentious passion, and became enamoured of his own niece Agrippina. Her amazing spirit and boundless ambition, never ceased to exercise themselves until she had induced Claudius to prefer Nero, her son, by a former marriage, to his own son Britannicus, then a minor, whom he had by Messalina. Her daughter Octavia was marrried also to Nero, though she had been contracted to Silanus; which proved fatal to the youth, as the contraction also of Pompey to the daughter of Petina occasioned his being murdered.

AGRIPPINA was unboundedly desirous for Nero's succeeding in the empire. It was told her by some oracle, "That her "son should be emperor, but that he would be the cause of "her death;" to which she answered in these words, "Let "him, if he does but reign." But Claudius was not so extremely insensible, not to be sorry for his marriage with her, and the adoption of her son Nero; which Agrippina soon discovered by the unusual favours bestowed on Britannicus, and by his accidentally saying, when he was elevated with wine, "That he had ever been unfortunate in his wives, but that "none of them had ever escaped unpunished." Upon this she formed the resolution to poison him, but deliberated on the kind of poison she should use; as a strong one might render her villainy too manifest, and a slow one would give him an opportunity of discovering her practices, and disappoint the succession of her son. She therefore chose a potion which distracted his senses, and would not too suddenly put a period to his life. By her artifices she prevented the too early knowledge of his death, till her son Nero had prepared and secured every thing necessary for his succession to the empire. He died on the 13th day of October, in the year of Christ, by the common account, 54, and in the 64th year of his age, after a reign of 13 years, 8 months, and 19 days.

PATERCULUS, the Roman historian, and Pomponius Mela, were the only persons of eminence, during the reign of Claudius, whose names are handed down to posterity. It is scarcely possible, indeed, to suppose, that any countenance should be afforded to science and literature, by a man of so stupid and besotted a disposition. As Claudius, after his flimsy expedition to Britain, had left his lieutenants to conduct the war; the latter of the historians, just mentioned, who wrote upon the affairs of the Britains, expresses a hope that

by the ſucceſs of the Roman arms, the iſland, with its ſavage inhabitants, would ſoon be better known.

CHAP. XXVIII.

NERO, *the Fifth* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 806. A.D. 54.]

BY the management of Burrhus, who was præfect of the Pretorian guards, and one of the governors to young Nero, the palace gates were ſuddenly thrown open. Though ſome enquiries were made after Britannicus, then in the 14th year of his age, on their joining the guards which were then on duty, Nero was received with the loudeſt acclamations; and he was immediately carried from thence in a chariot to the reſt of the troops. On his promiſing them a conſiderable bounty, he was immediately ſaluted emperor, and ſhortly after confirmed by the ſenate. He was alſo acknowledged by the provinces without oppoſition.

BEING at this time only ſeventeen years of age, his reign commenced in the moſt flattering way, and his government was applauded by all ranks of people. The joy and ſatisfaction of the city were general; for he manifeſted his utmoſt endeavours apparently to ſerve the public. It was underſtood, that, by his juſt, liberal, and merciful conduct, which were obvious both in his words and actions, he would accompliſh his promiſe of governing by the wiſe rules and prudent inſtitutions of Auguſtus. From his mode of conferring favours, aſſigning penſions to decayed ſena ors, and treating all men courteouſly and with the utmoſt humanity; there ſeemed to be little cauſe for apprehending thoſe miſeries, which afterwards ſucceeded. He likewiſe divided money to the citizens, and moderated the taxes and other impoſitions. His clemency and pity towards unfortunate convicts, whom the laws of their country had ſentenced to death, were conſpicuous; and the firſt death-warrant which he ſigned, was accompanied with this humane declaration—"Would to Heaven that I had never "learned to write." His modeſty towards the ſenate was equally

equally manifeſt, from his reply to their applauſes of his mild and juſt government;—to "defer their thanks till he had "done ſomething to deſerve them."

MUCH of this conduct is, indeed, to be attributed to the wiſdom of his governors; one of whom, as we have already mentioned, was Burrhus, a man eminent for his military diſcipline and gravity of manners. The renowned Seneca was the other, whoſe excellence in precepts of eloquence and courteous demeanour, are univerſally known and admired.

ONE of the firſt acts of his cruelty was exerciſed againſt the young Britannicus, the ſon of Claudius, whom he cauſed to be poiſoned, about a year and four months after his advancement to the empire. This might probably be a ſcheme of policy, to prevent him from becoming a troubleſome claimant at ſome future opportunity, at the inſtigation of ſome diſaffected perſon. It may, perhaps, be proper to conclude, that this *alone* is not a ſufficient criterion to judge of his future diſpoſition; which more particularly began to diſplay itſelf, in the ſeveral ſteps he took for effecting the death of his mother.

HIS change of diſpoſition towards Agrippina, by whoſe management alone he had obtained the imperial dignity, and towards whom the ties of filial duty ought to have engaged the moſt ſacred obedience, was occaſioned by the reſtraint he felt himſelf under, through her preſence, in the purſuit of his enormities. After various means had been tried, without effect, to occaſion her death ſecretly, and in a way which might paſs for a natural death, he cauſed it to be proclaimed publicly, that ſhe had conſpired againſt his life. To render this rumour the more plauſible, a perſon was apparently detected in the act of dropping a dagger at his feet; who declared immediately, that he had received orders from Agrippina to diſpatch him at an early opportunity. Upon this, he gave directions, without delay, to certain tribunes to murder her, which was ſpeedily effected. But the horror of the fact conſtantly purſued him; and his imagination ever after was haunted and diſturbed with the moſt terrifying ideas. He confeſſed frequently, "that the apprehenſions of his mother's "ghoſt often diſturbed him, and that he was tormented by "infernal furies," and ſtung with a conſciouneſs of ſo atrocious an act.

HE had ſome time before taken Poppæa Sabina from the bed of her huſband Otho, and, after bringing her to court, cauſed her to be received as empreſs of the Roman dominions; a ſituation which ſhe held about eight years, when the emperor, offended with the liberty ſhe took in upbraiding him

as he returned late from driving his chariot in public, gave her a kick with his foot, which terminated her life. At this time ſhe was with child, and alſo much indiſpoſed; which are circumſtances of the higheſt aggravation of his conduct, and proofs of his extreme depravity and degeneracy.

ABOUT the time that Poppæa was made empreſs of Rome, the country of Armenia was wholly ſubdued, and came under the dominion of the Roman government. Some time after he appointed the celebration of new games, which were to be repeated for five years; and Feſtus was appointed to the tributary government of Judæa, in the room of Felix, who was now removed, after he had been governor more than ſeven years. In this period he had greatly oppreſſed the people of the Jews; and his conduct, together with the degeneracy and corruptions of the inhabitants, cauſed frequent ravages, ſeditions, and bloodſheds. Being accuſed of miſconduct in his adminiſtration, a ſevere puniſhment would certainly have followed it, if his brother Pallas, at that time in the higheſt favour with the emperor, had not interceded. Feſtus continued in the government of Judæa until his death, which happened about two years after; to whom Albinus ſucceeded, who remained in that dignity little more than two years, and was ſuperſeded by Geſſius Florus, through the intereſt of the empreſs Poppæa.

THOUGH Albinus had greatly haraſſed the Jews, and oppreſſed them in a very wicked and arbitrary manner; yet no ſooner was Florus eſtabliſhed in his government, than he manifeſted the utmoſt extenſion of rapacity and tyranny. His acts of violence were bold and daring, and he publicly gloried in his greateſt exactions and enormities. He omitted no rapines nor extortions, by which the people might be afflicted, and himſelf benefited. All intreaties were vain and uſeleſs; and his plunders were exerciſed every where, even to the deſolating and pillaging whole cities and provinces. Public robberies were even patroniſed and encouraged, on condition that he only ſhared in the booty; and great numbers were obliged to abandon their habitations, and flee to foreign countries, to eſcape the effects of ſo much oppreſſion.

BRITAIN was an object of conqueſt and dominion in the reign of this emperor, as well as of his predeceſſor Claudius. The conquering Caractacus did not put an end to the wars in that iſland; which were carried on with much perſevering obſtinacy and reſolution, and coſt the Romans much blood and treaſure. It is ſaid that more than eighty thouſand Romans periſhed in the conteſt, before the Britons were reduced in any

any tolerable degree to the obedience of the Roman Government.

SOON after this conqueſt, one of the governors of the emperor, Burrhus, of whom we havs ſpoken already, paid the great debt of nature; and Seneca, whoſe leſſons of inſtruction were no longer agreeable to the profligate Nero, wiſhed to retire from the ſcenes of public life to a more deſirable ſtation. It was ſtrongly ſuſpected, that the agents of Nero had been concerned in the death of Burrhus, by means of poiſon; and as Seneca's intereſt and authority were ſo much weakened, he prudently deſired permiſſion to withdraw himſelf, at the ſame time offering to ſurrender his large eſtate, which had been the occaſion of ſo much envy. Amongſt the emperor's numerous vices, that of diſſimulation was not the leaſt obvious; and he refuſed this modeſt requeſt, under a ſhew of affection and reſpect. The philoſopher laid aſide thoſe external appearances of rank and dignity, which he had formerly diſplayed, lived a life of obſcurity and humility, received but few viſits, and whenever he publicly appeared, his retinue was extremely ſmall.

WHEN Nero diſpoſſeſſed Otho of his partner, and raiſed Poppæa to the imperial throne, he divorced Octavia the daughter of Claudius; and afterwards, when the Roman people murmured at this injury, he firſt baniſhed and then cauſed her to be put to death. Some time after this, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him, at the head of which was Piſo, a man of great power and integrity, who, as well as many others, of all ranks and degrees, ſuffered the puniſhment of ſuch a conduct. Lucan, Seneca, and a great many others, both noble and ignoble, guilty and innocent, were involved and included in the general calamity. It was ſufficient cauſe of the condemnation of Lucan, that he excelled in the art of poetry, to which Nero himſelf made ſome pretences; on this account, vainly comparing his own verſes to thoſe of this famous poet, he had forbid him to publiſh his verſes, and a mortal hatred ſubſiſted between them. The falſity of the emperor's pretended reſpect for Seneca was now demonſtrated, whom he condemned alſo to death; which ſentence this great man received with compoſure and even chearfulneſs, and only deſired permiſſion to beſtow a few legacies, which was denied him. His ſpeech to his weeping friends is too magnanimous to be paſſed over, "That ſince he had been hindered from "giving them what they had merited, he left them the example "of his life, the memory and imitation of which would gain "them immortal honour among all good men." His abſtinence had been ſo great, that he could not bleed, and poiſon

would have no effect upon him, though he ſought death by various ways; at laſt he was ſtifled by the fumes of a bath, after diſcourſing on many excellent precepts of morality, with his uſual elegance, for the good of his fellow citizens. The polite Petronius, though a moſt refined ſon of pleaſure, and therefore a counterpart to Seneca in his life and ſentiments, who had alſo very greatly aſſiſted Nero in his extravagant ſenſuality, and was noted for his exquiſite knowledge in the refinements of voluptuouſneſs, ſuffered alſo in this general deſtruction. But in the calmneſs and ſerenity with which he met death, he very much reſembled Seneca; he ſeemed to play with death, as if he had no trouble or concern about it, opening his veins and cloſing them with the utmoſt compoſure and diſcourſing with his friends on ſuch pleaſant ſubjects, as he had been accuſtomed to during his life.

THE conduct of Nero, before the commiſſion of ſuch horrid crimes as totally ſuperſede human nature, had been more like that of a madman than the governor of a great people. After committing the moſt abominable exceſſes, and debaſing himſelf by the moſt extravagant follies, ſo that invention was entirely exhauſted and ſtaggered; he conceived the project of deſtroying the city, on account of the narrowneſs of the ſtreets and irregularity of the buildings. The ambition of founding a new city immediately poſſeſſed his mind, and he cauſed Rome to be ſet on fire in ſeveral places at once, that he might enjoy the proſpect of ſuch a lamentable deſolation. It continued more than ſix days, in which great numbers of people periſhed, and three fourths of the city was laid in aſhes, before it terminated.

FOR ſuch an execrable and diabolical act, the author of which was generally known, the emperor had the greateſt reaſon to dread the rage and reſentment of an injured people; and he was ſtruck with remorſe at the horrid proceeding. Accordingly he ſet himſelf, with the utmoſt expedition, to rebuild the city, and exerted every means which human policy could invent, to appeaſe the minds of the citizens. He beſtowed large gifts on the lower claſſes of the people; and the books of the Sybils were alſo conſulted, with a view to appeaſe the incenſed gods. Yet were all the gifts, ceremonies, and ſacrifices ſcarcely ſufficient to ſecure the emperor's reputation, or to remove the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions that he was the author of this calamitous tragedy. Unfortunately for the diſciples of Chriſtianity, the emperor diverted the attention of the people from himſelf, by iſſuing a cruel and ſevere edict againſt them, pretending that they were the authors of the conflagration. In reſtoring the city, he cauſed a ſtately palace to

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be built, which ſhould be worthy of being the reſidence of the monarchs of the world.

WE have noticed already, that the country of Armenia was wholly ſubdued under this emperor; whoſe king, Tiridates, afterwards received his crown from Nero. After this the temple of Janus was ſhut for a ſhort time, as the ſignal of univerſal peace, which had not been ſhut ſince the ſecond year after our Saviour's nativity. When this had been effected, Nero left Rome with an aſtoniſhing retinue, and paſſed into Greece and Achaia; and there indulged himſelf more than a year in the exerciſe of all kinds of games and extravagances. In his abſence he committed the government of the city to Helius, who was one of his wicked inſtruments and bloody executioners in his horrid maſſacres; from whoſe power and authority, which were abſolute and unlimited, the inhabitants were very ſeverely afflicted.

THE ſhort interval of peace was ſoon terminated by the rebellion of the Jews, whoſe oppreſſions and hardſhips, under the government of Florus, were become intolerable. Various endeavours were uſed by the more prudent and peaceable among the Jews, to prevent the increaſe of diſaffection, and to atone for ſome imprudent and impolitic meaſures which the inferior Jews had taken; but it ſo happened, through the direction of providence, that they were not productive of that ſucceſs, which they were ſo well calculated and adapted to produce. For the Jews, who had filled up the portion of their iniquity were nearly ripe for that deſtruction, which their conduct had ſo much deſerved; their impending fate approached with rapid ſtrides, and every thing concurred to accompliſh it.

THERE cannot be a more demonſtrative proof of the cruelty and ſavage temper, which diſtinguiſhed Nero, than the following. Unhappy in himſelf, it was ſufficient to excite his envy and indignation, if he found that others were more contented. The conjugal felicity of Pætus and Arria were proverbial; nor was any other pretence neceſſary to haſten their diſſolution, as this profligate emperor could not endure that any perſon in his empire ſhould preſume to think themſelves happy when he himſelf was not ſo. His letter on the occaſion was remarkable. "Pætus, you are hereby commanded to diſpatch yourſelf. I have heard a very good character of you, and therefore leave to your own choice, whether you will die by dagger, ſword, or poiſon. If you ſurvive this order above an hour, I have given directions that you ſhall be put to death by the moſt excruciating tortures." The dreadful meſſage was received by Arria,

whoſe diſtraction and rage may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. But the tyrant's commands were irreſiſtible, and ſhe reſolved not to ſurvive her huſband; and as ſhe delivered him the letter, on his arrival, ſhe ſtabbed herſelf with a poignard ſo effectually, that ſhe had only time to ſay, "Pætus, it "is not painful." He followed the heroic example without heſitation.

IN the general perſecution, which commenced, in conſequence of the emperor's edict, after the burning of the city, the two great apoſtles of the Chriſtians periſhed; the wicked governor Helius, during his abſence in Greece, was of too ſavage a diſpoſition to ſuffer any relaxation in its execution.

WHEN Nero returned to Rome, at the requeſt of Helius, on account of diſturbances which were riſing at home, he was ſurrounded with players and muſicians in a kind of triumph. But the miſconduct of ſuch a ſucceſſion of emperors, who had put the minds of the people into a ferment, was no longer ſupportable, and the furious effects were ſoon manifeſted. The diſſimulation of Tiberius had excited their jealouſy, and the brutality of Caligula had created an averſion; the ſtupidity of Claudius had produced diſguſt, but the mad fury of Nero was beyond all precedent, and totally exhauſted their little remains of patience. The neceſſity of a revolution was therefore preſſing, and every one ſeemed to concur in the ſteps which tended to produce it. Accordingly Vindex, who commanded the legions in Gaul, began the revolt, by proteſting publicly againſt the government of Nero; who invited Sergius Galba, at that time governor of part of Spain, whoſe reputation was extremely memorable, to aſſume the imperial authority, and to march with an army towards Rome. From the moment that the tyrant received this intelligence, he conſidered himſelf as undone; for the armies every where declared againſt the preſent emperor. Rage and deſpair were now manifeſted in the fulleſt manner. He reſolved to ſacrifice all the governors of provinces, as a terror to reſtrain them within the bounds of their duty; the commanders of the armies were alſo deſtined to the ſame fate; all exiled perſons were immediately to be deſtroyed; all the Gauls which were in Rome he had conſigned to butchery; whoſe nation was to be given up to the plunder of his army. He alſo deſigned to have poiſoned the whole ſenate at an entertainment; to burn the city which had ſo lately felt the ravages of fire; and to turn out among the people a variety of wild beaſts, ſo as to prevent the moſt vigorous and active from extinguiſhing the flames.

THE career of ſo much wickedneſs was, however, near its period. The meaſure of his iniquity was now ſummed up,

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and his infernal diſpoſition had no longer the means of executing its purpoſes. Every one forſook him, and joined the ſtandard of the revolters. His ſervility and timidity were now as conſpicuous, as before his conduct had been haughty and tyrannical; and he who was ſo lately the greateſt monarch in the world, was now reduced to a more deplorable and wretched ſtate than the vileſt ſlave. The ſenate, who at this time were aſſembled, pronounced him a mortal enemy to the ſtate; and ſolemnly condemned him to die "after the manner of his anceſtors," by having his head made faſt in a pillory, there to be ſcourged to death.

IT was now time for Nero to think of eſcaping by any means which offered. He ſounded the tribunes and captains of his guards, with a view to engage their accompanying him in his flight; but ſome of them pretended the greateſt difficulties, and others openly refuſed his requeſt. At one time he had thoughts of fleeing to the Parthians, or to Galba, as a ſuppliant; at other times to appear in black, and endeavour to excite the compaſſion of the people, by ſupplicating a pardon for what was paſt. In deſpair, he ſent for Spicillus, or ſome other gladiator, to put a period to his exiſtence by the ſword; and when no perſon could be found to render him this laſt ſervice, "What," ſays he, "have I neither friend nor "enemy?"—on which he began to run as if he deſigned to throw himſelf into the Tiber.

HE reſolved, however, to ſeek ſome place of concealment, till he ſhould have time to recover his ſpirits. One of his freemen, whoſe name was Phaon, offered him a retreat at his country houſe, about four miles from Rome. To this place he ſet out without cloathing, and only in his ſhirt, with an old cloak wrapped round him; and having put an handkerchief before his face, he mounted on horſeback, accompanied only by four perſons, one of which was Sporus, a youth whom he had cauſed to be emaſculated, and dreſſed up in the habit of an empreſs, and had as ſuch attended him in the moſt public places.

THE lightnings and earthquakes, which accompanied him on the way, were ſufficient to alarm a mind leſs timorous or leſs ſuperſtitious. As he paſſed by the camp, the imprecations of the ſoldiers againſt himſelf were diſtinctly heard, with the moſt extravagant effuſions of their deſires and wiſhes for the ſucceſs and proſperity of Galba. Some whom they met in this march, conſidered them as perſons who were purſuing Nero; and others enquired of him, "What news was there "at Rome reſpecting Nero?" At this time, his horſe ſtarted at a body which had been thrown in the way, and in ſuccour-

ing the animal his face was uncovered, and an old ſoldier of the guards perceived and recollected him. They were obliged to quit their horſes at a ſhort turn of ſome buſhes, and Nero, in purſuing a difficult path amongſt ſome reeds, had great labour to climb a wall which was oppoſite the houſe. Here he was adviſed by Phaon to conceal himſelf in a cavern, till it became ſomewhat dark, who declared "that he would not be "buried alive;" but having a deſire to drink, he took up ſome water from a ditch with his hand. He crept on all fours towards the houſe, to prevent his being diſcovered; and as ſoon as he was got into a chamber he threw himſelf upon a bed, where he had but an indifferent pillow and an old blanket. When he was preſſed with the appetites of hunger and thirſt, they preſented him with coarſe bread which he would not eat; but contented himſelf with drinking a little lukewarm water.

EVERY one who was now about him, deſired him to prevent ſpeedily the evils and affronts with which he was threatened, inſomuch that they made, in his preſence, a ditch of the ſize of his body, and ſent haſtily for ſome pieces of marble, if they could procure any, and alſo for wood and water to waſh and burn his body. He wept at every word, and exclaimed ſuddenly, many times, "Is it neceſſary that ſo good an inſtrument player ſhould die!" When a courier of Phaon's brought diſpatches, which acquainted him that he was declared by the ſenate an enemy of the republic, and that they ſought to puniſh him according to ancient cuſtom; on his being informed what that cuſtom was, he ſeized two poignards, and feeling the point of both of them, again ſecured them, ſaying, that his fatal hour was not yet come. Whilſt he was heſitating, at one time blaming himſelf for want of courage, and at another calling for ſome friend to ſet him an example of death, a noiſe of perſons on horſeback approached, with orders to ſeize him alive and carry him to Rome, of which he was himſelf fully ſenſible; but he was even now in ſo weak a ſtate of body and mind, that he had need of the aſſiſtance of Epaphroditus, his maſter of requeſts, to enable him to ſtrike the dagger into his throat. As he was expiring, his purſuers entered the room, who attempted to ſtanch the blood, but in vain. His dying wiſh, that his body might be burned entire, was permitted; and his aſhes were depoſited in the tomb of the Domitians, who were his anceſtors. His funeral was very coſtly and expenſive; in whom died the family of the Cæſars, who reigned in Rome, though the following emperors retained the title.

SUCH was the fate of an emperor, who ſeemed to have been born for the ſcourge of mankind. He was the firſt who publicly

publicly proclaimed his enmity to the Chriſtians, under whom ſome of their greateſt defenders fell a ſacrifice to tyranny and perſecution. By his execrable actions he brought upon himſelf the ſevereſt misfortunes which could befal a prince; which were productive of as heavy calamities as could be brought upon a ſtate, and of the greateſt internal convulſions after his deceaſe. After a reign of 13 years, 7 months, and 27 days, he was reduced to this neceſſity of terminating his exiſtence, in the 32d year of his age.

WE have already mentioned Seneca and Petronius, as eminent in literature during the reign of Nero, though in a very different way. Lucan, as a poet, in this dangerous age, in like manner attained to ſuch a degree of eminence, as handed his name to poſterity; through whoſe hands we have received the knowledge of his performances. Quintus Curtius, too, an hiſtorian of ſome note amongſt his own people, appeared conſpicuouſly during his reign.

OF his perſon we have an account, though not the moſt flattering, yet ſufficiently agreeable. Notwithſtanding his exceſſes, he was only ſick three times during his reign, and that ſo ſlightly, that it did not compel him to the leaſt abſtinence. In his dreſs he was rather indifferent and careleſs than the contrary. And to ſpeak of his education, the liberal ſciences were principally attended to; but his mother totally prevented his inſtruction in the fundamentals of philoſophy, as beneath the conſideration of a ſovereign prince. He deſpiſed and ridiculed every thing which had the appearance of religion; yet, ſuch was the inconſiſtency of a mind, abſorbed in pleaſures, in debaucheries, and in the moſt conſummate ſcenes of wickedneſs, that he at laſt was compelled, by the force of reflection, to conſult the auguries of the times, to diſcover ſomething propitious to his fortune, when his own heart and the depravity of his life condemned him.

CHAP. XXIX.

GALBA, *the Sixth* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 820. A. D. 68.]

THE imperial dignity, though it commenced with the death of Nero, in the month of June, when he was declared

clared emperor, had been in ſome degree conferred upon Galba above two months before, the power of which he had aſſumed in Spain. He had no alliance whatever with the family of the Cæſars, either by affinity of blood or by adoption; but the empire was given to him by the ſoldiers, and the ſenate immediately conſented to their choice. In the ruin of Nero the whole empire was involved, and difficulties occurred, and diſturbances aroſe in every place, which Galba, in his march from Spain, every where ſubdued and ſuppreſſed. By granting liberty to certain ſlaves, and inviting the populace to join him in defence of themſelves and families againſt the cruelties and oppreſſions of the tyrant, he prevailed with the greater part of the people to ſupport him. On his coming to Rome, after Nero's death, he gave many ſpecimens of ſeverity and avarice, and exerciſed his authority with no ſparing hand. Many of thoſe whom Nero had elevated from the loweſt condition, he cauſed to be reduced; by which, indeed, as well as by his reſcinding many other odious acts of Nero, and by executing many of the wicked inſtruments of his cruelty, but particularly Helius, his abandoned ſubſtitute, he gave much ſatisfaction. But ſome of the moſt notorious offenders were ſpared for the ſake of money; for his avarice was ſo extreme, that he would frequently ſigh and weep when his table was better ſerved than uſual. As this was a vice of age, it was far from unnatural, however abſurd; but it was peculiarly dangerous to the proſperity and ſucceſs of his empire, when the depravity and licentiouſneſs of the Prætorian ſoldiers is conſidered, to whom a large donative had been promiſed in his abſence. This he utterly refuſed to allow, though it was cuſtomary on their ſwearing allegiance to a new emperor; and he declared "that he choſe and would never purchaſe his ſoldiers," which was highly offenſive to the army in thoſe corrupt times, who could not ſubmit to any diſcipline like that of the ancient Romans. They well knew that he ſuffered himſelf to be bought and ſold every day; and they hated and deteſted him, as well as on this account, ſo alſo on account of his giving himſelf entirely to the management of three favourites.

TITUS VINIUS, who was one of theſe pedagogues, as they were ſatirically named, had been a lieutenant in Spain, and was a man of inſatiable covetouſneſs. Cornelius Laco had been raiſed to the honour of colonel of the guards from a low ſtation, and had rendered himſelf inſupportable by his haughtineſs and brutality. Icelus was a freeman, whom the emperor had honoured with the privilege of wearing a gold ring, and to whom he had given the ſurname of Marcian; who aſpired

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to the order of Roman knights. Theſe three perſons, whoſe vices were ſo very different from each other, inſufferably abuſed the authority of the emperor, and occaſioned his conduct to appear extremely oppoſite and irregular; at one time ſeeming to be ſevere and frugal, and at another remiſs and prodigal; ſometimes condemning the moſt illuſtrious perſons, at their inſtigation, without permitting them the means of defence, at other times ſuffering the moſt guilty and iniquitous offenders to eſcape. He was very frugal of beſtowing the rights of a Roman citizen; and he made ſome regulations amongſt the judges, which had no very agreeable reception. It was apprehended that he meant to limit the duration of the rank of a knight, and the office of a ſenator, to two years; and not to give it to perſons who were deſirous of it, but to force it upon others who wiſhed to decline the honour.

THE moſt preſumiug politician could ſcarcely expect that, in ſuch unſettled times, a man who had incurred the diſpleaſure and hatred of the army, had little foundation to expect a long reign, had he been much younger than the preſent emperor. Not only the Prætorian ſoldiers were offended with him, but the army in Germany murmured ſtill more, who were the firſt who dared to make a ſtand againſt his authority; for on being required on the firſt day of the year to take the oath, they immediately ſent an embaſſy to the Prætorians to declare, "That they would not admit an emperor who was "made in Spain, and that another ſhould be raiſed to that "dignity, who ſhould be approved by all the armies."

As ſoon as Galba had received the intelligence of theſe diſſatisfactions, he conſidered that his age might be one great objection to their approbation, and his want of an heir to ſucceed him in the empire, might be a means of leſſening their ſenſe of duty to him. Upon this he reſolved immediately to adopt an heir; but with ſuch a regard, at the ſame time, for the public good, that he rejected the application of Otho, notwithſtanding the good ſervices he had received from him, as the firſt perſon of note who joined him on his declaring againſt Nero. His favourites alſo, on this occaſion, greatly intereſted themſelves; and each of them was emulous to nominate an heir to the empire, and conſequently to augment his influence in matters of government. Much contention was, therefore, manifeſted on this intereſting ſubject. But Galba gave the preference to Piſo Licinianus, and, according to the general account of hiſtorians, he deſerved commendation for the choice which he made. The army and the ſenate approved of his choice; but they did it in ſo cool and reluctant a way, that he could not hope for much for his deſigned ſucceſſor.

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THE account which hiſtorians have given us of Piſo, is the ſtrongeſt teſtimony in favour of Galba's diſcernment upon this occaſion. His merit was the only conſideration which induced the emperor to give him the preference of all other competitors; and took pains to inſtruct him in ſuch a manner as might have been extremely ſerviceable to him, had he ſucceeded to the empire. His modeſty, firmneſs, and equality of temper were ſuch, as demonſtrated his merit; in which he ſhewed himſelf more capable of diſcharging than ambitious of obtaining his preſent dignity. But the army and the ſenate, who had long ſhook off all kind of diſintereſtedneſs, and accuſtomed themſelves to bribery and corruption, were not diſpoſed to endure any emperor who could not, or would not, ſatisfy their avarice. In a nation of ſuch univerſal depravity, it was in vain to expect the reward of virtue.

OTHO, on the contrary, who was very deſireous of obtaining the honour, which was to enſure him the reverſion of the empire, had effectually ſecured the intereſt of Galba's chief favourite, Vinius; and had alſo engaged the favour of the Urban and Prætorian cohorts, that he could form little doubt of ſucceſs. It was certainly matter of much regret, that Galba, whoſe wiſh was ſolely to promote the public good, ſhould be ſo extremely unfortunate in the ſucceſs of ſuch laudable endeavours; for the very acts of the emperor, which had apparently the beſt tendency to perpetuate his government, were productive of the utmoſt confuſion, and terminated in his utter ruin. When Otho diſcovered the firm determination of Galba to fruſtrate his ſanguine wiſhes, he loſt no time in his application to the ſoldiers, whoſe intereſt he had previouſly engaged. He now prevailed upon them, by many plauſible harangues and a variety of promiſes (to which Galba had unhappily been blind, in neglecting, and even refuſing to perform and complete the engagements of his friends) to proclaim him emperor of Rome, in oppoſition to Galba. This they agreed to unanimouſly, and, with drawn ſwords, to manifeſt a reſolution of effecting their deſigns, conveyed him to their camp, near the city gates. Such an unexpected circumſtance diſheartened Galba, and to the greateſt degree perplexed and confounded every one about him. Various were the ſentiments which prevailed on this ſudden commotion; for whilſt ſome were decidedly of opinion that he ſhould immediately have recourſe to arms, and appear in public, others declared that he ought to ſecure himſelf in the capitol, and there attend the reſult of the confuſion. But he was undetermined which courſe to take; and, by means of an artful and deceitful rumour, which was propagated aſſiduouſly, that Otho was

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ſlain, he was at laſt induced to ride out of the palace, with an armed guard, and a number of followers, into the forum.

THE report having thus produced the effect for which it was declared, was ſpeedily followed by a powerful body of horſe from the camp, as ſoon as it was known that Galba was in motion. They entered on the oppoſite ſide of the forum very ſoon after this advance of the emperor. Firmly reſolved, as they were, of diſpatching him, his preſence, on their nearer approach, ſtruck them with awe, and for ſome time they ſtood amazed, doubtful of the ſucceſs of their miſſion, and apprehenſive for the conſequences of their fatal errand. But Galba diſcovered the moſt obvious tokens of fear and irreſolution; being uncertain, in ſo critical a juncture, (which bore very little demonſtration of the experienced general) what courſe to take. Whilſt he was thus debating in his mind, ſurrounded by a great multitude of his faithful ſubjects, the chief of his followers ſuddenly abandoned him; upon which the ſoldiers, which had been ſent by Otho for that purpoſe, ruſhed in amongſt the people, and diſperſed and trampled them under foot. Plutarch informs us, that, on their approaching the emperor, he bid them, on ſtretching out his neck towards them, to "ſtrike it off, if it were for the good of the commonwealth and the Roman people;" and, as Suetonius relates, deſiring them to "ſtrike boldly, if it was their pleaſure" to diſpatch him.

AMONGST thoſe who fell, upon this occaſion, his three favourites did not eſcape their deſerved puniſhment; who had, by their ſelfiſh proceedings, occaſioned ſo much diſorder and bloodſhed. Even Vinius, the creature of Otho, was not ſpared on this occaſion. And it is ſomewhat remarkable, that none of thoſe who were preſent had the fortitude and reſolution to ſuccour the emperor; nor did any of the ſoldiers diſcover the leaſt inclination to ſupport him, except we ſhould notice, which ought not to be forgotton, the loyalty and integrity of a company of Germans, in gratitude for his care of them when they were ſick and haraſſed to an extreme. But as they knew not where to find him, they could not arive in ſufficient time to relieve him from his perilous ſituation. His head was immediately raiſed upon the point of a lance, and preſented to Otho; by whom it was ordered to be carried contemptuouſly round the camp, whilſt his body remained unburied in the ſtreets. At length it was interred by one of his ſlaves.

THE deſign of ſacrificing Galba had been entertained by Otho from the moment of his giving the preference to Piſo; and his reſentment had planned an immediate execution of it, which,

which, upon mature conſideration, was poſtponed to a more favourable ſeaſon. He began by corrupting a number of the archers, who ſecured as many as they thought neceſſary, by giving them a ſmall ſum of money each, and promiſing a much greater ſum afterwards; to effect which, and to enable him to accompliſh the other purpoſes of the enterprize, he had lately poſſeſſed himſelf of ten thouſand grand ſeſterces, which was the reward of his recommending to Galba a ſlave to be maſter of his houſhold. To this ſeaſonable aid the ſucceſs of his enterprize was in a good meaſure to be attributed.

THUS fell Galba, after a ſhort reign of ſeven months, in the 73d year of his age. He poſſeſſed many virtues; but the vices of his favourites, after he came to the empire, haſtened his deſtruction, who were themſelves involved in the general calamity.

CHAP. XXX.

OTHO, *the Seventh* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 821. A. D. 69.]

BESIDES the ambition which ſtimulated Otho to the ſteps he had taken, he was encumbered with ſuch a heavy load of debt, which had been contracted by an expenſive and riotous mode of life, that his only reſource was now preſented for delivering himſelf from ſo great a burden. Accordingly he reſolved to obtain the empire at any rate, ſince he had puſhed forward as a competitor for the adoption; and finding it unattainable, in a peaceable way, he had now employed force to effect his deſign.

His affairs, therefore, were deſperate, and he frankly confeſſed, "that he could not ſubſiſt unleſs he was elected ſo-"vereign; and it was indifferent to him, whether he fell by "the hands of his enemies in defending himſelf in the chief "command, or ſuffered by the legal proceedings of his "creditors."

GALBA was no ſooner dead, than Otho was declared his ſucceſſor in the empire. He was of an ancient family, and in the

the prime of life, being now about 38 years of age. As the Prætorian ſoldiers had the principal concern in his advancement to this honour, this precedent encouraged them to exerciſe it frequently, afterwards, to the great diſadvantage and prejudice of the Roman people; which too commonly proved fatal alſo to the emperors themſelves, who were ſo appointed, from the numerous jealouſies and occaſions of envy which it produced.

CONTRARY to the opinion and expectation of many, Otho began his reign with the ſuſpenſion of many pleaſures, to which he had heretofore been addicted; diſſembling his riotous and luxurious life, and ordering all things in a manner which tended to augment the proſperity, and promote the honour and dignity of the empire. He puniſhed, with the ſtricteſt regard to juſtice, the chief inſtrument of Nero's impurity, whoſe name was Tigellinus; but reſtored at the ſame time many exiles, and performed many other generous acts which procured him the moſt pleaſing eſteem and affection of the Roman citizens. A ſignal inſtance of his clemency was manifeſted in the pardon of Marius Celſus, whom Galba had highly favoured with his attention; and not only aſſured him of forgiveneſs, but raiſed him to the higheſt honours, an action which he juſtified by the aſſertion, that "Fidelity deſerved "every reward."

BUT whilſt he ſo ſucceſsfully managed matters in the city, the reſt of the empire was far from being in ſo tranquil a ſtate. Vitellius, who commanded the legions in the lower Germany, many days before the death of Galba, had engaged his army, by munificent donations and large promiſes, to declare him emperor, without waiting for the conſent or approbation of the ſenate. They maintained, and with much appearance of reaſon, that they had an equal right to appoint a perſon to that high ſtation as the cohorts of Rome; and an army of ſeventy thouſand men was no inconſiderable or contemptible force to ſupport a reſolution, which muſt impreſs them individually with a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm.

WHEN it was known at Rome, that Vitellius had put this formidable body in motion, with a view to maintain his pretenſions to the empire, and that his generals, Valens and Cecinna, were approaching towards Rome with the principal part of the army, whilſt Vitellius was in Gaul, in order to bring forward the reſt of the forces; the city of Rome, with Otho at their head, were ſuddenly ſeized with conſternation at an event ſo unexpected. Both parties had ſtrong pretenſions to public ſupport; and much bloodſhed was to be apprehended as the conſequence of ſuch an oppoſition.

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THE great preparations of Otho, and the inability of the Roman nobility and gentry, to take the field from continued ſcenes of luxury and effeminacy, gave the greater cauſe of alarm to the city. The heads of the ſenate were alſo now become old and impotent, and had loſt both the power and the vigour of ſoldiers. The nobility, on account of a long peace, were enervated and ſlothful, and totally unqualified to ſubmit to the fatigues of a camp. The equites were diſſolved in eaſe and luxury, and entirely ignorant of all military ſervice; and the more they ſtudied and endeavoured to conceal their inexperience, the more they inadvertently betrayed their fears. About this time, indeed, the whole world, as it was then called, began to be in a ſtate of commotion and perturbation.

As ſoon as Otho was fully informed of the near approach of Vitellius's generals, he departed from Rome with an army, reſpectable for its number; and left Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Veſpaſian, who ſtill continued in Judæa with his army, which had ſworn fidelity both to Galba and Otho, to govern the city of Rome in his abſence. When the two armies came near to each other, a moſt unhappy and fatal civil war commenced, from which the Roman ſtate had been free near an hundred years. Both parties were anxious for effecting a deciſion, and much animoſity and precipitation were manifeſted. Many ſkirmiſhes and other encounters ſpeedily took place within a few days; there were alſo fought three conſiderable battles in a ſhort ſpace of time, at Placentia, Cremona, and at Caſtor. On all theſe occaſions the advantage was favourable to Otho and the ſenate.

BUT as Valens and Cecinna were yet ſeparate, and had acted independent of each other; they now find it neceſſary to join their forces, which they not only effected, but reinforced their armies with freſh ſupplies. They now reſolved to haſten a general engagement, which they accompliſhed near Bedriacum. For a long time the conteſt was very ſharp and obſtinate; but the forces of Otho and the ſenate at laſt gave way, and victory was in favour of their opponents.

A very ſmall knowledge of military affairs muſt be ſufficient to ſhew, that the conduct of Otho was extremely injudicious. As the enemy made their approaches towards Rome, the number of defiles which they had to paſs, and the improbability of procuring ſupplies for ſo large an army, dictated the impolicy of an offenſive war on the part of Otho. Had he only poſſeſſed thoſe defiles, which a ſmall part of his forces would have enabled him to do, it would have been in his power, whenever he pleaſed, to haraſs the troops of Vitellius by frequent ſkirmiſhes

miſhes and occaſional attacks. By ſuch a management, their army would have been conſumed through famine and fatigue; and his peaceable poſſeſſion of the government muſt have been eſtabliſhed beyond a probability of future diſturbance, without ſtriking a blow.

ACCORDING to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times, hiſtorians inform us, that he too much diſregarded the punctilios of certain ceremonies, which, at the period of this expedition, preſaged unfavourably. The inundation of the Tiber alſo interrupted him as ſoon as he was gone from Rome; and when he came to the diſtance of twenty miles from the city, he found the roads were totally blocked up, by the ruins of ſome buildings which had tumbled down. All theſe, and many other circumſtances, of a nature equally diſagreeable and unpromiſing, did not contribute to check his precipitation; for if he had even ſtopped here, the cauſe of his opponents muſt inevitably have been ruined.

WE are told that the generals, Valens and Cecinna, acted treacherouſly on this occaſion; who, after propoſals of accommodation had been made and accepted, charged his forces at unawares, under a pretence of approaching to ſalute him, and put them to the rout.

BY this defeat the fate of the empire was determined. For though, from the former ſucceſſes of Otho, he had ſufficient encouragement, by prudent management, to hope for better fortune, he gave himſelf up to a ſort of deſperation; and reſolved upon an attempt, not very conſiſtent with his ſoft and effeminate diſpoſition. Nor could all the arguments or intreaties of thoſe around him, prevail with him to lay aſide ſuch a haſty reſolution; but determining to die to ſpare the blood of his countrymen, he effected it with the moſt aſtoniſhing calmneſs and tranquility; and at the ſame time expreſſed ſuch a tender and humane regard for his ſoldiers, that many of them killed themſelves around his funeral pile.

IT is aſtoniſhing to any reflecting mind, in the preſent times, how he could ſo eaſily give up his hopes. He had witneſſed the fidelity of the Prætorian ſoldiers, and had in his army many freſh troops which had not been engaged; others would have poured in from Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Myſia, nor were thoſe who had been routed in ſo bad a condition, that they would not eagerly have graſped the opportunity of effacing their diſgrace, and revenging the fraud and perfidy of their enemies. But by that fatality, which the ſpirit of the times alone can account for, was this extraordinary revolution effected, after a ſhort reign of three months and five days.

HIS

His utter averſion to the idea of civil war is alſo tranſmitted to us by Suetonius, on the authority of his own father, who was, at that time, tribune of the thirteenth legion, which marched out with Otho on this occaſion. Whilſt he was only a private perſon, an accidental converſation about Brutus and Caſſius, threw him into a ſtate of horror and conſternation; and it was firmly believed, notwithſtanding the motives which already have been mentioned, that he never would have thought of diſpoſſeſſing Galba, if the conſequences of war had ever poſſeſſed his mind.

CHAP. XXXI.

VITELLIUS, *the Eighth* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 821. A. D. 69.]

VITELLIUS was not yet arrived from Gaul, when his generals, with the miſconduct and cowardice of Otho, effected this extraordinary revolution. He was now 56 years of age, being about 23 when his father Lucius Vitellius was made governor of Syria, by the appointment of Tiberius; which government he held about four years, and was ſucceeded by Petronius, by order of Caligula. He had alſo been honoured with three conſulſhips, and was appointed regent during the abſence of Claudius in Britain; though he was not diſtinguiſhed for the nobility of his family, ſo much as by his actions.

ON the ſubject of his origin, however, there are various opinions; for while ſome related, according to Suetonius, that he was of a very noble and very ancient family, others maintained that he was of a novel, low, and diſhonourable extraction. But he ſuppoſes that theſe extreams originated, on one hand, in flattery, and on the other, in diſappointment and calumny.

WHEN this general arrived in Italy from Gaul, and had proceeded as far as Bedriacum, where his officers had met with ſo ſignal ſucceſs, he ſurveyed with pleaſure the putrified bodies of men and animals which were ſcattered around. The ſtench

ſtench was ſo intolerable, that many of his attendants complained greatly; to whoſe remarks he replied with much inhumanity and impiety, That "a dead enemy ſmells well, but "a dead citizen better."

OF all perſons imaginable, there was the leaſt proſpect of any good from Vitellius. The prognoſtications, which were made by the aſtrologers at his birth, being extremely unfavourable, he was ſedulouſly reſtrained, during the life of his father, from exerciſing any employment whatever. He paſſed his infancy and the flower of his youth at Caprea, amongſt perſons of the loweſt and moſt contemptible deſcription, who were ſubſervient to the pleaſures of Tiberius; where he acquired a very bad character. His vices alſo increaſed with his age; and his debaucheries were ſo natural and eaſy, that no other courſe of life was agreeable to him. By his ſkill in charioteering, he became a deſirable favourite of Caligula, as he was afterwards of Claudius, by his ſkill in the games. The ſame qualities recommended him to Nero; but he was more particularly ſerviceable to him in frequently preſiding at the games of this emperor.

BY his obſequiouſneſs and qualifications to flatter the predominant vices and foibles of theſe princes, he was advanced to the higheſt offices in the ſtate. He was appointed proconſul of Africa, and had the care of the public works. For the ſpace of two years, indeed, he conducted himſelf in the province with much integrity. He was afterwards ſent, by Galba, into lower Germany againſt the opinion of every one, which was attributed to the influence of Vinius, whom we have before mentioned; though it is doubtful whether it was not deſigned as an act of contempt rather than of favour, to afford him the means of gluttony, by which he had ruined himſelf at Rome. His creditors, who flocked in crouds around him, occaſioned him much difficulty to effect his departure; and he was obliged to leave his family in hired lodgings, and to depoſit ſome jewels as ſecurity for payment.

THESE difficulties being overcome, when he arrived in the province he found that the ſoldiers were not very affectionate to their emperor, and had an anxious deſire to ſtir up ſome new troubles. Here he was received with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy, as the ſon of a man who had been three times conſul; conſidering it as an act of the gods, for which they could not be ſufficiently thankful.

HE was no ſooner entered into the camp, than he endeavoured to ſecure their good-will, by acceding to the ſeveral requeſts which were made to him, and granting a general pardon

pardon for all paſt offences; ſo that he had ſcarcely been there a month before they came one evening, unſeaſonable as it was, into his chamber ſuddenly, where they took him up and immediately ſaluted him emperor. They now carried him through the principal ſtreets; but before his return to his apartment, fire was prepared in the chimney, at which his attendants were alarmed, as a bad preſage of the conſequences, which he overruled in theſe words, "Have courage, my "friends, this flame is only to ſhine upon us." They now conferred upon him the ſurname of Germanicus, which he accepted with much pleaſure; but refuſed to take the name of Cæſar.

WHEN he had heard of Galba's murder, he ſet the affairs of the province in order, and divided the forces under his command; of which he ſent forward one part againſt thoſe of Otho, who had uſurped the empire, and the other remained under his own command. We are informed that many very propitious circumſtances preſaged ſucceſs to the army of his generals, particularly the flight of an eagle round the ſtandards, which alſo went before them in their march. On the contrary, it happened that every thing reſpecting the march of his own army, had a very unfavourable aſpect; for his laurel crown, for which he had a religious veneration, fell from his head into the river, and when he was adminiſtering juſtice ſome time after at Vienna, a cock came and pitched upon his ſhoulder whilſt he was upon his tribunal, and afterwards on his head. To theſe preſages the reſpective events correſponded; for his generals were ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing his empire, but he was not fortunate enough to keep it.

We are ſufficiently informed, by ancient authors, that his march towards Italy, was ridiculous and abſurd; that he drank wine without reſtraint, and in the moſt public manner, in profuſion, and greatly debaſed himſelf by familiarity with the ſoldiers, and other mean and degrading actions. His ſaying on his arrival at Bebriacum has been already mentioned, and he conducted himſelf with equal abſurdity in the other parts of his progreſs.

HIS entry into Rome was vain and pompous. It had more the appearance of a military triumph than of a proceſſion to take peaceable poſſeſſion of an empire. His ſword was diſplayed amongſt the military enſigns; his officers were arrayed in the dreſs and habiliments of war; and his ſoldiers paraded with the airs of a conquering army. Civil and divine rights were equally diſregarded; he declared, by an edict, that magiſtrates ſhould be elected but once in ten years, ſeized upon the office of ſovereign pontiff, and made himſelf perpetual conſul.

conſul. It was a ſufficient indication of the method in which he propoſed to govern, that he ſacrificed publicly to the manes of Nero in the midſt of the Field of Mars, and in a general aſſembly of prieſts; that he afterwards, at a ſolemn feſtival, demonſtrated his pleaſure as a player on the harp, and other actions inconſiſtent with his dignity.

LITTLE elſe could indeed be expected from thoſe who principally directed his affairs. Puppet-players or mountebanks, charioteers, and perſons of the baſeſt condition, were his chief adviſers. Amongſt the foremoſt of theſe was his freed-man, Aſiaticus; whom he ſeemed to ſport with, by changing his condition from a ſlave to a citizen, and from a citizen to a ſlave, as the caprice or humour of the maſter dictated.

THE inſolencies and outrages, in the commiſſion of which he encouraged his ſoldiers on their arrival at Rome, were only equalled by his own luxury, gluttony, and cruelty. We may judge of the firſt by his waſting more than ſeven millions Engliſh money in about four months time, in the purſuit of his pleaſures and enjoyments, which were the only things in which he concerned himſelf. Beſides this, he ruined entirely many cities and conſiderable families, whoſe only means of recommendation to his favour conſiſted in profuſe banquets, and magnificent entertainments; in which he was ſo oppreſſive and injurious, that he would often invite himſelf to the tables of his ſubjects, ſo as to breakfaſt with one, dine with another, and ſup with a third, on the ſame day.

IMMEDIATELY on his arrival at Rome, to aſſume the command of the empire, his brother made him a moſt ſumptuous feaſt, conſiſting of a ſupper, at which were ſerved up two thouſand fiſhes of the moſt exquiſite kinds, and ſeven thouſand birds; not to mention many other inſtances of the profuſion and extravagance which he occaſioned to others, or in which he habituated himſelf.

OF his cruelty, the moſt intolerable inſtances have been tranſmitted to us. His former creditors, who had ſtrongly oppoſed his departure from Rome, when he went to the army, were in a very uncomfortable ſituation; who, as well as thoſe farmers, who had exacted their dues in the countries through which he paſſed, felt the weight of his avenging hand. He cauſed one of them, merely for coming to ſalute him, to die before his face, ſaying, "that he wiſhed to feaſt his eyes." When another had been condemned to death, the interceſſion of his two children involved them in the puniſhment of their father. When a Roman knight had aſſured him, that his inheritance was by will to come to this emperor, he compelled the

the unhappy man to produce that will; and when he had found that the teſtator's freeman was to be co-heir, he ordered that both their throats ſhould be cut. He puniſhed all aſtrologers and diviners, on the very firſt information, with death; that they might be deterred from interpreting any unfavourable auguries, or predicting any calamitous events; becauſe they had had the hardineſs to declare, "That his "reign ſhould not continue a year." And after he had publiſhed his edict for baniſhing them before the firſt day of January, they cauſed a writing to be ſet up in the forum, in theſe words; "We, in the name of the ancient Chaldeans, give warning to VITELLIUS, the emperor, to depart the world before that day." But he cauſed the death of his own mother, on the report of one of them, "That he would reign a long time in ſecurity, if he ſurvived her."

To ſuch a ſtrange careleſſneſs and ſtupidity did he ſurrender himſelf, that nothing but theſe and many ſimilar horrid cruelties could put him in mind of his exalted ſtate. Againſt all dangers and exigencies he fortified himſelf, ſo as almoſt to loſe the remembrance of things paſt, and the thought of things to come. The very diſcourſe of war was ſtrictly forbidden in the city; and no mention of it was ever made in his preſence.

HAVING thus made himſelf odious, both to the city and country, the armies of Mæſia and Pannonia revolt againſt him in the eighth month of his empire; whoſe example is followed by thoſe of Judæa and Samaria, who declare for their commander Veſpaſian, one part of whom take the oath of allegiance in his preſence, and the other in his abſence.

WE ſhall here take notice of the tranſactions in Judæa, as they are connected with the civil hiſtory of the empire. The revolt of the Jews, which has been formerly noticed, and which might at firſt have been eaſily ſuppreſſed by Florus, had riſen to a very alarming height. It was now time to think ſeriouſly of checking thoſe enormities, of which the Jews, partly from oppreſſion, but more from oppoſition, had been guilty. In theſe inſurrections many Romans had been killed, and much havock and deſtruction had enſued; whilſt, on the contrary, at the inſtigation of Florus, 20,000 Jews were cruelly maſſacred at Cæſarea in one day.

FROM this time nothing but carnage and devaſtation were ſeen in all the villages of Syria as well as the neighbouring cities; whoſe inhabitants, on the other hand, made terrible maſſacres of the reſident Jews, which was now become neceſſary as a prudent ſecurity, and to which they were ſufficiently diſpoſed from old reſentment. Thus was the whole country

country of Syria expoſed to the ravages of contending armies, and in a condition truly deplorable; when ſafety conſiſted only in effuſion of blood, the days being ſpent in ſlaughter, and the nights in apprehenſions and fears, which were even worſe than death. At Alexandria in Egypt were ſlain in one day 50,000 Jews, who had raiſed a ſedition in that city, by two Roman legions. To the general revolt we ought, indeed, to except the cities of Antioch and Sidon, with the inhabitants of Apamea, who from policy or mercy permitted the Jews to reſide quietly among them.

BUT Ceſtius Gallus, then governor of Syria, aſſembled a powerful army to quell the inſurgents, with the utmoſt expedition. He then invaded Judæa and Galilee, and burned both Zabulon and Joppa in his march. In the latter place he deſtroyed more than 8,000 Jews; and, after he had conſumed Lydda, he marched directly towards Jeruſalem, and after a powerful oppoſition, from the vaſt numbers of Jews which were then aſſembled at the feaſt of tabernacles, on receiving a reinforcement of freſh troops, broke into the city with his forces, and was ſoon maſter of the lower city.

WITHOUT any ſeeming or obvious reaſon, though the governor might ſpeedily have poſſeſſed the temple and the upper city, he retreated from Jeruſalem; on which the Jews were induced to purſue him, and not only deſtroyed above 6000 Romans, but took the greateſt part of their baggage and ammunition, with their engines, ſlings, and other arms. Theſe proved a dreadful means of defence afterwards, when they were cloſely beſieged by the Roman forces under Titus. It was with much difficulty that the Romans, even with ſuffering ſuch a loſs, could effect their retreat to Antipatris, and from thence to Cæſarea, which was ſo diſhonourable and diſadvantageous.

THE Jews, who were elevated with theſe ſucceſſes, created new governors on their return to Jeruſalem; one of whom was Ananus, ſome time high prieſt, and diſpatched other commanders into the different provinces and governments. At this time was Joſephus, the famous hiſtorian, ſent into Galilee; where he ſtrengthened and fortified many towns, and collected more than 60,000 men, with which force he waited for the coming of the Romans. He fruſtrated all the deſigns of his internal enemies by good policy and management. Nor was Ananus leſs active in repairing the walls of Jeruſalem, ordering the making all kinds of arms and warlike inſtruments, and very diligently preparing all things neceſſary for war.

THE bad poſture of affairs in Judæa was communicated to the emperor by Ceſtius, as ſoon as he found himſelf in ſafety;

and he attributed much of the cauſe of it to the conduct of Florus. Both were in conſequence recalled from their ſeveral governments; and Veſpaſian, though of mean birth and family, was the only perſon thought capable of ſucceeding Florus in the government of Judæa at the preſent criſis, when Mutianus was alſo ſent into Syria to ſuperſede Ceſtus.

VESPASIAN haſtened to paſs into Aſia, and proceeded as far as Syria and Antioch. Here he collected all the Roman forces and auxiliaries in thoſe parts, and ſoon recovered Sephoris, which was ſeated on a mountain, not far from Nazareth, and was favourable to the Roman government. At this place his ſon Titus joined him from Alexandria with two legions and other auxiliaries; by which junction he had a well-appointed army of 60,000 men, beſides baggage and attendants. Marching with this powerful force to the borders of the province of Galilee, he formed a camp; and by thus bringing his army within ſight of the Jews, he hoped to terrify them into ſubmiſſion and obedience. Convinced that they were determined upon all poſſible reſiſtance, he ſtormed the town of Gadara, and put all the Jews to the ſword. Jotopata, where Joſephus commanded in perſon, held out againſt a cloſe ſiege for forty days; which at laſt was ſtormed, and 40,000 Jews periſhed, and this intrepid commander made a priſoner, who declared in confidence of Veſpaſian, their general, "that he would free him from captivity, but not until "he was emperor himſelf." After the labours of ſuch a ſiege, the legions were refreſhed and the general entertained at Cæſarea Philippi; from whence he proceeded and took Tiberias and Tarichea, on the ſea of Galilee, but ſpared the former, at the interceſſion of Agrippa, whilſt he deſtroyed the latter, which had been taken by force, cut great numbers to pieces, and ſold above 30,000 for ſlaves. Before the end of that year the whole province of Galilee was ſubdued, and thoſe places which perſevered in oppoſition to the Roman arms became the ſeats of blood and carnage.

VESPASIAN, hearing of the death of Nero and the ſucceſſion of Galba, deferred his deſigned enterprize againſt Jeruſalem, till he ſhould be informed of the emperor's pleaſure. For this purpoſe he diſpatched his ſon Titus to Rome, who was ſo long delayed by contrary winds, that on his arrival in Greece he was acquainted likewiſe with the fate of Galba, and the advancement of Otho. This intelligence occaſioned his return to Judæa. In the civil conteſts between Otho and Vitellius, Veſpaſian remained neuter, though he acknowledged Otho as emperor, till his overthrow at Bebriacum. But the ſucceſs of Vitellius was no way pleaſing to any of the commanders

manders in the Eaſt; and in ſwearing allegiance to the new emperor, it was done with the utmoſt imaginable gloom and heavineſs.

THE war in Judæa was now renewed with the greateſt ſame and honour by Veſpaſian. He accordingly reſolved to beſiege Jeruſalem itſelf. But while he was making preparations for this purpoſe, the murmurings and diſcontents increaſed in his army againſt the new emperor; thoſe of Syria and Egypt alſo were equally diſſatisfied, as well as the other legions of the Eaſt. They alſo received intelligence about the ſame time, that the legions of Mæſia and Pannonia had entered into the ſame reſolution as themſelves, of diſallowing Vitellius, and of proclaiming Veſpaſian; for every one fixed their eyes upon him, whom they conſidered as moſt worthy of the ſovereign authority, and beſt enabled to terminate the miſeries of his country. Several letters and meſſages paſſed between Alexander, the governor of Egypt, and Mutianus the governor of Syria; who were both reſolved that Veſpaſian ſhould be emperor, though he might ſtrenuouſly refuſe it. Alexander, therefore, proclaimed him emperor on the firſt day of July; and his own army in Judæa did the ſame two days after, notwithſtanding his abſolute refuſal of the honour, and, with their drawn ſwords, compelled him to accept the empire, threatening immediate death if he did not accede to their wiſhes. He now conſented; and a council of war was ſoon after called, at which he was attended by theſe two governors and his ſon Titus. It was now determined, that Titus ſhould continue the war againſt the Jews, that Mutianus ſhould proceed to Italy with the greateſt part of the legions, and that Veſpaſian himſelf ſhould go to Alexandria, and make proviſion for all parts; from whence he was to join Mutianus, if neceſſity required, as ſoon as he had there finiſhed his buſineſs. The emperor was not unmindful of his famous priſoner, Joſephus, whoſe valour he publicly applauded, with a grateful acknowledgment of the predictions he had delivered reſpecting this unexpected advancement; and ordered his chains to be broken in pieces.

BEFORE Mutianus could arrive in Italy, Antonius Primus, who commanded the Mæſian legions, a friend of Veſpaſian, had marched thither with all his forces againſt the followers of Vitellius under Cæcinna; whom he routed entirely in one battle, and marched directly towards the city of Rome. Vitellius was extremely ſtartled at the intelligence of this defeat; and was ſo irreſolute and wavering, that he made himſelf ridiculous and deſpicable. We cannot detail his conduct on this occaſion, which gives ſuch abundant proof of a behaviour

ſo unworthy, and contemptible in an emperor; but a civil commotion enſued in the city, wherein the capitol itſelf was beſieged and laid in aſhes, and Sabinus the governor ſlain. Though Vitellius had before offered to treat for his ſurrendering the empire, Antonius would now hearken to no terms. When he approached the walls of Rome, he made a vigorous attack on the city on three ſides; but the forces of Vitellius ſallied out, and a furious battle of long continuance enſued. At laſt they were driven within the city, and purſued through the Campus Martius and all the ſtreets with a terrible ſlaughter.

IT added greatly to the horror of the ſcene, that the people were now celebrating their Saturnalia; who, in the midſt of theſe devaſtations, determined to enjoy the pleaſures of the feſtival, converting this moſt dreadful calamity into mirth and jollity, and preſerving a reliſh for every vicious exceſs in their extremeſt miſeries. The moſt heterogeneous mixture of cruelty and lewdneſs, of barbarity and debauchery, was every where conſpicuous. In one place there was nothing but wounding and killing, in another nothing but tippling and bathing. Here you might behold piles of mangled bodies and currents of blood; there you would ſee the moſt ſhameleſs proſtitutes and the moſt abominable obſcenities. To the moſt ſcandalous licentiouſnrſs of the moſt diſſolute peace were contraſted in one view all the deplorable calamities of the moſt cruel and horrible captivity. In this awful manner was this opulent city, the moſt magnificent in the known world, of which it was the head and fountain, taken and ravaged by her own ſubjects.

As this was of fatal conſequence to many thouſand people, who were neceſſarily involved in this heavy viſitation, it determined alſo the fate of this emperor. By his wavering conduct and ſhifting about from place to place, he found himſelf deſerted by all his domeſtics and guards; when he took a girdle, filled with pieces of gold, and concealed himſelf in the lodge of a porter, where he was diſcovered and drawn from his covert. Finding, however, that the ſoldiers did not know him, he was on the point of eſcaping by means of a falſhood; but being recollected, he craved his life till Veſpaſian's arrival, to whom he pretended he had ſomething of importance to communicate, and begged that he might be ſecured in priſon, if they thought good, till that opportunity occurred. But all intreaties were vain and uſeleſs; for they immediately faſtened his hands behind him, and threw an halter about his neck, with which, after tearing his clothes, they dragged him along half-naked, through the VIA SACRA, or principal ſtreet,

ſtreet, with every other indignity which was offered to the moſt notorious malefactors. At the cuſtomary place of execution of the moſt notorious criminals, he was diſpatched with many wounds; from whence he was ignominiouſly dragged with a hook, and thrown into the Tiber, after a ſhort, but ſhocking reign of eight months and five days. His brother and ſon were alſo martyrs to his deteſtable conduct, and ſuffered in conſequence of his enormous crimes; by which, and by his own diſgraceful end, he too ſadly verified his mother's fears and apprehenſions, who bitterly wept and bewailed his misfortune of being ſent to the army, as if ſhe foreboded the conſequence of ſuch advancement.

CHAP. XXXII.

VESPASIAN, *the Ninth* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 821. A. D. 69.]

THE ſteps by which Veſpaſian arrived to his preſent dignity have been particularly ſtated; as they lead to a very important period in the Roman Hiſtory, and equally relate to that ſerious and awful cataſtrophe of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, which is a very diſtinguiſhed feature in this reign. At the time when the victory was completed in the death of Vitellius, which confirmed him in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the empire, to which he had been deſigned near ſix months before, he was not removed from Alexandria.

IT could not be expected that the dreadful ravages of ſuch a ſcene could be abated inſtantly; but, as ſoon as the general could in ſome degree reduce the army and people into order, the Roman ſenate aſſembled, and Veſpaſian was immediately and unanimouſly declared emperor. They were not content with this only, but they gave his two ſons the titles of Cæſar; and alſo nominated Titus to be conſul with his father, for the year which was now commencing, and Domitian was appointed prætor, with conſular power. Many perſons were rewarded with great revenues and dignity, and in particular Mutianus

Mutianus and Antony, who had been inſtrumental in effecting ſo happy an eſtabliſhment. Couriers were afterwards diſpatched without delay to inform Veſpaſian of what had paſſed; with a deputation of formal obedience to him, and a requeſt that he would ſpeedily return to Rome.

WHEN he left that city, he committed the command of the forces in the eaſt to his ſon Titus, as had been agreed on in the council, wherewith he was to proſecute the war againſt the Jews; and in his journey towards Rome he was met many miles by the ſenate and near half its inhabitants, to welcome his approach, and to teſtify their approbation of an emperor of ſuch great and experienced virtues. In ſuch an expectation they were not diſappointed; for he was equally attentive to the reward of merit, and to the forgiveneſs of enemies, as he was to reform the depraved manners of the citizens, and to exhibit his own good example for their imitation.

IT has been obſerved already, that Veſpaſian was not of a noble family: but he was greatly in favour with Caligula, as he was alſo in the ſubſequent reign, in which, after a march into Germany, as the general of an army, he was ordered into Great-Britain, where he performed many gallant actions. He fought three general battles, and ſubdued two powerful nations; by which twenty principal cities and towns came under the dominion of the Romans, with the Iſle of Wight, upon its confines in the ſouth.

HAVING incurred the diſpleaſure of Nero, by inattention to his degrading exerciſes, he was ſufficiently fortunate to retire from public view; by which means he happily eſcaped the effects of his reſentment. With ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment he received the direction of this emperor, to take the government of the province of Judæa, as we have already noticed, in conſequence of the unaccountable conduct of his predeceſſor. By this providential intermiſſion, which co-operated with many revelations from heaven, the Chriſtians were enabled to retire from the city, and to retreat to Pella, a few miles eaſt of the ſea of Galilee; whereby they eſcaped the dreadful evils which afterwards befel the Jews.

MANY had been the favourable auſpices with which Veſpaſian had been encouraged to hope for the empire. But he little attended to theſe monitions, until the diſpute between Otho and Vitellius had commenced. He was then confirmed in the idea of ſucceeding to it, by many circumſtances; though at laſt he did not accept of the declaration in his favour without the utmoſt neceſſity. In ſuch an age of augury, we may be allowed to repeat a few inſtances in ſo extraordinary a caſe. He had three children by his wife, who was a daughter of

Flavius

Flavius Liberalis, regiſter of the finances, who had been declared a freeman in a regular way. At the birth of a daughter, who was born before the ſons, a ſacred oak ſuddenly ſhot forth a branch from its trunk, which was very ſmall and ſoon became dry; to which the ſhortneſs of her life, which was ſcarce a year, exactly correſponded. When Titus, his elder ſon, was born, it ſhot out a large and ſtrong branch, from whence a preſage of great happineſs was immediately drawn. Domitian, another ſon, was afterwards borne by her in due courſe of time, when a third was obſerved which was large as a tree, and predicted a certainty that he ſhould be Cæſar. To paſs by numerous records of this nature, the cypreſs tree ſhall only be mentioned, which ſtood alſo on a part of the inheritance of his anceſtors, and was miraculouſly torn up by the roots without any tempeſt; and on the following day recovered and appeared more verdant and lively than ever. It is needleſs to repeat the prediction of Joſephus to the ſame purpoſe.

THOUGH the Jews, by theſe revolutions in the empire, had ſome relaxation from the effects of the war; they had little reſpite from one another, through their internal factions and diſſenſions. Nothing but robbery, pillages, and murders were heard of in all parts; till, by increaſing in numbers, they committed ſuch ravages and cruelties, as at leaſt equalled all the miſeries and calamities which they had received from the Roman armies. Nor was Jeruſalem itſelf exempt from the effects of ſuch violent outrages againſt ſociety; for theſe banditti, after loading themſelves with plunder and rapine, forcibly entered the city, and conſumed the proviſions of the people, which they alſo filled with ſlaughter and diſſenſion. Indeed there was no place in Judæa, which did not then ſuffer in an unheard of manner; for ſuch as were without the city had no reſtraint from robbery and pillage, and thoſe whoſe towns were deſtroyed by ſuch means aſſembled together, and in powerful force broke into other temples and towns.

ONE of the two principal factions which diſtracted the province of Judæa during the ſuſpenſion of arms, occaſioned as we have already related, was headed by one John, who had fled into the city from his government of Giſcala, when he pretended to capitulate with Titus the preceding year; the other by one Simon, a bold and intrepid man, having collected a great multitude of theſe robbers and murderers, who had maintained their ground in the mountainous parts, and whoſe increaſing ſtrength enabled them to attack and reduce many cities and towns, which they continued with ſo much ſucceſs as actually to approach and inveſt Jeruſalem itſelf with all his

forces. Beſides theſe, a ſet of zealots had privately admitted 20,000 Idumæans into the city, under pretence of aſſiſtance, who miſerably haraſſed the inhabitants, ſo that 8000 citizens were maſſacred the firſt night, beſides a vaſt number of the meaner ſort, and on another occaſion, 12,000 of ſuperior rank ſhared the ſame fate. Ananus, the high-prieſt, who had condemned James the Apoſtle, was of this number.

AT the time that Simon was ravaging Idumæa and Judæa, their countrymen were oppoſing the cruelties of John, the commander of the Zealots; and, killing many of his men, and burning down his palace, they forced him to take refuge in the temple. To prevent the effects of his revengeful temper, the citizens, as if their preſent evils were not ſufficiently weighty, agreed to admit Simon with his army of banditti. Eleazar, about this time, who had before headed the Zealots, envied John's authority, and drew over to himſelf many of his ſoldiers, who ſeized on the inward parts of the temple. By theſe contentions among the different factions, the temple and altar were abominably polluted with blood, the proviſions of many years were deſtroyed, and the famine, which ſpeedily overtook them on the return of Titus to the ſiege, was by theſe inteſtine commotions occaſioned.

FROM the nature and appointment of the army, which now came againſt them, they might reaſonably conclude that the Roman general was in earneſt. He was accompained by Alexander, governor of Egypt, Agrippa, and Sohemus; and Joſephus himſelf relates that he was in this army, by which means he was qualified to relate, in the moſt affecting manner, the miſerable deſtruction and havock of his countrymen.

NOTWITHSTANDING the approach, and encampment of Titus and the provincial armies before Jeruſalem, in the beginning of April which ſucceeded Veſpaſian's acceſſion to the empire; though the three unnatural factions in the city agreed unanimouſly to join and oppoſe the Roman army, their private reſentments flamed forth with its former vigour, whenever that army was in a ſituation which freed them from immediate danger. At the firſt approach, they ſallied forth, indeed, with aſtoniſhing fury and reſolution, by which they created confuſion and diſorder among the Romans, and obliged them to forſake their camp and flee to the mountains. But Titus, to whom a repulſe of this nature was not a concluſive proof of valour, ſoon returned to renew his attack, and, after many ſignal actions, drove their whole body into the city.

As this was the ſeaſon for celebrating the paſſover, great multitudes of people were then aſſembled. Added to their

other

other cauſes of ſcarcity and diſtreſs, this was another ſource of calamity to the inhabitants, and the period of famine was proportionably haſtened. By the ſurrounding army, all their external ſupplies were cut off, and the mad rage of faction had deſtroyed their internal ſtock. In a ſhort time, therefore, this ſcourge of war began to be manifeſt amongſt the lower orders of people; and very ſoon after the higher claſſes were not wholly exempt from it.

BUT many difficulties attended the ſiege, which called forth all the ſkill and experience of Titus, to combat. The city was ſtrongly fortified by three walls, on every part where it was acceſſible, in demoliſhing which his utmoſt abilities and powers were required; but when, though with conſtant oppoſition, he had placed his engines or battering rams againſt the outer wall, he broke through in about a month from his firſt approaches, and by this means poſſeſſed the north part of the city to the caſtle of Antonia and the vale of Cedron. Five days after he broke through the ſecond wall, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the new lower city; from whence, by vigorous ſallies of the beſieged, he was repulſed, but in four days more effected this buſineſs. Proceeding immediately to raiſe mounts, and to erect his engines for poſſeſſing himſelf of the temple and upper city; they were totally deſtroyed, together with the engines, after the labour of ſeventeen days, by different ſallies from the city, in which much courage and intrepidity were diſplayed. Titus now determined in a council of war, to ſurround the whole city by a wall or intrenchment, which would not only prevent the flight of the beſieged, but intercept all relief that might approach the city. This incredible work was finiſhed in three days, though it was 39 furlongs, or near five miles in compaſs; and yet the factious were as reſolute as ever, though the famine was begun to afflict the ſoldiers.

When Titus had poſſeſſed himſelf of the north part of the city, he wiſhed, by every act of clemency and commiſeration, to convince them, that they ſhould not only be pardoned, but experience the utmoſt indulgence, if they would ſubmit. But this was attributed to cowardice and timidity; and all conditions whatever were rejected. And again, when he had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the lower city, he was anxious to ſpare them and to ſave the temple, and particularly ſent their countryman, Joſephus, to prevail upon them to ſubmit, by his exhortation from their walls; yet all his pathetical intreaties and perſuaſions were thrown away, and ſcoffs, reproaches, and inſults were the rewards of his humanity. He now determined to exerciſe his utmoſt force againſt this obſtinate and rebellious people; and, to add to the calamity, the leaders of the

factions had given orders to prevent the citizens from eſcaping, which they were now determined upon, by guarding and ſecuring all the avenues.

AFTER this, about three weeks more were employed in erecting new mounts, the materials of which were procured at the diſtance of 90 furlongs. Theſe were again attacked from within, but this attempt was unſucceſsful. In the beginning of July the ram was brought to the wall of Antonia, and a breach was made on the fifth of that month, through which the Romans broke into the caſtle, and purſued the flying Jews to the temple.

WE cannot detail the particular circumſtances, by which the total overthrow of the city and temple were effected. Every effort and endeavour to ſave them, eſpecially the latter, was in vain. The determined obſtinacy and deluſion, under which they were influenced, were ſuch as no hiſtory can afford their parallel. Of the effects of the famine and conſequent mortality, the following is recorded as a ſmall ſpecimen. From the 14th of April to the firſt of July, more than one hundred and fifteen thouſand of the poorer ſort were carried out of the city, to be buried at the public charge; above 600,000 of the ordinary rank were caſt dead out of the gates, and others who died were innumerable; and when the deaths increaſed ſo faſt, that they were not able to bury the bodies, they ſhut them up in the largeſt houſes. Six hundred crowns were given for a buſhel of corn; and the kennels were continually raked to find the dung, &c. of oxen, to ſatisfy their hunger; wives took the meat from their huſbands mouths, children from their parents, and mothers from their infants; old men were driven from their meat as uſeleſs, and young ones were tortured to confeſs where their proviſions were concealed; and all ſuffered in a manner totally unheard of in hiſtory.

IN this memorable and uncommon ſiege, the captives amounted to 97,000, and thoſe who periſhed in it to 1,100,000. Beſides theſe, 237,490 fell in the Jewiſh wars; all together making the aſtoniſhing number of 1,337,490. They were hereby wholly extirpated as a nation, after a continuance of more than 1100 years under the immediate protection of Heaven; and thus they received the puniſhment of their tranſgreſſions, for the numerous offences which they had committed, and eſpecially for that of killing the Lord of Life and Glory, when they daringly imprecated the wrath of Heaven upon themſelves and their poſterity for the heinous crime. And when, after almoſt a ſix months ſiege, the whole city came into the hands of the Romans, Titus commanded,

as an indelible mark of its total deſtruction, that both that and the temple ſhould be entirely raſed by cauſing a plough to be brought over it; ſo that literally an expreſſion of the prediction was fulfilled in leſs than forty years, "That not one "ſtone ſhould remain upon another." Yet, to bear teſtimony to the ſtateline ſs of the city, as well as its ſtrength and beauty to poſterity, the weſt part of the wall, with three towers, were ſuffered to remain.

SUCH was the hardened and obſtinate manner, in which this devoted people haſtened their deſtruction; the memory of which ought to be impreſſed on every mind, as a diſtinguiſhed period in the hiſtory of their conquerors, as well as their own. From this awful ſcene, Titus withdrew himſelf to Cæſarea, where he paſſed the winter; nearly about the ſame time that Veſpaſian left Alexandria to go to Rome. After viſiting Berytus and Antioch, Titus returned by way of Alexandria to return thither alſo; and as he took Jeruſalem in his way, he could not refrain from lamenting the loſs of ſo noble a city, and brooding over the ruins, and that ſuch a calamity ſhould be the means of tranſmitting his name to poſterity.

THOUGH Veſpaſian had a great averſion to pomp and ceremony, yet a triumph was decreed by the ſenate both to himſelf and his ſon Titus; to the former for having ſo ſucceſsfully managed the beginning of the Jewiſh expedition, and to the latter for having ſo effectually completed it. This was ſolemnized ſpeedily after the ſon's arrival at Rome, in praiſe of whom the whole city re-echoed for his valour, ſkill, and intrepidity. The ſpectacles diſplayed upon this occaſion were as magnificent and ſolemn as any which had been known, and for number and variety were as admirable as human invention could deviſe; for whatever was eſteemed valuable or beautiful, was that day expoſed by perſons of the greateſt opulence. The ſpoils of the temple, which were almoſt incredible, were followed by the body of the Jewiſh law, which cloſed this part of the glorious proceſſion; and Simon, of whom mention has been already made, who had been dragged from his concealment in a vault, and reſerved for this purpoſe, was ignominiouſly drawn along with a rope about his neck, and afterwards ſlain. John, who had fled from Giſcala, where he was governor, was alſo diſcovered in a ſimilar condition, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment. To the honour of Titus a triumphal arch was erected, of extraordinary beauty and workmanſhip; on which his noble exploits againſt the Jews were deſcribed, as a laſting monument of the perverſeneſs and obſtinacy of that people.

MANY kingdoms were, about this time, reduced into the form of Roman provinces; amongſt whom are reckoned Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Lamos, with Thrace, Cilicia, and Comagena. Legions were alſo ſent into Cappadocia to prevent the incurſions of Barbarians; where a conſular government was, at this time, eſtabliſhed.

SOME of thoſe ſtates and provinces which had already acknowledged their allegiance to Rome, were in much confuſion and diſorder, and the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers was extremely depraved; but, by a neceſſary ſtroke of policy in puniſhing the Vitellians, aud rewarding his own ſoldiers, whom he had brought into diſcipline, as well as for their valour, he appeaſed all diſturbances in every part.

AFTER theſe public concerns were ſettled, he applied himſelf to regulate the internal diſorders of the city, and to form a ſettled government. He began by a reform of the two orders of ſenators and knights, who, in the late perilous and corrupt times, had been ſtrangely degenerated; the moſt unworthy of which he removed, and replaced them with perſons of integrity and honeſty in different parts of Italy and the provinces. A mode for the more ſpeedy termination of differences before the Judges was likewiſe put in practice; and as the morals of the citizens alſo were groſsly corrupted, he procured an arret of the ſenate to condemn to the condition of ſlavery any woman who ſhould proſtitute herſelf to the ſlave of another. To reform the corruption of uſurers, he ordered, that no money ſhould be recoverable from young heirs, if it was lent to be repaid with advantage on their fathers' deceaſe. Upon all occaſions, indeed, he was very ſevere in the puniſhment of vice and lewdneſs.

HIS love of virtue and goodneſs were manifeſted in various reſpects. If he found any ſenators of good reputation, but in low circumſtances, he was a conſtant contributor to their ſupport; and he likewiſe gave penſions to ſuch conſuls as could not ſupport their proper character to enable them to maintain their dignity. He rewarded every kind of merit, and was particularly attentive to the arts and ſciences; engaging, by liberal ſtipulations, the beſt maſters in all profeſſions to reſort to Rome. Such were his courteſy and clemency both in public and private, that ſcarce one innocent perſon was puniſhed during his reign; and if any ſuch misfortune accidentally occurred, it was effected by calumniators in his abſence from the city. So contrary was his temper to that of moſt of his predeceſſors, that he could not behold the ſufferings of a criminal without diſcovering his compaſſion by ſighs and tears.

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THE immenſity of ſpoils which was brought from Judæa occaſioned Veſpaſian to begin a new temple to peace, wherein to depoſit them. Oppoſition gave way on every ſide to the prudence and juſtice of his paternal government; and in a ſhort time after their ſplendid triumph, the temple of Janus was ſhut up as a token of univerſal peace. This, indeed, muſt be conſidered with regard to foreign enemies; for the Jews were not entirely quiet, but for a ſhort time reſiſted the Roman arms, by poſſeſſing two or three forts, which, being impregnable, were reduced by famine. Some of theſe eſcaping into Egypt incited the Jews there to revolt, and occaſioned great diſturbances; on which their temple near Memphis was plundered by the governor, and their uſe of it prohibited. At Cyrene alſo and in other places, the ſame ſpirit of diſſatisfaction prevailed; which terminated with the ſlaughter of ſome thouſands of the Jews.

VESPASIAN contributed largely for the repair of the Coloſſus; and, on the misfortunes, which many perſons felt ſeverely, by earthquakes and fires, particularly Salamis and Paphos, amongſt others, reſtored them to their former condition. On many other occaſions, alſo, he was generous and liberal. Yet could he not eſcape the charge of avarice, for which, perhaps, there was ſome foundation; as the guilty ſometimes bought themſelves off with money, aud eſcaped puniſhment. The levies and taxes alſo were very heavy; and ſome of his impoſitions were very peculiar, amongſt which was his exciſe upon urine, for which his ſon Titus remonſtrated with him. He alſo obliged the Jews throughout the empire to pay two drachmas each yearly to the capitol, as before they had done to the temple at Jeruſalem. But ſuch was the deranged ſtate of the finances of the empire, that much exertion was neceſſary to enable the wheels of government to recover their motion. He baniſhed from Rome all the philoſophers, whoſe diſreſpect was notoriouſly intolerable, though pride was not his ruling paſſion; and Demetrius, the cynic, meeting the emperor ſoon after on the road, had the hardineſs to revile him openly, which he generouſly paſſed over with applying to him only the epithet of dog, which aliuded to the name of his ſect. Soon after, he joined his ſon Titus in the quality of cenſor; under whom the laſt public cenſus or numbering the Roman people was made, in order to a capitation or poll tax.

SOME time after a great peſtilence raged in the city of Rome, of which for many days 10,000 died daily; and one Peregrinus, a cynic philoſopher, in a ſubſequent year, by a pretended veneration for the Chriſtians, extorted much money from

from them. Afterwards he fell into poverty, and, at the Olympic games, being univerſally deteſted for his fraud and treachery, was ſeized by a phrenzy or diabolical vanity; on which he leaped alive into the fire, in a way ſimilar to the Indian Brachmans.

VESPASIAN'S diſpoſition was facetious to the very laſt; ſo that when he was very faſt approaching to death, to which he was perfectly ſenſible and attentive, he did not ceaſe from jokes and raillery. He was always particularly affable at his meals; and ſo ſtrong was his propenſity to pleaſantry and humour in converſation, that he frequently deſcended to vulgarities of expreſſion, from an anxiety of creating good fellowſhip.

MANY noble and beneficent actions were performed by him, to effect a happy eſtabliſhment of the empire. He conſtantly paſſed the ſummer at his country houſe in Campania, but was always attentive to the concerns of government; and, in his laſt ſickneſs there, occaſioned by an immoderate uſe of cold water, which greatly injured his inteſtines, and brought on a diarrhæa, he did not relax in his endeavours to ſerve his people. When reduced to the utmoſt extremity, he ſuddenly reſumed his former courage and bravery, and, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe around him, roſe up with this noble and ſpirited exclamation, "That an emperor ought to die ſtanding;" by which extraordinary effort, nature gave way, and he expired in the hands of his ſupporters, in the 69th year of his age, after a reign of ten years wanting only ſix days, from the time that he was firſt proclaimed emperor by the armies of Syria and Alexandria, which was near ſix months before the defeat and conſequent deceaſe of Vitellius.

HE was for the ninth time joint conſul with his ſon Titus, at his death, which was highly lamented by perſons of all deſcriptions; whoſe memory was preſerved by all good men, for his extraordinary conduct and moderation, both in war and peace, being little inferior to Julius Cæſar in the former, or behind Auguſtus in the latter. Providence ſeems to have raiſed him up to compoſe the diſturbances and reſtore the dignity and ſplendor of the Roman empire, and to be the inſtrument of putting a final end to the diſpenſation of the Jews, by the deſtruction of their city, temple, and worſhip; who had the good fortune to die a natural death, ſo contrary to the fate of moſt of the preceding and ſubſequent emperors, and the firſt of the Cæſars whoſe life was thus terminated.

HE was not meanly acquainted with literature; but uſed to recite Greek verſes, on many occaſions, with much pleaſure. His general encouragement of learning has been already alluded to; and in his reign Silius Italicus, the poet, is to be noticed,

noticed, with the renowned Pliny, who periſhed early in the ſucceeding reign, as we are fully acquainted by his ſon, by the burning lava of Mount Veſuvius, which then, for the firſt time, broke out with aſtoniſhing fury.

CHAP. XXXIII.

TITUS, *the Tenth* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 831. A. D. 79.]

AT the time of Veſpaſian's deceaſe, Titus was in his ſeventh conſulſhip. He ſucceeded to the empire by the general conſent of the people, as well as by his father's will. For though he had given many reaſons to doubt the manner of his reigning, and conſequently had prejudiced the public againſt him, from his ſeverity in promoting his father's impoſitions, and his voluptuous life, together with his extravagant paſſion for Berenice the ſiſter of Agrippa; yet the miſeries of civil diſcord, which had thereby been happily quelled, were too recent in their memory to hazard oppoſition. He was conſidered as a ſecond Nero, and his reputation and eſteem with the people were extremely unfavourable; though he had ſerved in ſo many wars with the greateſt honour, and diſcharged many civil offices with no leſs wiſdom, during the reign of his father.

HIS extreme haughtineſs and violence had been much diſapproved, during the reign of his father, for whom he tranſacted many affairs of the empire; and he made uſe of means, not altogether juſtifiable, to puniſh thoſe whom he ſuſpected of any evil deſigns. Of this we have a remarkable inſtance in his treatment of Cecinna, a man of conſular dignity, in which the greateſt breach of hoſpitality was demonſtrated; whom he cauſed to be aſſaſſinated, after inviting him to ſupper, as he was leaving the hall where the banquet had been ſerved up. Indeed the only culpable part of this buſineſs conſiſted in this breach of confidence, and in the want of a judiciary proceſs to produce his condemnation; for a writing had been found, which was ſigned with his own hand, and clearly

clearly proved that a ſeditious diſcourſe had been prepared by him to excite the ſoldiers to a revolt. Yet as the true cauſe at that time was not well underſtood, it ſerved to render him extremely odious; and it may juſtly be aſſerted, that no prince ever came to the empire with a worſe character, or with greater reluctance of the people.

BUT all theſe ſlanders and accuſations were ſpeedily changed into praiſes, by the very different conduct which he aſſumed on his coming to the empire. It was ſoon diſcovered that he was now as remarkable for all ſorts of virtues, as before he had been notorious for the greateſt vices. Having formerly in his debauches accuſtomed himſelf to perſevere in them till midnight, with his moſt diſſolute acquaintance; his entertainments now took another face, in which he ſtudied more to render them agreeable than magnificent. He had ſufficient reſolution to withdraw himſelf from Berenice, whom he paſſionately loved, and was as paſſionately beloved by her; and all her fine accompliſhments and alluring arts were inſufficient to induce him to change that reſolution, as he found that ſuch connection was entirely diſagreeable to the people of Rome. More effectually to eſtabliſh this reſtraint upon his pleaſures, and to moderate his paſſions, he diſcarded ſeveral of the principal inſtruments of thoſe pleaſures; and as ſuch concluded that they were highly unſuitable companions in his preſent dignified ſtation, whatever ſatisfaction, as a private man, he had before experienced in their ſociety. By ſuch manifeſt and demonſtrable inſtances of reſpect and veneration for the public opinion, even to the higheſt pitch of ſelf-denial, the general voice was ſoon changed in his favour; and of him it was no leſs agreeably than truly ſaid, "That if ever any man abſtained from what he had a right to, Titus was the perſon."

HIS compaſſion and love of juſtice were conſpicuous. No citizen was at any time injured by him, nor did he ever wiſh for or attempt to poſſeſs the property of another. He frequently refuſed to accept the cuſtomary contributions; and his general object in his whole conduct ſeems to have been, to perform every thing in his power for the good of his people. It was alſo a rule with him, to which he moſt ſtrictly and inviolably adhered, never to ſend away any petitioner with an unpleaſing anſwer; to which, indeed, his domeſtics obſerved, "That "it would oblige him to promiſe more than he could perform," but this could not alter his general ſentiments. His ſweetneſs and civility, as well as a natural principle of goodneſs, were ſo predominant, that when he was reminded one evening, of his having done no good action that day, he expreſſed a moſt heart-felt concern, "My friends, I have loſt this day."

What

What a principle was this to flow from the mouth of a heathen, who had been immerſed in all kinds of vice and laſciviouſneſs!

IN propoſing an entertainment of gladiators, he declared, "That he did it not to pleaſe his own fancy, but to amuſe "his people who would naturally be ſpectators." Nor did he ever ridicule or manifeſt any ſigns of mockery or contempt, at any word or geſture which might be leſs pleaſing or agreeable to the opinion of the people; never condeſcending to any meanneſs of conduct or action, which was degrading to majeſty, nor ſuffering himſelf to be biaſſed unduly in his diſtribution of the prizes. He dedicated the amphitheatre, and ſupplied it round about with convenient baths. A naval combat alſo, with other ſports, as well as thoſe of the gladiators, were diſplayed on this occaſion. His condeſcenſion alſo went ſtill farther; for he frequently permitted the common people to enter his baths.

THE misfortunes of the civil wars had given riſe to informers and ſuborners of witneſſes; and we have mentioned that Veſpaſian endeavoured to reform the judicial proceedings and conduct of the advocates in the courts of juſtice. But ſuch great changes could not be effected at once; and Titus was reduced to exerciſe compulſory means to reſtrain theſe deteſtable practices. He determined to puniſh offenders of this kind in a moſt exemplary way; which he did, firſt, by condemning them to be publicly whipped, then led into the area of the amphitheatre to be expoſed to public view, and, laſtly, by commanding ſome to be ſold for ſlaves, and others to be baniſhed into the moſt ſolitary iſlands. And that no perſons ſhould, in future, raſhly commit the ſame unwarrantable acts, he publiſhed an account of the ſeveral puniſhments, under various conſiderations, which ſhould be inflicted for a ſimilar conduct. He alſo publiſhed a law, by which, within a certain number of years, all claims to the property of perſons deceaſed ſhould be brought forward.

WHEN he took upon himſelf the office of ſovereign pontiff, he declared, with much ſolemnity and energy, "That he did "it to keep his hands pure and undefiled from blood." He never would conſent to the death of any perſon, ſo long as there were any conſiderations or means of defence to plead; and he always declared, "That he had much rather ſubmit to "his own loſs, than that another ſhould be injured." Unwilling to puniſh without the utmoſt neceſſity, he paſſed over the crime of two patricians, who daringly perſuaded him to ſet up for the empire againſt his father, without hinting it to any one, or ſhewing the leaſt cauſe of diſpleaſure; which he combated

combated by ſaying, "That empire was the gift of the "fates," and deſired them to lay aſide their deſign. Not the leaſt ſigns of reſentment were diſplayed, though he ſo poſitively rejected and deteſted their application; but he continued to manifeſt the ſame public attention to them, as if nothing had occurred.

UNDER his reign, ſome very heavy misfortunes and deplorable accidents happened. But he acted more the part of a father than of a prince, in his endeavours to provide remedies againſt their effects. The very dreadful and almoſt incredible eruption of mount Veſuvius in Campania, accompanied with moſt violent earthquakes and aſtoniſhing prodigies, ruined many cities and people with a vaſt tract of land; and the aſhes were carried through the air into diſtant nations, as Africa, Egypt, and even Syria. So extremely heavy was it at Rome, that it darkened the ſun for many days together. In attempting to diſcover the cauſe of this wonderful phænomenon, the renowned Pliny, who was then at Miſenum, and admiral of the royal navy there, by his too great curioſity and near approach, was ſuffocated in the ſmoak. When it had in ſome meaſure ſubſided, the emperor appointed ſeveral conſular men, by lot, to convince them of his impartialty, to ſuperintend and aſſiſt in reſtoring the ruins of Campania; ordering that all the effects of thoſe who had periſhed by the flames, or by any other means which theſe had occaſioned, if they had left no heirs, ſhould be applied to repair the villages which had been damaged.

IN the following year was a great fire at Rome, which continued three days and three nights; and not only conſumed the temples of many of their gods, with the pantheon, and the library of Auguſtus, as well as many other buildings, but even the capitol. On this occaſion the emperor declared, that he would take all the loſs upon himſelf; and for that purpoſe he diſtributed the imperial ornaments to repair the temples and public works, commiſſioning many knights to be overſeers of the buildings, that the completion might be the more ſpeedy.

THERE likewiſe ſucceeded a very dangerous peſtilence, by which 10,000 uſually died in a day. It was ſuppoſed to be the conſequence of the incredible ſmoke and vaſt quantity of aſhes, which had been diſcharged by the conflagration of Mount Veſuvius. No methods, human or divine, were omitted to abate the peſtilence, and check the malignity of the diſtemper; every ſuperſtitious rite and ſpecies of ſacrifice being reſorted to, which it was ſuppoſed might have the ſmalleſt uſe; and every natural means of medicine was applied,

from

from which the leaſt ſucceſs could be hoped for. In all which calamities, he ſpared not his own revenues, as far as he could, for the general aſſiſtance of his oppreſſed people.

ABOUT this time Titus conferred particular honours on the celebrated Joſephus, whom he had brought as a captive from Judæa; who had, indeed, received every favour both from him and his father, on Veſpaſian's firſt coming to the empire, notwithſtanding the very low and degrading ſentiments which the Roman people generally entertained of the Jews. For his father had not only provided for him in the palace, but made him a free citizen of Rome, and ordered a public ſtatue to be erected for him. He alſo aſſigned him lands in Judæa, after it was completely ſubdued by the Roman arms. His hiſtory of the wars of the Jews, which was finiſhed about this time, was honourably noticed by this emperor, and ordered to be depoſited in the public library, where it might be viewed by all men; and its reputation at the preſent day is a ſtrong proof of the knowledge and diſcernment of Titus, which is univerſally approved for the admirable deſcriptions, eloquent ſpeeches, and ſublime ſentiments therein contained. It may ſuffice to add, for the information of ſome of our readers, that it is a continued hiſtory from the capture of Jeruſalem, by Antiochus Epiphanes, about 170 years before the Chriſtian Æræa, to the year of that period 72; which includes an interval of 242 years. But the laſt ſix years of it are moſt intereſting and valuable; as they contain the hiſtory of the Jews' deſtruction, and deſcribe, in the moſt lively and affecting manner, every part of that ſerious and calamitous ſtruggle.

THE ſcenes which in this reign were tranſacting in Britain, afforded ſome alleviation to the miſeries of the Roman people, by the calamities juſt mentioned. Agricola had been ſent into that country in the latter end of the preceeding reign, where he ſhewed himſelf as expert in reducing the rebellious and refractory, as he was ſucceſsful in civilizing thoſe who had formerly ſubmitted to the Roman power. The inhabitants of North Wales were the firſt that were ſubdued; at which time he made a deſcent upon Mona, or the iſland of Angleſey, which ſubmitted to him without oppoſition. He was greatly employed in the reſtoration of diſcipline and good order in his own army, and endeavoured to introduce ſome degrees of politeneſs amongſt thoſe whom he had conquered; by cauſing the ſons of the better ſort to be inſtructed in liberal arts, and perſuading them to adopt the Roman modes of dreſs and manners. For theſe ſucceſſes, Titus was, for the fifteenth time, declared emperor.

BUT

BUT, notwithſtanding theſe accumulated honours, and his own goodneſs and benevolence to all, he did not long live to enjoy them. His brother Domitian, who was of a reſtleſs and ambitious diſpoſition, frequently occaſioned him much trouble; though he never could prevail with himſelf to puniſh him, or even in any reſpect to degrade or leſſen him in the eye of the public. Convinced as Titus was of his wicked machinations, and of his endeavours to ſeduce the ſoldiers to a revolt, yet he did not change his conduct towards him; but, continuing him as a brother, and behaving to him as his certain ſucceſſor, intreated him particularly, with tears in his eyes, to make him the returns of reciprocal affection.

SOON after the public games, at the end of which he ſhed tears in abundance before the people, he withdrew into the country of the Sabines, his ſpirits being extremely depreſſed at ſome unfavourable auguries, and, amongſt others, at its thundering in ſerene weather. He was ſeized with a fever at the firſt ſtage of his journey, ſo that he was obliged to be carried in a litter to Reate, where his father terminated his life, in the houſe of his anceſtors; and ſome ſay, that on the road he drew back the curtain, and, looking up to heaven, with a heavy ſigh complained, "That he had not merited the loſs "of life, proteſting that he never had cauſe to repent of any "action but one." What that was, as he never declared, ſo it would be extremely bold and preſuming to conjecture.

IT was ſtrongly ſuſpected that Domitian had been inſtrumental in procuring his death by poiſon, that he might more ſpeedily enter upon the empire. He died at the country houſe of his anceſtors, after a ſhort, but memorable reign of two years, two months, and twenty days, from the time of his ſucceeding his father, in the 41ſt year of his age, regretted univerſally by the whole empire. An univerſal mourning enſued; and the ſenators, without any formal convocation, haſtened to the ſenate houſe, where for a ſhort time they ſhut themſelves up; and on opening the doors, they paid him more honours, and beſtowed upon him higher praiſes and encomiums, than any emperor ever obtained either before or after his death.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

DOMITIAN *the Eleventh* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 833. A.D. 81.]

AFTER the deceaſe of Titus, his brother Domitian was univerſally received as emperor without the leaſt oppoſition, through the venerable reſpect which every one had for his and his father's memory. In the beginning of his reign he was generally acceptable, by the prudent regulations which he made in the adminiſtration of government. There were no appearances of cruelty and bloodſhed; no ſigns of oppreſſion or rapine; no inſtances of ſordineſs or avarice. He employed himſelf in the exerciſe of many diverſions and amuſements, in ſome of which he greatly excelled.

MANY doubts, indeed, were entertained of his conduct, when he ſhould arrive at the imperial dignity. His adulteries were too flagrant and notorious to paſs unnoticed; and he married Domitia Longina, whom he had taken by compulſion from her huſband Elius Lamia.

SOMETIME after, when ſhe had borne a daughter to him, he honoured her with the title of Auguſta; but notwithſtanding this, when ſhe had diſcovered a furious paſſion for one of her domeſtics, he divorced her. Unable to bear this ſeparation, which was done in a tranſport of reſentment, and burning with impatience, he retook her under a pretence that the people had earneſtly perſuaded and intreated him to it.

IT was cuſtomary for him, at the commencement of his reign, to withdraw for an hour into his cabinet. Here he demonſtrated, though in private, the tendency of his natural diſpoſition; where he uſed to amuſe himſelf in the ſolitary exerciſe of catching flies, and torturing them by the piercings of a ſharp bodkin. Vivius Criſpus pleaſantly enough, though as ſatirically, replied to one who aſked him if any one was with the emperor in his cabinet, "That there was not ſo much "there as a fly." Yet, however diminutive his ideas were in ſpending his time in ſuch trifling amuſements, he did not neglect many greater matters. He cauſed many of the works to be rebuilt, which had been deſtroyed by the late fire, and among

among others the capitol; on which, as he was ambitious of being by poſterity accounted the founder, his name alone was inſcribed.

OF his military expeditions, thoſe againſt the Catti and Sarmatians firſt occur to us, as the moſt remarkable. Of the two legions which went againſt the Dacians, Opipius Sabinus, their general, who was a conſular man, was defeated in the firſt, and in the ſecond Cornelius Fuſcus, colonel of the Prætorian Cohorts. In theſe wars he ſuffered many very great and heavy loſſes; but, having at laſt ſubdued and vanquiſhed them, he twice triumphed, though on account of the Sarmatians he only carried a laurel crown to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as an acknowledgment of his ſucceſs. He had the credit of advancing the annual ſtipend or pay of his ſoldiers to twelve pieces of gold, which was equal in value to about ten guineas; which had been, and was afterwards, gradually increaſed, according to the increaſe of wealth, and the progreſs of military government. He alſo made another very equitable regulation, by which the veteran, after being twenty years in the army, was entitled to 3000 denarii, or about 100l. ſterling, as a compenſation for paſt ſervices. They had alſo the choice of a proportionable allowance of land, if it was more deſirable. The guards, in like manner, whoſe pay was nearly double to that of the ſoldiers, had their ſtipend advanced in proportion to their income.

BY ſuch encouragements to a military life, it is not ſurpriſing that the Roman troops were ſo very faithful to their leaders. For regular pay, occaſional donations, with ſuch a recompence as we have juſt mentioned, tended greatly to ſoften and alleviate the hardſhips of military diſcipline; and beſides theſe ſubſtantial advantages, which had a great influence on their hopes and fears, they had a ſuperſtitious veneration for the golden eagle, which conſtantly was diſplayed in their ſtandards, and, added to a ſenſe of honour, united and kept them to their duty.

SOON after his acceſſion to the empire, he took upon him the office of cenſor, and the reformation of manners; and in that capacity accompliſhed many things, which would not have diſcredited a man of better principles. All libels and defamatory writings, which were pointed at perſons of quality of either ſex, he totally ſuppreſſed, and diſgraced their authors. He expelled a ſenator, who had been queſtor, for his great attachment and immoderate propenſity to buffoonery and dancing; judging, very properly, that ſuch practices were very much below the dignity of perſons who belonged to that venerable

rable body. From women of ſcandalous and immoral lives he took away the uſe of litters, and prohibited them from being benefited by any legacies or inheritance, which might be bequeathed to them. After a Roman knight had received his wife again, whoſe charge or ſuſpicion of adultery had cauſed him to divorce her, he judged that a man of ſo much levity and unſteadineſs was unfit to be a judge, and he therefore ſtruck him off from the liſt of the judges.

In the adminiſtration of juſtice, he was for ſome time very diligent; and frequently ſat in an extraordinary manner in the courts of judicature, to ſuperſede ſuch partial deciſions of the centumviri, as might have happened from too much favour, or from inattention. He was particularly ſevere upon ſuch judges and counſellors as were corrupt in their diſpoſitions, and accepted bribes to the perverſion of juſtice; and Suetonius aſſures us, whoſe authority is not to be doubted, that he particularly encouraged the tribunes in perſon to accuſe an Ædile of extortion, and to demand judgment againſt him in the ſenate, to compel him to refund the money he had ſo unjuſtly taken, that no place or ſtation might ſerve as a ſanction for iniquity. In his reformation of tedious law-ſuits, he purſued the ſteps of his father and brother; and informers were more eſpecially puniſhed, as a terror to others, and for the protection of honeſty and innocence. Such was his diligence in cauſing all offenders, eſpecially thoſe who had abuſed any truſts with which they had been honoured, that perſons accuſed of any crimes had the faireſt chance of being dealt with juſtly; and never, either in his life or after his death, could more ſatisfaction be afforded to the unfortunate.

But the wiſdom of his regulations did not ſtop here. In his reform of the courts of juſtice, he diſcharged all perſons who had been proſecuted five years before without any termination of their fate, whoſe effects had been ſeized; and commanded that no new proceſs ſhould be permitted, after one year. And farther, to prohibit any uſeleſs and vexatious proceedings, ordered all thoſe informers, who could not prove their charges, to be baniſhed.

His edicts to prevent the caſtration of children were ſevere. He alſo moderated the price of ſuch as were already eunuchs; in which reſpects he differed greatly from the conduct of his father and brother. The morals of the veſtal virgins, which they had not attended to, he particularly examined into; puniſhing with divers and heavy puniſhments thoſe whom he found guilty of any indiſcretions. Such as were only convicted of one crime, had the ſatisfaction of dying in the moſt ſimple way, as ordinary malefactors; but others were ordered to periſh

riſh by the ancient cuſtom, with which, we have obſerved, that Nero was threatened by the ſenate. It was permitted, as an indulgence to two ſiſters, to chuſe their mode of dying, and the perſons who debauched them were baniſhed; but on Cornelia, their ſuperior, who had once been declared innocent, yet was afterwards convicted, the heavy ſentence was denounced of being buried alive, and her aſſociates ſcourged to death in full aſſembly. He alſo cauſed to be demoliſhed, to ſhew his ſuperſtitious veneration for the Pagan religion, a monument of a freeman erected for his ſon, in which had been uſed the ſtones which were conſigned for building the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; and ordered that the bones and remains which were therein depoſited ſhould be thrown into the ſea.

So far was he from manifeſting the ſmalleſt ſigns of a cruel or blood-thirſty diſpoſition, that he was almoſt determined, in conſequence of reading a verſe in Virgil, which declared thoſe nations wicked who had killed oxen to eat them, to iſſue an edict, forbidding them to be ſacrificed.

AFTER this account of the happy manner in which Domitian reigned for the firſt two years, it might have been hoped that this tranquility and good government, the effects of which he muſt have ſeen, would not have been changed for ſcenes of diſorder and oppreſſion. But the aſpect of affairs ſoon appeared very differently. The Magicians and Chaldæans, and other philoſophers of that time, incurred the diſpleaſure of the emperor, who had embraced the opportunity, in conſequence of a grievous earthquake, which happened near the Helleſpont, of enriching themſelves, through the public credulity, under pretence of appeaſing the gods by ſacrifices. He therefore baniſhed them from Rome, and even from Italy; and diſcovered ſo much hatred againſt all philoſophers and mathematicians, as to purſue them with great fury, and oblige them to fly to diſtant nations.

ABOUT this time he was informed of the great conqueſts and victories that Agricola had obtained in Britain, which affected him with the greateſt degree of envy. For this admirable general had not only purſued the ſucceſſes of preceding commanders, and perſevered in a courſe of good fortune by partial victories, but he totally ſubdued the Caledonians, and conquered Galgacus, the general of the Britons, at the head of 30,000 men. He afterwards ſent out a fleet to clear the coaſt of the native galleys, and thereby diſcovered that what is now called Great Britain was an iſland. It was in this expedition that he diſcovered, and reduced the Orkneys and other iſlands, and thus, by continued ſucceſſes, brought the whole

whole empire to obedience and ſubmiſſion to the Roman government.

As Domitian had triumphed over the Catti, without once ſeeing them, and had returned to Rome, on the intelligence that his generals had overcome them; ſome German ſlaves, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of, were the trophies of valour that accompanied his entrance into Rome. The news of Agricola's exploits was, therefore, extremely unwelcome, becauſe it ſerved as a tacit reproach on his own inactivity. Timid and indolent, he had not ſufficient ſpirit to emulate theſe ſervices; but ſet himſelf to ſtifle and ſuppreſs the knowledge of them, or at leaſt to detract from their merits. Under pretence of conferring upon him the government of Syria, Saluſtius Lucullus was ordered to ſuperſede him in the command; and as he could not, without the groſſeſt violation of propriety, when the ſucceſs was once known, deny him the honours which his ſervices deſerved, he provided that the ſenate ſhould decree him the uſual ornaments, trophies, and ſtatues for the purpoſe of exhibiting a triumph. But this was only an act of diſſimulation, treachery, and injuſtice, for which infamous vices he had no equal; and when Agricola arrived privately, and by night, he diſcovered inſtantly his cool reception, and ſpeedily after had the mortification to learn that the government of Syria was diſpoſed of another way. On this he withdrew to a place of retirement; but as he ſoon after died, it is ſuppoſed that either his life was ſhortened by the great ſenſe of the injurious treatment he had ſuffered, or that the emperor had employed inſtruments to haſten his end, by means very common in thoſe diſgraceful ages.

THE emperor now gave looſe to every ſpecies of cruelty and oppreſſion. The maſk which he had hitherto aſſumed was laid aſide; and he who had heretofore ſatisfied his ſavage temper of mind with tormenting flies, transferred, at this time, his diſpoſition to that of torturing his fellow creatures and ſubjects. He ſpared not perſons of the higheſt quality or rank; and all whom he had offended, as well as thoſe who had given offence, became the certain objects of his cruelty. Elius Lamia, againſt whom he had exerciſed the moſt deſpotic power, and had frequently inſulted by his piquant ſpeeches, was one of the firſt objects of his tyranny; Salvius Cocceianus and Metius Pompoſianus, for pretences totally foreign to all notions of ſedition, alſo ſuffered. To theſe may be added Salluſtius Lucullus, who ſucceeded Agricola as lieutenant general of the armies in Britain, whom he cauſed to die, becauſe his name had been given to ſome lances of a new faſhion; and Junius Ruſticus, who had recorded the praiſes of Petus Thra-

ſea and Helvidius Priſcus, and had aſſigned them a title which was offenſive to the emperor, who was now become as ſuſpicious and ill-natured as he had before appeared to the contrary. For this cauſe alone were the philoſophers, and all men of profeſſed learning, driven out of Italy; and Helvidius, the ſon of Priſcus, alſo loſt his life, for writing ſome verſes, under the character of Paris and Anona, to be ſung upon the theatre, which cenſured the divorce of Auguſta. Flavius Sabinus alſo, one of his couſin germans, from an accidental miſtake of the public crier, became a victim. But the concluſion of the civil war, which will ſpeedily be mentioned, afforded means to ſatiate himſelf with blood; for thoſe who had been of the oppoſite party were certain ſubjects of his vengeance, and, to diſcover their accomplices, he invented new tortures, which even the brutal Nero had not practiſed.

WE have not noticed many of the ſenators, ſome of which were of conſular dignity, whom, for the ſlighteſt reaſons, he deprived of life; beſides numbers of others whom he baniſhed, before his cruelties had reached to that point, from which their full ſcope could be exerciſed. He alſo made uſe of much fineſſe to take thoſe, on whom his ſuſpicions had unhappily fallen, by ſurprize. Only the very day before he crucified the comptroller of his houſhold, he diſplayed the moſt artful ſigns of intimacy and friendſhip, ſo as to oblige him to ſup with him; and on the very day that he had reſolved upon the death of Aretinus Clemens, he carried him with him in his own litter. He one time invited the ſenators to a public entertainment, and very formally received all of them at the entrance of his palace; from whence they were conducted into a ſpacious hall, covered with black, and illuminated by a few melancholy lamps, which were juſt ſufficient to diſcover that they were ſurrounded with coffins, on which were written their own names, with the diſplay of many other objects of terror and inſtruments of execution. With the moſt agonizing ideas did they all behold theſe alarming preparations, when ſeveral men, each having a flaming torch in one hand, and a drawn ſword in the other, their bodies being previouſly diſcoloured, burſt into the room and danced round them. They now expected nothing but inſtant deſtruction, from the knowledge they had of the tyrant's capricious humour; but after ſome time the doors flew open, and they were informed by a meſſenger, that the emperor permitted them all to withdraw.

IT was a dreadful preſage of the ſentence which was to follow, when it was introduced by a profeſſion of compaſſion and clemency; for he never determined upon a rigorous cruelty,

cruelty, without firſt expreſſing himſelf in terms of the utmoſt mildneſs. Artifice and diſſimulation were favourite objects; and he was never more ſatisfactorily employed, than in ſporting with the feelings and paſſions of his ſubjects. As an inſtance of his affected tenderneſs, having one day preſented to the ſenate a catalogue of criminals, who had been accuſed of treaſon, he prefaced his motion with this inſinuating addreſs, "That he ſhould ſee on that day in what manner he was be-"loved of the ſenate;" and when he had thus artfully obtained a decree, that the criminals ſhould be puniſhed according to the cuſtom of their anceſtors, he pretended aſtoniſhment at the ſeverity of the puniſhment, when he wiſhed to intercede in behalf of the condemned. "Permit me, conſcript fathers, "to obtain from your piety, what I well know is not eaſily to "be obtained, that you will indulge the condemned with the "liberty of chuſing what kind of death will be moſt eligible "to them; for by this means you will prevent your own "ſight of ſuch a horrible ſcene, and the world will be ſatisfied "that this is to be attributed to my aſſiſtance in your judicial "aſſembly."

By his great expences in public works, and the ſums of money laviſhed away in public ſpectacles, with the advanced pay of the ſoldiers, his coffers were totally drained. When this was underſtood, he had at firſt ſome intention of reducing the number of ſoldiers, which he afterwards changed, as a ſtep which would expoſe him to the inſults of barbarians. It has been ſaid, indeed, that he bought off the Dacians and Sarmatians by money; and as this would enable as well as encourage them to repeat their invaſions with greater advantage, the impolicy of diminiſhing his forces, could ſcarcely eſcape the moſt common judgment. Unable, therefore, to ſupply the exigences of government, he proceeded to all ſorts of robbery and rapine. The ſmalleſt information ſerved as a pretence for ravaging the effects both of living and dead; and it was enough if any one could declare that they had ſaid or done any thing againſt the majeſty of a prince. He confiſcated inheritances without the leaſt ſhadow of right, if he could only find any perſon daring enough to aſſert the deceaſed's having ever ſaid, "That Cæſar was his heir." The Jews, with reſpect to their tribute, were horribly perſecuted; not only thoſe who profeſſed Judaiſm openly in Rome, but others alſo, if he could any way diſcover their origin, however they might diſſemble it, who had not paid what was impoſed upon their nation. Suetonius tells us of an inſtance of this, to which, when a youth, he was an eye-witneſs, that he cauſed to

be examined before them an old man of 90, who was ſuſpected of being a Jew, to diſcover whether he was circumciſed.

As his pride increaſed, he not only cauſed his ſtatues in the capitol to be caſt of pure gold and ſilver, but he had even the ambition to aſſume divine honours. Unworthy as he was by his crimes, of the character and ſtation of emperor, yet his immoderate anxiety for being thought ſuperior to all mankind, influenced him to rank himſelf amongſt the gods. Stiling himſelf the ſon of Pallas or Minerva, he particularly aſſumed the titles of OUR LORD and OUR GOD; and decreed that no perſon ſhould preſume to call him by any other name, either in writing or diſcourſe. We learn from Pliny the younger, which he deſcribes as a very ſtrong foundation of complaint, that the way to the capitol was impaſſable, from the vaſt throngs of people who crowded to ſacrifice to his ſtatue; where a profuſion of beaſts was offered to HIM, who continually ſacrificed men to himſelf.

THE cruelties of the emperor, which were more and more numerous, to which ſome perſonal affronts and injuries are to be added, induced Lucius Antonius, the governor of Upper Germany, to revolt againſt his authority; and, by the aſſiſtance of a powerful army which he commanded, to declare himſelf emperor. This inſurrection, which gained conſiderable ſtrength, was very formidable to Domitian, and created him much uneaſineſs; and the ſucceſs of the enterprize was long doubtful, till, by a maſterly ſtroke of Normandus, the general of Domitian, he ſurpriſed Antonius in the very critical moment when a ſudden overflowing of the Rhine deprived him of the aid of his German auxiliaries, and thereby deſtroyed both him and his army. Hiſtorians aſſure us, that the news of this victory was conveyed to Rome, by ſupernatural means, on the very day when the battle was fought; which afforded much cauſe of ſurpriſe to the emperor and citizens.

HIS propenſity to acts of cruelty rendered him more and more averſe to literature, and conſequently to learned men of all deſcriptions; who, about this time, were again baniſhed from Rome and Italy, and particularly hiſtorians, the effects of whoſe writings he had the greateſt reaſon to be afraid of. To record the juſt praiſes of illuſtrious perſons, was a crime which he could never forgive; but the great Jewiſh hiſtorian, who received the careſſes of his father and brother, ſtill retained ſo much favour as to eſcape the effects of this general edict.

ABOUT two years before the end of this emperor's reign, the great hiſtorian, Joſephus, concluded his famous work of "The Antiquities of the Jews," which has ſtood the teſt of time

time to the preſent day; and contains a continued hiſtory from the creation of the world to the beginning of the laſt Jewiſh war, in which he himſelf had a ſhare. When the circumſtances under which it was wrote are conſidered, the neceſſity of his adapting it to the genius and temper of the Romans and Grecians muſt be admitted. This excellent work, which is written with wonderful art and eloquence, is taken from the books of the Old Teſtament; but other facts are added which theſe books do not contain. It is certain, from the mollifying and diſguiſing ſtrokes of his pen, and the artificial turn which he was obliged to give to many paſſages, that he durſt not always follow truth rigidly. Of his other works, our limits forbid us to enlarge; but thus much of this famous monument of his induſtry, of which every literary perſon is expected to give ſome account, we could not refrain from relating. Soon afterwards, the emperor publiſhed a third decree againſt the philoſophers and other learned perſons both of Rome and Italy.

AMONGST other indications of his propenſity to haughtineſs and ſelf-importance, his declaration on the acceſſion of Titus to the empire ought to be noticed; pronouncing daringly, "that his father had left him part of the empire, but "that the will had been altered." Yet, amidſt theſe oppreſſive and cruel actions, his timidity occaſionally was diſcovered; for he had long a preſentiment, not only of the year and day, but even of the hour and the manner of his death, of which the Chaldæans, by their predictions, had advertiſed him in his youth. The cauſe of inquietude was therefore conſtantly fixed in his mind; and the ſmalleſt reaſons for ſuſpicion gave him the utmoſt uneaſineſs. It was this apprehenſion, fond as he was of honour and pomp, which prevented him from accepting a very flattering inſtance from the ſenate, of their attachment to him, whether dictated by fear or any other paſſion; the decree for which, was, "That whenever he was "exerciſing the office of conſul, ſome knights, who were choſen "by lot, ſhould be clothed in purple robes, and armed with "lances, and ſhould accompany him in his marches amongſt "the ſerjeants." For in proportion as the time which menaced his deſtruction was nearer, his jealouſy and anxiety were more conſpicuous; ſo that he even cauſed the walls of the galleries, where he uſually walked, to be ornamented with a precious ſtone which had the power of reflection, ſo that he might ſee whatever was doing behind him, in the manner of a mirror.

HE was now continually tormented with dreadful and alarming omens, ſo as almoſt to drive him to deſperation. The

lightnings and thunderings, which continued ſucceſſively and almoſt conſtantly for eight months before his death, conſiderably affected him; but he was moſt of all aſtoniſhed at the anſwer of Aſcleterion, the aſtrologer, who had been accuſed of publiſhing predictions of the emperor's death. When he was brought before him to anſwer to the charge, he never attempted to deny it; and when Domitian demanded if he knew his own fortune, or the kind of death which he himſelf ſhould die, he replied inſtantly, "That he ſhould be devoured by "dogs." Determined as the emperor was to diſprove this, he cauſed him immediately to die, and ſtrictly commanded that his body ſhould be burned with the greateſt care; but a furious tempeſt ſuddenly ſprung up, while this buſineſs was effecting, which blew down the funeral pile, and diſperſed the body, when ſome dogs inſtantly ſeized and devoured it before the fire had half conſumed it.

HIS execution of Clemens, his relation, in the very year of his conſulſhip, greatly promoted the tyrant's ruin. His only pretence was, that he had embraced Chriſtianity. Domitilla, his wife, and his niece of the ſame name, were at the ſame time baniſhed; and many of the Chriſtians now ſuffered in the moſt cruel manner. It was about this time that St. John was thrown into a caldron of oil ſet on fire, from which he eſcaped without the leaſt harm.

EVERY perſon was now ſuſpected, and his own wife, Domitia, was dreaded amongſt others. As he had accuſtomed himſelf, in aid to his memory, to inſert the names of ſuch perſons as he had doomed to deſtruction in a particular book, which he carefully kept about him; it happened, accidentally, but very fortunately, that ſhe got a ſight of it, wherein, to her great ſurpriſe, ſhe found her own name, with many of the emperor's friends. Among others, ſhe alſo diſcovered the names of Stephanus his ſteward, and of Norbanus and Petronius, Præfects of the Prætorian bands; to whom ſhe immediately ſhewed it, to induce them to diſpatch Domitian with all poſſible expedition. With ſuch convincing demonſtrations, they had little need of perſuaſion to form a conſpiracy for the ſecurity of themſelves; and the day was ſpeedily fixed for completing their deſign. Parthenius, the emperor's principal chamberlain, was engaged in the buſineſs; and Stephanus, who for ſeveral days had worn his hand in a ſcarf, under a pretence that he had received ſome hurt in it, engaged to undertake the management, as primary actor in this important affair.

WHEN the hour was arrived, the apprehenſion of which had ſo long poſſeſſed his mind, he enquired of an attendant the preciſe time; who informed him that it was an hour later than the

the time, of which he had ſo awful a dread. At this time, according to Suetonius, Stephanus preſented him with a memoir relative to a conſpiracy which he pretended to diſcover, and then, as he was reading it, gave him a thruſt with his poignard, which was concealed in the ſcarf; and at that inſtant, when he attempted to reſiſt, the other conſpirators ruſhed in, and, after ſeven wounds, terminated his career. But others ſay, that the emperor was ſo much elated, on hearing that the fatal hour was paſt, that he haſtened to the bath to refreſh his body; when Parthenius conducted him into a room where Stephanus was placed, for the purpoſe of making this pretended diſcovery, and aſſerting that Clemens was ſtill alive, when, as Domitian was reading the liſt, he ſtruck him in the groin, and the other conſpirators, to complete the work, furiouſly followed the blow, and diſpatched the impious tyrant, notwithſtanding his pretended divinity.

THIS event took place on the 18th day of September, after a reign of 15 years and five days; by which the world was rid of a monſter, in many reſpects more cruel and abandoned than Nero, of whom ſo many dreadful things have been related.

AMONGST men of learning who were baniſhed by the third and laſt edict of Domitian for driving away all philoſophers, aſtrologers, and mathematicians, was Epictetus, the celebrated ſtoic. About this time the renowned Quintilian publiſhed his famous treatiſe of rhetoric; and, beſides the hiſtorian Joſephus, whom we have ſo largely noticed, we alſo find the renowned magician, Apollonius Tyanæus, who ended his life in the year following. Martial the celebrated Epigrammatiſt, and Onkelos, the noted Chaldee paraphraſt, were diſtinguiſhed during this reign; and ſome ſay that Juvenal, the famous ſatiriſt, lived at this time.

CHAP. XXXV.

NERVA, *the Twelfth* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 848. A.D. 96.]

THOUGH it might have been ſuppoſed, that there could have been but one opinion on the ſubject of Domitian's death, yet the ſoldiers, who had ſo ſenſibly experienced his

generoſity, manifeſted a very ſtrong diſpoſition to revenge it, and inſiſted that the aſſaſſins ſhould meet an exemplary puniſhment. But the general temper of the people, and the active indignation which was ſhewn by the ſenate againſt him, who cauſed all his ſtatues to be taken down, and decreed that every inſcription containing his name ſhould be eraſed, prevented any ferment or confuſion on the preſent occaſion. They alſo ordered that his name ſhould be expunged from the regiſters of fame, and that he ſhould not have the honours of a public funeral, as the utmoſt contempt they could ſhew to his memory.

WHEN the ſenate perceived the inclinations of the army, they reſolved immediately to provide a ſucceſſor, before that body could have any opportunity of taking it upon themſelves, as had heretofore frequently happened. Accordingly they created Cocceius Nerva emperor, in which they were aſſiſted by Petronius, the captain of the Prætorian guards, entirely on account of his ſingular honeſty and generoſity, who was alſo no leſs remarkable for his moderation and clemency. For he was neither of a Roman, nor even an Italian family; but, according to the general opinion, born in the iſland of Crete, ſo that the family of the Cæſars was extinct by the death of Domitian, who was the eleventh emperor, but the twelfth and laſt of the Cæſars. When he was elected to this dignity, he was about 64 years of age; and one of the firſt acts of his elevation was, the reſcinding and annulling the odious decrees of his predeceſſor, but particularly in recalling from baniſhment the philoſophers and learned men, whom he had driven out of Italy, and alſo the Jews and Chriſtians which had been diſperſed in the perſecution. To all who had been thus oppreſſively treated, he reſtored whatever property he found about the palace, which belonged to them. He alſo cauſed to be educated many of the children of the poor at his own expence; and beſtowed lands, and other property, as a ſupport to perſons of rank who had been reduced.

FROM his averſion to tyranny, of which he had witneſſed ſo many dreadful effects, his government, probably, had too much of an oppoſite extreme; for, on his acceſſion to the empire, he ſolemnly proteſted, "That no ſenator of Rome ſhould be put to death by his direction," and he ſo ſtrictly and religiouſly obſerved this ſanction, that when two of them actually conſpired againſt his life, he uſed no kind of ſeverity againſt them. His conduct, however, was manly and undaunted; for he took them both to the public theatre, and there convinced them of his knowledge of the matter, by the following very extraordinary method. He there preſented each

each of them with a ſword, and demanded, in the preſence of the whole aſſembly, "That" ſince they had ſhewn a diſlike of his government, "they ſhould experience the goodneſs of the "weapons upon his body" in a manly way; for that he was reſolved not to parry the blow, if they thought it neceſſary to deprive him of life.

By theſe, and ſome ſimilar acts of clemency, the example of which is not to be commended, he was ſometimes accuſed of unſeaſonable lenity, though it was uſually ſoftened by the more amiable character of benevolence. Yet, as ſoon as the murmurings of ſome of his ſubjects came to his knowledge, he was induced, immediately, to prevent the occaſion of them in future; in order to which he made ſeveral good laws, and amongſt others renewed that edict of Domitian which related to the caſtration of children, that had not fully produced the deſigned effect. He alſo regulated many other matters, which had great need of reformation. The gold and ſilver ſtatues of his predeceſſor, which the ſenate had ſpared immediately after his death, he cauſed to be converted into money, and appropriated to better uſes; nor would he ever ſuffer any to be erected to his own honour. Many of the rich robes and ſplendid furniture of the palace were alſo diſpoſed of, and many of the unneceſſary and unreaſonable expences of the court reſtrained during his reign. So great alſo was his confidence in the goodneſs and ſincerity of his own heart, that he often declared, "If he ſhould quit the empire, and "return to a private life, he was not conſcious that he had "done any thing to cauſe the leaſt fear or apprehenſion from "any man."

One of the deſcendants of the family of Herod, whoſe poſterity were rapidly falling into decay, had the good fortune to diſcover an immenſe treaſure, which had been buried under an old houſe, and was the laſt remains of his patrimony; and as this was, by rigour of law, the property of the emperor, the prudent Atticus (for that was his name) was determined to prevent the officiouſneſs of informers, by making an open confeſſion of the fact with all its circumſtances. Regardleſs of money, farther than was wanting for neceſſary purpoſes, Nerva refuſed to accept any part of it, and commanded the poſſeſſor to uſe it without ſcruple or heſitation; which he ſtill expreſſed his unwillingneſs to do, alledging that the treaſure was too conſiderable, and that as a ſubject he could ſcarcely find means how to uſe it. So much honeſty and generoſity of temper the emperor thought it his duty to equal; and therefore replied that as it was his own, he might endeavour to

abuſe it. In what manner a conſiderable part of it was employed, we ſhall have occaſion to relate hereafter.

BUT all this generoſity could not protect him from enemies. Though one of his opponents had not only been pardoned, but accepted as his colleague in the conſulſhip, and Calpurnius Craſſus, with ſome others, had formed a conſpiracy to deſtroy him; yet was he ſatisfied with baniſhing the moſt culpable, contrary to the inclinations of the ſenate, who wiſhed to inflict a more rigorous puniſhment. The ſoldiers, as we have mentioned, were highly exaſperated at the murder of their patron; and the Prætorian bands became very diſorderly in their efforts to procure the puniſhment of the aſſaſſins. To a man of Nerva's diſpoſition, whoſe kindneſs and benevolence to the good rendered him obnoxious to all vicious and profligate perſons, this was a very trying ſituation; after ſome deliberation, unwilling as he was to give up his friends and thoſe who had merited well of the people, he reſolved to preſent himſelf to the mutinous ſoldiers, and, uncovering his breaſt, deſired them to ſtrike there rather than be guilty of ſuch injuſtice. Remonſtrances, indeed, were vain; and the emperor had the grating mortification to ſee them ſeize Petronius and Parthenius, by whoſe means principally he had been raiſed to this dignity, before his face, and to ſlay them in the moſt ignominious manner. After this, they even compelled the emperor to ſanction and approve this ſedition, in a ſpeech which he was obliged to make to the people, wherein he thanked the cohorts for their fidelity.

YET this conſtraint, however reluctantly ſubmitted to by the emperor, was at length productive of the moſt happy effects. Finding that he was declining in infirmities, as well as years, he conſidered that, in the preſent turbulent condition of the times, he could not do any thing ſo proper as to adopt a ſucceſſor; for by this means he would obtain an aſſiſtant in the government, of which there was now evidently much need, and ſuch as were diſſatisfied might probably be appeaſed. Naturally as his own relations and friends, of which many were conſiderable, might hope for this dignity, he reſolved to regard the public advantage only, by adopting ſome perſon of merit and integrity, as well as experience in public affairs. Hence he paſſed over all his own relations, and made choice of Ulpius Trajan, an utter ſtranger to his own family, and only known to the emperor for his wiſe and prudent government in Upper Germany; who was allowed to be the greateſt and moſt deſerving perſon of that age, and his adoption was accordingly ſubmitted to by the ſoldiers, as well as others, who,

who, from that time, remained in perfect quietneſs and obedience.

THE arms and enſigns of the empire were immediately tranſmitted to him at Cologne, and in leſs than three months after he ſucceeded to the full poſſeſſion of the Roman government; ſo that Nerva did not long live to enjoy the benefit of ſo judicious a choice, but, in conſequence of a violent agitation of reſentment againſt one of the ſenators, by which he unnaturally and violently ſtrained his voice, and put his feeble body in much confuſion and diſorder, a fever immediately ſeized him, and terminated his life, after a ſhort reign of one year, four months, and about nine days. He was now nearly 66 years of age; and had the honour of being deified by the ſenate, according to the ancient cuſtom, and his body interred in the ſepulchre of Auguſtus.

HE was the firſt of thoſe five emperors, uſually diſtinguiſhed by the title of the "five good emperors," beginning with Nerva, and ending with the latter Antoninus, and continuing through a period of about 84 years, who carefully preſerved the forms of civil adminiſtration; and not only delighted in the image of a juſt and well regulated liberty, but pleaſed themſelves with the reflection that they were the only miniſters of the laws of the empire, for the diſpenſing of which they were to be accountable. It may truly be ſaid, by way of anticipation, in this place, that ſuch princes deſerved the honour of reſtoring the Roman government, if the people themſelves had been capable of enjoying a rational freedom.

CHAP. XXXVI.

TRAJAN, *the Thirteenth* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 850. A. D. 98.]

WHEN Nerva had paid the great debt of nature, his ſucceſſor was ſtill in Germany, adminiſtering the affairs of his government in that province with prudence and diſcretion. On receiving the information of Nerva's death, he

prepared to return ſpeedily to Rome. Though of an Italian family, he was born at Seville in Spain; and at the time of his ſucceeding to the empire, was about 42 years of age, with a ſtrong conſtitution both of body and mind, which was happily tempered with the animating vigour of youth, and the ſteady experience of riper years, and in every reſpect was fortunately prepared to engage in the greateſt attempts, and nobleſt enterprizes. The renowned Plutarch, ſo well known as a philoſopher and biographer, had been exerciſed to cultivate his mind; by whoſe wiſe inſtructions, to which his own attention and experience had been united, he purſued his miniſtration of the government with ſo much moderation and equity, that he ſecured the admiration and reſpect of all men.

ON his acceſſion to the empire, it is ſaid that Plutarch addreſſed him in a very pathetic manner, by a congratulatory letter, in which he intereſted himſelf, as his tutor, in his future government of the empire; expreſſing his happineſs, if he ſhould perſevere in his accuſtomed goodneſs, and the danger alſo of his falling off, as it would reflect ignominy upon himſelf. "The errors of the pupil," ſays he, "will be charged "upon his inſtructor. Seneca is reproached for the enormi-"ties of Nero; and Socrates and Quintilian have not eſcaped "cenſure for the miſconduct of their reſpective ſcholars. If "you follow my inſtructions, I will glory in having preſumed "to give them; but if you neglect what I offer, this letter "will be my teſtimony that you have not erred through the "counſel and authority of Plutarch."

AGREEABLE to this advice, and his former experienced conduct, he began with reforming ſeveral laws, which ſtill needed regulation; for which purpoſe he aſſumed the office of Pontifex Maximus, which was highly agreeable to his diſpoſition, and enabled him to proceed with much effect in the buſineſs of reformation. He was particularly ſevere upon informers and pettifoggers, who in former reigns had enriched themſelves and impoveriſhed or ruined their clients, by promoting private quarrels and diſſenſions. Pantomimes and farces he utterly forbid, and the ridiculous cuſtom of keeping buffoons and mimics; all which he conſidered as contrary to that gravity and demeanour which ought to diſtinguiſh the Roman citizens. All advocates or pleaders were reſtrained from receiving any fees, or even promiſes, before a cauſe was pleaded; and all exorbitant expences, bribery and other corruptions, which had been uſual in the election of magiſtrates, were particularly prohibited. He ſelected the moſt worthy and virtuous men for ſtations of honour and reſponſibility;

and

and endeavoured to reclaim thoſe whom he found to be otherwiſe by means of gentleneſs and clemency.

WHEN he firſt entered into the ſenate, he made a ſolemn and awful proteſtation, "That no good man, by his command, "ſhould ſuffer death or diſgrace;" therein qualifying the declaration of Nerva, which was expreſſed too generally to conſiſt with a judicious and happy government. He was very liberal to worthy men, and extended the bounty of his predeceſſor to the poor and indigent, in the numbers of poor children which he cauſed to be educated. His moderation and munificence were as remarkably as prudently tempered; he treated perſons of all deſcriptions with courteſy and affability. Free from the tormenting paſſions of envy or hypocriſy, men of merit were moſt hoſpitably and familiarly entertained by him, whatever might be their rank; to whom alſo he frequently paid viſits, and admitted them to private and unreſtrained converſation. For ſo much condeſcenſion he was indeed blamed by ſome; but he replied, "That he treated his "ſubjects in the ſame manner as he himſelf ſhould wiſh to be "treated by his prince, if he were a private perſon."

THE confidence which he had in his own integrity is equally to be regarded. Upon giving the ſword to Saburinus, the præfect of the Prætorian bands, according to cuſtom on the acceſſion of a new emperor, he addreſſed him in theſe extraordinary words, "Take this ſword, and if I govern like a juſt "prince, employ it in my ſervice; but if I abuſe the autho-"rity which is given me, then draw it againſt me." It was alſo a maxim with him, as well as his predeceſſor, that he who preſcribed laws ſhould be the firſt to obey them. He had all the qualifications of a mighty emperor, and ſuch a portion and meaſure of the nobleſt endowments and properties, that he may have been ſaid to poſſeſs a tranſcendent temperature of all virtues.

HAPPY to embrace every probable means of benefiting his ſubjects, he increaſed the number of poor children which Nerva had cauſed to be educated at his own expence from 3000 to near 5000. For theſe, and many other worthy actions, by which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, he obtained the character of "Pater Patriæ, or Father of his Country;" and not content with this, the ſenate conferred upon him the new title of "Optimus," which he valued more than all the honours he at any time acquired; becauſe it related principally to his morality and piety, for which he was eminent, even to the higheſt degrees of ſuperſtition.

OF his public works, it has been obſerved, that they all bear the ſtamp of his genius; who was not more happy in his

his deſign and invention, than he was fortunate in his execution.

ANXIOUS to ſignalize himſelf in martial achievements, as well as to exerciſe prudently the affairs of civil government, he reſolves to commence an expedition againſt the Dacians, a barbarous people on the north ſide of the river Danube, who had often been troubleſome to the Romans in the time of Domitian. But Decebalus, their king, made a vigorous oppoſition, and a very ſevere and bloody war enſued, which was continued for a long time by the Dacians, who withſtood all the efforts of Trajan; but he was forced at laſt to a general engagement, wherein the emperor diſplayed his ſkill and valour, by which he overthrew them with great ſlaughter, at the expence of many valiant ſoldiers of the Romans, ſo that they even wanted linen to bind up their wounds. But the compaſſionate Trajan, without heſitation, tore his own robes to ſupply the defect, as far as he could; and ordered altars to be ſpeedily erected for thoſe who died honourably, commanding ſacrifices to be offered up yearly to their memory.

HAVING thus obtained a complete victory over this reſtleſs and diſſatisfied people, who, from the timid and puſillanimous conduct of Domitian, had been encouraged in their depredations, the emperor loſt no time in puſhing forward his ſucceſs; by which means Decebalus was compelled to petition for peace, and to ſubmit to whatever humiliating articles and conditions might be propoſed. On this occaſion he proſtrated himſelf ſolemnly to the earth, and publicly acknowledged himſelf as his vaſſal; and, for this concluſion of the war, he had a ſtately triumph, which continued many days.

BUT notwithſtanding this ſubmiſſion to a conquering power, the mildneſs and forbearance of Trajan were groſsly abuſed in about two years, by the revolt of Decebalus. Subjection and ſervitude was a condition, though little more than nominal only, which his haughty ſpirit, till now unſubdued, could not brook; and accordingly he made every poſſible preparation to ſhake off that ſubmiſſion and ſtate of vaſſalage to which he had been reduced. Trajan determined upon this occaſion to give a ſpecimen of his power and grandeur; and, in a very ſhort time, ſuch were the vigilance and activity of his meaſures, he built a bridge over the ſpacious river Danube, over which he tranſported his forces, the moſt ſtately and magnificent in the world. It conſiſted of twenty piers, each of which was 60 feet thick; each of the arches being 170 feet broad, and 150 feet high, beſides the foundation on which the piers were erected, which made the whole length to be more than 4600 feet. The whole was conſtructed with ſquare

ſtones

ſtones of a wonderful beauty, and proves the greatneſs and opulence of the Roman empire, and the wonderful genius of this emperor, which was not to be limited by the boldeſt and moſt difficult attempts. Aſtoniſhing as were the obſtacles which obviouſly occurred, particularly in ſecuring ſo vaſt a foundation in a river which was extremely deep, and in a ſtream ſurprizingly rapid, together with a bottom very unfavourable, he ſubdued them all, and accompliſhed his deſign.

THE caution of Decebalus, from the experience he had obtained in conſidering the cauſe of his former defeat, induced him, at this time, in an earlier part of the conteſt, to exerciſe his ſkill in avoiding an engagement, which partly contributed to this reſolution of the emperor. He alſo practiſed various ſtratagems to haraſs the enemy, in many of which he was very ſucceſsful; and Trajan himſelf was, at one time, in danger of being ſlain or made priſoner, as Longinus, one of his generals, actually fell into his hands. He now proceeded to threaten the emperor, and declared, if terms of peace were not immediately granted him, that he would kill this general; but Trajan replied, that peace or war could not poſſibly depend upon the life of one man, and the death of Longinus, which on his part was voluntary, (but from what cauſe we are not informed) gave new vigour to the emperor's operations.

WHEN the ſtately fabric, over which he deſigned to conduct his forces, was completed, he proſecuted the war without intermiſſion, and ſhared with his ſoldiers the fatigues of the campaign. Such an example, added to his conſtant encouragement, inſpired them with zeal and emulation to outvie each other in the purſuit of their duty. By this perſevering and determined conduct, notwithſtanding the country was very extenſive and but little cultivated, and the inhabitants ferocious and hardy, he ſubdued this daring and rebellious people; and having reduced their king Decebalus to the utmoſt diſtreſs and extremity, when he found himſelf ſurrounded on every ſide, to avoid falling into the hands of his conqueror, he ſlew himſelf. But his head was ſent to Rome as a trophy, by which the fate of the war was demonſtrated; and the whole country of Dacia, which was very extenſive, and now forms a very conſiderable part of Turkey in Europe, was added to the Roman empire, and became a regular province. In this expedition he diſcovered much treaſure; and after it was conquered, he cauſed many cities and towns to be built in it, which he ſupplied with colonies from other parts.

BY this ſucceſs, as the empire was advanced to a ſtill higher degree of ſplendor than it had ever before acquired, ambaſſadors from every part were commiſſioned to congratulate

Trajan

Trajan on the occaſion, and to beſpeak his friendſhip; and it is remarkable that the moſt diſtant nations, when they heard of his aſtoniſhing valour, courted his alliance. After ſaying that he triumphed, on his return to Rome, in the moſt wonderful and unprecedented manner, his thirſt for new honours and new conqueſts induced him to meditate an expedition into the Eaſt againſt the Parthians and Armenians. His pretence for this was, that the king of the latter people had received his crown from the hands of the Parthian king, whom he therefore acknowledged as his ſuperior; which was contrary to the ſtipulations formerly made, when the Parthians were rendered tributary to the Romans, and a breach of the conditions on which that province was held.

IN this expedition, the emperor was equally victorious and ſucceſsful as he had ever been. After conquering the kingdom of Armenia, and reducing the whole country into a Roman province, he proceeded with the ſame good fortune to Parthia and Meſopotamia, both of which he ſubdued. The ſenate, upon hearing ſucceſſively of his numerous victories, commanded the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſacrifices to their gods; conferring new honours and new titles, wherewith to ſalute him on his return to Italy.

NOT yet ſatisfied with the honours he had gained, his ardent paſſion for military fame was no way abated, after he had reigned with wonderful good fortune for ſixteen years.

HAVING dedicated a magnificent palace in Rome, where a ſtately column might be erected in honour of all his acts, he undertook a ſecond expedition into the Eaſt, to ſettle ſome matters amongſt the Parthians, and from thence propoſed to march to other nations. He now, after much difficulty, but with no leſs bravery, paſſed the river Euphrates; and, advancing forward with great courage, ſubdued many cities and caſtles, and amongſt others the great city of Arbela, in Aſſyria, where Alexander conquered king Darius. Continuing his ſucceſsful progreſs, he was equally fortunate in other countries where the Roman arms had never yet extended. After a very inconſiderable oppoſition, he approached the city of Babylon, which he ſubdued by force, with all its territories; and the whole rich and noble countries of Chaldæa and Aſſyria ſubmitted to him.

HERE he propoſed to unite the Tigris and Euphrates by a canal, in order to convey more eaſily his veſſels and appendages; but he found the former was ſo much above the level of the latter, that he was obliged to mount his veſſels upon land carriages, and by that means convey them to the Tigris. Having thence advanced as far as Cteſiphon, which he took,

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he thereby opened a paſſage into Perſia; whither he proceeded to make new conqueſts and gain new dominions, to the great ſurprize and aſtoniſhment of all nations.

DESIROUS of repoſing himſelf for ſome time, he came into Syria, and took up his quarters in the city of Antioch. Here he was viſited by a ſplendid concourſe of kings and ambaſſadors, and conſtantly ſurrounded by a glorious train of crowned heads; but his ambition was greatly abated by a moſt prodigious and aſtoniſhing earthquake, which was very extenſive in its effects, though it was moſt alarming and deſtructive in Syria. Many cities were ſwallowed up by it, and mountains and hills ſunk to a level; in ſome places rivers were totally loſt, and in others waters and fountains guſhed out, where before they were unknown. Almoſt all the palaces and buildings in Antioch were demoliſhed, and the emperor himſelf had a narrow eſcape by leaping out of a window.

BUT Trajan, as ſoon as he had refreſhed his troops, purſued his victories. Having paſſed down the river Tigris into the Perſian Gulf, he came into the Oriental Ocean; and there, propoſing to emulate the actions of Alexander, he pretended to make a conqueſt of the Indies. Great as were his conqueſts, he boaſted of ſtill greater, and ſent to Rome an account of ſeveral nations he had ſubdued, whoſe names even were unknown to the ſenate. Yet ſince moſt of his conqueſts had been produced more from terror and by ſubmiſſion, than victory in battle, and as their rapid ſucceſſion admitted not of eſtabliſhing any ſettled government, as Roman provinces, moſt of them revolted on the removal of his army, and the ſmall garriſons which he left behind were moſtly ſacrificed to the reſentment of the native inhabitants. Mortifying as the neceſſity of his return made it, he ſoon recovered moſt of them by extraordinary vigour and induſtry; and particularly he diſplaced the Parthian king, that he might have the honour of giving a head to that nation.

THESE things being accompliſhed, he procceded to Arabia, where, in advancing to beſiege one of its principal towns, the moſt dreadful ſtorms of lightning and thunder, with hail and wind, and many uncommon ſigns in the clouds, overtook the Roman forces, juſt as they were advancing to the walls. In this attack was Trajan in perſon, but in diſguiſe; and ſuffering a repulſe, he was, at this time, in imminent danger. Their proviſions alſo were rendered nauſeous; and he found it neceſſary to retreat and abandon the ſiege.

THE ſenate, about this time, invited him home to enjoy a ſolemn triumph, which they had prepared for him; on which he left Adrian, to command the army then in Syria, and commenced

menced his journey towards Italy. About this time he was ſeized with a diſtemper, which he himſelf attributed to poiſon; and having reached the province of Cilicia in leſſer Aſia, he was ſo very weak and declining, and his complaint increaſed ſo faſt, that he ordered himſelf to be conveyed to the city of Seleucia, where he died within a few days, after a reign of 19 years, 6 months, and 15 days.

IN the hiſtory of the imperial tranſactions under Trajan, we have found it adviſable to depart from our uſual mode; and have therefore connected the hiſtory of his wars alone, without conſidering the other affairs of this extenſive empire. But we cannot cloſe the reign of this emperor, without obſerving briefly, that beſides his ambition, which was immeaſurably exorbitant, as we have juſt related, he had a ſtrong propenſity to luxury and women; yet was he not addicted to diſorder or extravagance in the purſuit of the one, or diſpoſed to commit violence or compulſion in attaining the other.

WE have obſerved, that he was alſo extremely ſuperſtitious, according to the religion of paganiſm in thoſe days; which was unhappily productive of a dreadful perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, wherein many eminent champions of its faith were victims to the zeal of the emperor and his governors, as it continued with more or leſs violence, but without a total intermiſſion, for about fifteen years.

FOR his numerous ſeverities againſt the Chriſtians many have attributed the misfortunes which befel the Romans to the divine diſpleaſure. Beſides the dreadful earthquakes which happened in Syria, and eſpecially in Antioch, three cities were entirely ſwallowed up in Galatia, and the Pantheon in Rome was conſumed by lightning. To the ſame extraordinary cauſes may be aſſigned the occaſion of his repulſe in Arabia, as neceſſary to eclipſe his glory, and mortify his ambition.

BUT the Roman empire did not barely ſuffer by theſe ſupernatural viſitations; for about this time, the Jews, who were diſperſed in various parts, planned a rebellion againſt the power and ſubjection of the emperor. To this they encouraged themſelves, partly by his abſence on his eaſtern expeditions, and more from the terrible earthquakes which, they ſuppoſed, were manifeſt indications of the ruin of the Roman greatneſs. Their utmoſt malice was conſequently exerciſed, and incredible ſlaughters were made upon Romans and Greeks of all ranks and degrees. The Roman province of Cyrene in Africa, where the dark conſpiracy firſt broke out, and the iſland of Cyprus, were almoſt deſolated of inhabitants; and the country of Egypt became a dreadful ſcene of carnage.

In

In the province of Cyrene alone 220,000 perſons periſhed, and in Cyprus 240,000; and ſo barbarous and ſavage were their diſpoſitions, that they even beſmeared themſelves with the blood of the unhappy victims, wore their ſkins, or caſt them to wild beaſts, and exerciſed every kind of torment.

No ſooner was the emperor acquainted with theſe enormities, than he iſſued orders to exterminate ſuch wretches, as unfit for human ſociety. This was productive of many cruel and bloody hoſtilities; and this obſtinate and rebellious people, deteſted by men for their abominable cruelties, and abandoned of God, were treated as the peſts and venom of mankind, and like beaſts deſtroyed, in numbers almoſt incredible, by every ſpecies of death. Suſpicious that the Jews in Meſopotamia might be tinctured with the furious ſpirit of thoſe in Cyrene and Cyprus, he baniſhed all the Jews from that country; and vaſt numbers of them died in other places by acts of hoſtility. To brand the Jews with perpetual infamy, an edict was iſſued, "That no Jew, even if driven by tempeſts "to the iſland of Cyprus, ſhall preſume to ſet his foot upon "land, on pain of immediate execution; being already con-"demned by his very appearance on that ſoil, which had been "tainted with the deadly venom of his countrymen."

We have only to add, in cloſing the hiſtory of this reign, that Trajan was a prince of the moſt ſhining virtues, and the moſt matchleſs monarch in the pagan world; but his ſeverities againſt the harmleſs Chriſtians unfortunately ſtained his memory, and ſtamped it with an indelible ſtigma to the lateſt poſterity. His death, which happened on the 8th day of Auguſt, under the conſulſhips of Niger and Apronianus, was in the 63d year of his age. The younger Pliny was a great favourite of this emperor, who made him governor of Pontus and Bithynia; by whoſe mild repreſentation of the conduct of the Chriſtians, the violence of the perſecution was ſomewhat abated, but not wholly terminated, about the time of Trajan's ſecond expedition againſt the Dacians.

When his aſhes were conveyed to Rome, they were placed with great ſolemnity on the top of a pillar of very curious workmanſhip, repreſenting the particulars of all his exploits. This was 140 feet high. He was deified after the Roman cuſtom; and they inſtituted new games to his honour, which continued in Rome for many ages, and were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Parthica.

Of learned men during the reign of Trajan, we meet with the names of the renowned Plutarch, whoſe lives of philoſophers, and other works have handed down his name, as honourable, to poſterity. Cornelius Tacitus, the elegant hiſtorian,

rian, with Aulus Gellius, and the renowned Martial, were alſo famous during this reign; beſides ſome reſpectable and diſtinguiſhed writers among the Chriſtians.

CHAP. XXXVII.

ADRIAN, *the Fourteenth* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 869. A. D. 117.]

WE have already noticed that Adrian was left at Antioch, as commander of the army, and that Trajan died at Seleucia, in his journey towards Rome. This death was for ſome time concealed, till Ælius Adrianus, who was his nephew, could ſound the diſpoſition of his army, and Plotina, the emperor's widow, did that of the nobility of Rome. To promote her deſign, ſhe produced a forged inſtrument, which imported, that Trajan, who had no iſſue, had adopted Adrian for his ſon and ſucceſſor; and as this was a very natural artifice, ſhe ſucceeded in her deſign. The army having immediately ſworn obedience to Adrian, the ſenate and people of Rome very ſoon after, in conſideration of his abilities and relation to Trajan, acknowledged him as emperor.

THE diſpoſition of Adrian, ſatiated perhaps with the wild projects of his relation and predeceſſor in thirſting after uſeleſs and unprofitable conqueſts, which he plainly ſaw to be untenable, or for which it was manifeſt great expence muſt be incurred, wiſely determined, immediately on his acceſſion, to bound the empire eaſtward by the river Euphrates. A modern writer has thus contraſted the diſpoſition of theſe two emperors: "The martial and ambitious ſpirit of Trajan, "formed a very ſingular contraſt with the moderation of his "ſucceſſor; but the reſtleſs activity of the latter was equally "remarkable, whoſe life was almoſt a perpetual journey. "Poſſeſſing the various talents of the ſoldier, the ſtateſman, "and the ſcholar, he gratified his curioſity in the diſcharge "of his duty. Careleſs of the difference of ſeaſons and cli-"mates, he marched on foot, and bare-headed, over the ſnows

"of

"of Caledonia and the ſultry plains of Upper Egypt; nor "was there a province of the empire, which, in the courſe of "his reign, was not honoured with his preſence."

THIS emperor, as well as his predeceſſor, was born in Spain; and when he came to the empire was about 40 years of age. He was of a moſt retentive memory, and well ſkilled, not only in the profeſſion of arms, but in every ſpecies of learning. He compoſed excellently both in proſe and verſe; was an excellent orator, phyſician, and mathematician; in muſic he excelled, and was equal to the firſt maſters in drawings and paintings. All ſorts of learned men were encouraged by him, with whoſe converſation he was extremely delighted; and though he was almoſt ſurrounded with philoſophers, aſtronomers, poets, orators, grammarians, muſicians, geometricians, architects, painters, and ſtatuaries, there were very few of them whom he did not ſurpaſs in their own way.

HIS condeſcenſion to the meaneſt of his ſubjects, if they were men of reputation, was extraordinary; whom he often viſited, but eſpecially if they were ſick, and treated with the utmoſt familiarity. Nothing gave him ſo much offence as thoſe who envied him this pleaſure, under pretence of its inconſiſtency with the dignity of an emperor. All injuries preceding his advancement to the empire were pardoned; and ſuch was his clemency, that the only puniſhment which he ordered for a man, who ran madly upon him with a ſword, was to order him a phyſician to cure his frenzy.

As he approached towards Rome, in his journey from Syria, to take poſſeſſion of the imperial throne, he heard that a ſolemn triumph was decreed for him; but he wholly refuſed this honour, and ordered that it ſhould be given to the image of Trajan, who by this means triumphed, which no other emperor did, after his death. And when he entered into the ſenate, ſoon after his arrival, he took an oath never to puniſh a ſenator, but by the ſentence of the ſenate. As an inſtance of his wonderful kindneſs and generoſity, he cancelled all the debts which were owing to the public treaſury from various perſons; and deſtroyed the records and ſecurities of them, that they might never afterwards be demanded.

HE had not been very long in Rome, when the warlike Dacians, with the Sarmatians and Alani, renewed their hoſtilities againſt the Roman territories; but on his approaching them, they were terrified by the very character only of the lieutenant of Trajan, which induced them to a ſubmiſſion. On this occaſion he cauſed the very bridge of his predeceſſor, which he had raiſed to tranſport his armies over the Danube againſt

againſt theſe people, to be broken down; as it now ſerved to aſſiſt theſe free-booters in their ſhort incurſions, and enabled them more ſeverely to haraſs the neighbouring nations.

A SHORT time after his return to Rome he formed the reſolution of viſiting the whole empire; and immediately prepared, with a ſplendid retinue and a ſufficient guard, to enter Gaul, from whence he paſſed into Germany, and thence into Britain. Here he cauſed the mighty wall, which bore his name, to be raiſed, which extended from the river Eden, in Cumberland, to the Tine in Northumberland, over a ſpace of 80 miles, to prevent the incurſions of the wilder Britons. From thence, returning through Gaul, he paſſed into Spain, of which country he was a native; and after wintering there, and viſiting ſome other parts of his dominions, to reform any abuſes or make any improvements which might appear neceſſary, he again returned to Rome. He ſoon afterwards appointed that the inhabitants of higher Germany ſhould be favoured with a king, in which they expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction.

AFTER ſome time the Parthians revolted, which occaſioned him to proceed to the eaſtern parts of the empire, where he reſolved to proſecute the war in perſon; but this alarmed the enemy, and induced them to ſue for peace, which they obtained. He now proceeded on his travels through the leſſer Aſia and Syria, from whence he went to the famous city of Athens, where he continued for ſome time.

RETURNING once more to Rome, he aboliſhed the impious cuſtom of the Pagans, of offering human ſacrifices; and made many regulations for the good of the empire. At this time, as in every other part of the empire which he viſited, many public works were erected in Rome under his immediate inſpection; for as he was himſelf an artiſt, ſo he loved the arts, becauſe they contributed to the glory of the monarch. After continuing near three years, he went over into Africa, to the great joy of its inhabitants; whoſe preſence was not only extremely delightful, but more ſo as it was accompanied with plentiful ſhowers of rain, which for many years they had wanted. On leaving Carthage, his ſtay was ſhort at Rome; for, proceeding into Greece, he from thence paſſed over into leſſer Aſia and Syria. Hither he cauſed, by meſſengers and letters, all the kings and governors in thoſe parts to be aſſembled; on which occaſion he voluntarily ſent the daughter of the king of Parthia, whom Trajan had made priſoner, to accompany the invitation of that king amongſt others, which generoſity induced many others to comply with his wiſhes. The courteſy and civility with which he received them, was the

the common topic of converſation amongſt the courts of Aſia; and gave much anxiety and concern to thoſe who had neglected the opportunity.

WHEN this magnificent entertainment was completed, he finiſhes his ſurvey of Syria, enters Judæa and Paleſtine, and from thence goes to Arabia. From thence he paſſed into Egypt, where he continued for almoſt two years; at which time the poor Chriſtians experienced his zeal for Paganiſm, in his perſecution of them. When he came into Greece, after ſome continuance at Athens, he terminated his peregrinations, by returning to Rome in the nineteenth year of his reign for the ſixth and laſt time; which was extremely grateful to the people, and productive of general benefit. His diligence in adminiſtering the affairs of government was unabated; many new laws and ordinances were made; and, being now about 60 years of age, he reſolves to adopt a ſucceſſor, chuſing Lucius Commodus, whoſe virtues and merits he ſtrongly inſiſted on in various conſultations, contrary to the advice of his council. But he died about two years after, and then ſelected Titus Antoninus, a perſon of eminence, afterwards ſurnamed Pius, with the entire approbation of the ſenate and principal people of Rome; whom he obliged alſo to adopt two others, who afterwards became joint emperors, until the death of one of them.

ABOUT the time that he was in Syria, he cauſed that edict to be prepared by his famous lawyer, Salvius Julianus, which was afterwards publiſhed under the name of "The perpetual "Edict;" and contained rules for all ſucceeding prætors and governors of provinces, ſo that juſtice might be adminiſtered uniformly throughout the empire.

HE ſoon after cauſed the city of Jeruſalem to be rebuilt at a vaſt expence; and as the Jews were zealous in their aſſiſtance, which contributed to raiſe their expectations, it proceeded with aſtoniſhing expedition. But when the emperor put a Roman colony into it, and built a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the room of the temple of God, the miſchiefs it occaſioned were ſerious and lamentable. It is alſo ſaid, that they were prohibited the uſe of circumciſion; and that theſe two cauſes united to provoke them to a general rebellion.

IT is certain, that this broke out ſoon after the emperor left Egypt and the Eaſtern parts; and that, by means of an impoſtor, the Jews of all nations joined the ſedition. Their ravages and plunders were extremely great; which induced the governor of Judæa, with a ſmall number of auxiliary forces, to march out againſt them, deſtroying all theſe deſperate rebels without diſtinction. But he found himſelf unable

to

to quell the diſturbance, as their numbers increaſed ſo prodigiouſly in a ſhort time, from the hopes of deliverance, that the emperor's beſt troops and moſt ſkilful commanders were ſoon neceſſary. The general of this army was Julius Severus, at that time Governor of Britain; who, by a ſucceſsful manœuvre, in dividing their united forces, obtained ſeveral bloody victories, and in the firſt year of the war, beſieged, demoliſhed, and burnt the new city of Jeruſalem, which was ſo lately rebuilt.

THE town of Bether, to which vaſt numbers of Jews had retired, as their laſt refuge, being exceedingly ſtrong, ſupported a long ſiege from the Roman army. Obſtinate and perſevering in their rebellion, they ſuffered the moſt dreadful calamities of hunger and thirſt; which at laſt ended in a very terrible ſlaughter, the moſt deplorable which ever befel them, except in the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus. According to their own accounts, "the horſes waded in blood to the "noſtrils; 400,000 were ſlain, and Adrian walled a vineyard "of ſixteen miles in compaſs with dead bodies."

AFTER many other violent ſtruggles, the Jewiſh war ended in the third year from its commencement, at the expence of much blood to the Romans. Determined to prevent every future rebellion of the Jews, the emperor's ſeverity was now extreme; and it did not come to its termination, till fifty of their ſtrongeſt cities had been demoliſhed, and 985 of their beſt towns deſtroyed, with the ſlaughter of 580,000 men in ſeveral battles and ſkirmiſhes, beſides an infinite number of others who periſhed by famine, fire, and diſeaſes. Thoſe who ſurvived this ſecond ruin of their nation were ſold in incredible numbers, of all ages and ſexes, like dogs and horſes, in the public markets; others were tranſported into Egypt and various countries, of whom ſome periſhed by ſhipwreck, ſome by famine, and many were ſlain like beaſts by the Pagans.

WHEN Adrian, in the following year, rebuilt Jeruſalem, he determined that it ſhould neither have the name it formerly had, nor be poſſeſſed by any other than Romans and foreigners. Hence he called it Ælia Capitolina, by which it was known for ſeveral ages. In this new city, Mount Calvary was included within the walls; but all the ſouthern parts of the old city, comprehending Mount Sion and the place of the temple, were excluded, and left deſolate. A Roman theatre was alſo erected; in which the very ſtones of the temple were applied. Many other indignities were likewiſe ſhewn to the memory of the Jews, as monuments of Pagan ſuperſtition; which, in ſeveral reſpects, had an equal enmity to the Chriſtians, againſt whom

whom the perſecution continued, with very little intermiſſion, through the greateſt part of his reign, though not with equal violence.

IT muſt not be diſſembled, that, with all his virtues, this emperor had many vices and imperfections. In the midſt of all his excellencies, he was remarkable for pride and vanity, with a mixture of cruelty and revenge, eſpecially towards the latter part of his reign. To flatterers and paraſites, he too much lent an ear; and in the arts of diſſimulation, though they did not ſo generally produce the evils of that vice in preceding reigns, he was very thoroughly converſant. But it muſt remain a blot upon his memory, that he put to death four conſular men, who were his perſonal enemies; and his concluding conduct, probably excited by a tedious illneſs, rendered him very peeviſh and cruel, ſo that it became doubtful, after his death, whether the ſenate ſhould decree him a place amongſt the gods, which terminated in his favour by the intreaties of his ſucceſſor.

To form ſome judgment of the military forces of Adrian, which was continued by ſucceeding emperors, the peace eſtabliſhment was thirty legions, of which three were deemed fully ſufficient to be kept in Britain. But when the number which each of theſe legions contained is conſidered, as forming a diſtinct body of 6831 Romans, beſides attendant auxiliaries, as we learn from authors, it may not, perhaps, be overrating ſuch a body to ſet them down at 12,500 men; and, upon this eſtimate, Great Britain muſt have ſupported 37,500 Roman ſoldiers, and the whole ſtanding force amounted to 375,000 men for the defence of the empire.

ADRIAN, for ſome time before his death, became inſupportable to himſelf, and earneſtly deſired that ſome perſon would diſpatch him. His adopted ſucceſſor, to his great honour, endeavoured to perſuade the emperor to ſupport life as long as poſſible, and ſtrictly charged that none of his domeſtics ſhould be guilty of ſo much impiety. He complained what a miſerable thing it was to ſeek death, and not be able to find it. He now cauſed himſelf to be removed to Baiæ, where his diſorder ſo much increaſed as to affect his underſtanding; upon which he diſregarded all regimen, and his death proportionably haſtened, to terminate his ſufferings. This happened on the 10th of July, in the 62d year of his age, after a reign of 20 years and eleven months.

To the memorable names of writers who flouriſhed in the time of Trajan, of whom ſeveral remained during this reign, we may add the names of Appian, Suetonius, and Pauſanias, as hiſtorians. In this reign alſo flouriſhed the famous Juſtin

Martyr among the chriſtians, who lived near thirty years after the death of this emperor; an eminent champion of that deſpiſed people, particularly in his diſtinguiſhed oppoſition to the Jews, with whom they were but too frequently confounded.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

ANTONINUS PIUS, *the Fifteenth* ROMAN EMPEROR.

[ANN. ROM. 890. A. D. 138.]

WHEN Adrian, in appointing a ſucceſſor to the empire, after the death of Lucius, made choice of Titus Antoninus, he therein apparently determined to deſerve the thanks of poſterity, by placing a perſon of the moſt exalted merit on the imperial throne. At the ſame time he had ſecured the reverſion to two others, whoſe juvenile years gave him reaſon to expect that they might naturally ſucceed him, and whoſe diſcernment taught him to hope that they would alſo become ornaments to that dignity. Of Antoninus it muſt be obſerved, that he had all the qualifications of an amiable prince; and was ſo entirely free from all vices, that he greatly exceeded the very beſt of his predeceſſors. He was extremely affable, eaſy, and pleaſant to all men. It is not ſufficient to ſay, that he was compared to Numa, the ſecond king of Rome, though he was equally diſtinguiſhed for a love of religion, juſtice, and peace; for Numa had only to govern a few neighbouring villages, and prevent them from committing depredations on each other, but Antoninus diffuſed tranquility and good order over the greateſt part of the earth.

HE was born at Niſmes in the province of Gaul, and when he came to the empire was about 50 years of age. In his adminiſtration of public juſtice, he was rigidly tenacious of the principles of rectitude, and would ſuffer no bribes, favours, or gratitude to be beſtowed on any of his ſervants by ſuch as had occaſion to apply to him; and to prevent, as much as might be, the very poſſibility of it, he commonly gave audience to all petitioners in perſon. Yet was he compaſſionate

to thoſe criminals, who had offended againſt the laws, and been condemned by them, whenever he could diſcover any traces of virtue to give hopes of amendment.

ONE of his firſt objects was, to endeavour to appeaſe the minds of the people, and induce them to forget the deſigns of Adrian, which he attributed to the effects of his diſtemper; firſt beginning with the reſtoration of thoſe perſons to liberty, who, it was ſaid, had been marked out by Adrian for execution, and declaring as his reaſon, that Adrian, if he had recovered, would have done the ſame. He obtained his deſire, though with much oppoſition, that he ſhould alſo be ranked amongſt the gods, according to the Pagan manner.

HE now enquired into the character and merits of the provincial governors; and ſelected thoſe only whom he found to be men of ſtrict juſtice and integrity. Equally vigilant and attentive in government as his predeceſſor, he was entirely oppoſite to him in relation to his travels; for he determined never to depart from the city, except for the purpoſe of rural recreations.

SOON after his acceſſion to the empire, he married his daughter to his adopted ſucceſſor, Marcus Aurelius, and gave him the title of Cæſar. The empreſs Fauſtina died in the third year of his reign; to whoſe memory the ſenate conferred every honour, though a very bad woman, entirely from a grateful reſpect to the emperor. He provided for the maintenance and education of certain young children, whom he ordered to be called Fauſtina's children, to endear her memory; and, in the following year, inſtituted new games in honour of Adrian, which were to be ſolemnized every five years. In about ſix years more, the grand ſecular games were celebrated, on concluding the ninth century from the foundation of Rome; which uſually took place only once in 100 years, but had been celebrated under Domitian out of the regular order. The year following, when he had completed the tenth year of his reign, he celebrated his decennalia with much ceremony and ſplendor.

TOWARDS the cloſe of his reign, which is not remarkable for a great variety of incidents, he renewed ſome laws againſt adulterers; and extended the ſame puniſhments to huſbands as he did to their wives. Herein we may diſcover a ſtriking contraſt between this emperor and his predeceſſor; for no leſs remarkable was the gentle repoſe of the former, than the reſtleſs activity of the latter, eſpecially from their immediate ſucceſſion. He was very little employed in war; and the few expeditions which he had in the begining of his reign acquir-

ed him a ſufficient reputation to govern the world afterwards without bloodſhed.

OF theſe we ſhall notice, on the authority of Pauſanias, the ſucceſsful expedition againſt the wandering Moors, who were driven into the ſolitudes of Mount Atlas; and alſo another againſt the Brigantes of Britain, who had invaded the Roman provinces there.

THE Chriſtians, for the moſt part, enjoyed a comfortable repoſe during this reign; ſo that very early the celebrated Juſtin Martyr ſettled in Rome, after ſeveral journeys and voyages, where he kept a ſort of ſchool for the benefit of the goſpels, and made many converts. When they were perſecuted more than ten years after, upon the falſe charges from ſome of the more zealous Pagans, which the ſtanding laws of the empire and the particular edicts of former emperors permitted; he vindicated their cauſe to the emperor ſo effectually, that Antoninus cauſed a favourable edict to be publiſhed, which afterwards ſecured to them the rights of peaceable citizens.

IN this reign we meet with an account of the famous aſtronomer Phlegon, who, in the third year of Antoninus, completed his calculation of the Olympiads; where he notices particularly the miraculous eclipſe of the ſun which happened at the paſſion of the Meſſiah. Not long before the celebration of the grand ſecular games, the renowned hiſtorian, Appian, finiſhed his Roman hiſtory; of which a conſiderable part ſtill remains.

WE now meet with the names of Ptolemy, the geographer, with the hiſtorians Juſtin and Arrian. Galen, the phyſician, began to flouriſh under the reign of this mild and humane prince; to which might be added many renowned writers among the Chriſtians, whoſe works do honour to the cauſe in which they were embarked.

AFTER a long courſe of proſperity, Antoninus was ſeized with a violent fever; and, conſcious of the approach of his diſſolution, he confirmed his adoption of Marcus Aurelius, his ſon in law, before a numerous concourſe of friends, the captains of his guards, and his principal officers, whom he had cauſed to be aſſembled for that purpoſe. He ſoon after died, univerſally lamented in the city and empire, on the 7th day of March, at the age of 73, after a reign of 22 years, 7 months, and 26 days.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS, *the Sixteenth* ROMAN EMPEROR

[ANN. ROM. 913. A. D. 161.]

FROM the reſpect aud veneration which the Romans had now conceived for the name of Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, who was the elder of the two adopted ſons of Titus, by command of Adrian, took the name of his predeceſſor. The ſenate immediately admitted him as emperor, and he took his adopted brother, Lucius Verus, as his aſſociate and equal in the empire; which was a novel ſight to the Romans, who had ſo very often ſhed their beſt blood in chuſing one maſter, and now without difficulty ſaw themſelves governed by two ſovereigns at once. Of the latter, it may ſuffice at preſent to obſerve that he was the ſon of Lucius Commodus, whom Adrian had, in the firſt place, adopted his ſucceſſor, but died before that emperor. Both theſe adopted ſons exerted themſelves to pay every poſſible reſpect to the memory of Adrian; pronouncing public orations at his funeral, which was ſolemnized with extraordinary pomp and ſplendor, for whom alſo a magnificent pillar was erected.

WHEN Antoninus ſucceeded to the empire, he was about 40 years of age; the ſon of Annius Verus, of an ancient and illuſtrious family, which claimed its original from Numa. He had embraced the rigid ſyſtem of the Stoic philoſophers, when he was only twelve years of age, and was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Philoſophus, that he might not be confounded with his predeceſſor. His juſtice and piety were truly eminent; and his care and penetration were not leſs celebrated; and ſo firmly did he attach himſelf to his ſect, that he practiſed many of their ſeverities, and preſerved ſuch a tranquility of mind as never to change his countenance either with joy or ſorrow. Yet was there a mildneſs in his character, which has been conſidered as the only defective part of it, though it was the moſt amiable; nor could all the rigid diſcipline of his ſect wholly eradicate it.

His goodneſs of heart was frequently too powerful for the judgment and excellence of his underſtanding; and expoſed him to the deceptions of artful and deſigning perſons, who, under a pretence of philoſophic ſanctity, inſinuated themſelves into the emperor's favour, and thereby accumulated riches and honours at the very time when they affected to deſpiſe them.

When governments are corrupted through the bad adminiſtration of ſucceſſive princes, it requires the rigid correction of many reformers to reſtore them to a ſettled condition. Notwithſtanding the virtuous endeavours of a Nerva, a Trajan, an Adrian, and even of an Antoninus Pius, ſome faults were ſtill to be found in the laws of the empire; for as the abuſes of a government are uſually gradual, ſo is commonly their reformation. Such laws, therefore, as were ſtill wanting, or imperfectly executed, he cauſed to be put in force for theſe ſalutary ends; and he ſhewed ſo much reſpect to the ſenate, that he remitted many cauſes to their judgment, as a final ſentence. Being fully ſatisfied that the ſafety of an empire depended on a wiſe and honeſt council, he always conſulted the moſt intelligent perſons in matters of importance. He conſidered every claſs and degree of mankind as entitled to his regard; but his utmoſt pleaſure conſiſting in relieving the diſtreſſes of the poor, and ſuccouring the oppreſſed, they never had recourſe to him in vain. Strictly tenacious of his word, he deſpiſed thoſe maxims which tend to eſtabliſh, that a prince ſhould be directed ſolely by convenience and intereſt.

After mentioning that in the firſt year Commodus was born, who ſucceeded Marcus Antoninus in the empire, many misfortunes befel the Romans in the ſucceeding year, which many attributed to the violent perſecution which then broke out againſt the Chriſtians; for as this emperor was remarkable for his attachment to truth, he was no leſs ſo for his Pagan ſuperſtition. At this time great part of the city was overwhelmed by an inundation of the Tiber, by which many people and a vaſt number of cattle periſhed, and the country was entirely ruined. Hence enſued a grievous famine; which was farther rendered more diſtreſſing by earthquakes, burning of cities, and a general infection of the air that produced infinite ſwarms of inſects which waſted all that the floods had not reached.

To add to theſe calamities, the empire was threatened with invaſions and tumults from every quarter. Not only the Parthians, under their king Vologeſus, ſurprized the Roman legions in Armenia, and cut them to pieces, but the Catti alſo invaded Germany and Rhetia, where they deſtroyed all by fire

fire and ſword. The Britons alſo manifeſted the ſtrongeſt diſpoſition to revolt againſt the power of the Roman government. So many objects preſſing on at once, induced them to regard the Parthian rebellion as the moſt important; and Lucius Verus, one of the emperors, was judged expedient to command the expedition for reducing them to obedience. Antoninus accompanied him part of the way, and was careful in providing many wiſe and able men to attend him; probably with a view to ſecure his conduct, and at the ſame time to reſtrain his vices, for which he diſcovered too much propenſity.

BUT theſe precautions did not prevent Verus from purſuing his pleaſures abroad, much more than was conſiſtent with the intereſt of the war he was engaged in; and Antoninus, being acquainted with his conduct, judging that marriage might be a means of reforming him, came with his daughter Lucilla as far as Brunduſium, from whence he ſent her into Syria, to be married to him. Verus came as far as Epheſus, where he expected to meet Antoninus, in company with his deſigned empreſs, to prevent, as he ſuppoſed, the knowledge of his diſorderly conduct from reaching his ears; ſoon after his marriage at Antioch he returned to the army with Lucilla, whoſe looſe life and converſation were extremely agreeable to her huſband's, and in conformity to the example of her mother Fauſtina.

So ſucceſsfully did the lieutenants of Verus conduct the war againſt the Parthians, notwithſtanding the degeneracy of their emperor and general, that they routed their king, took ſeveral of their principal towns, burnt and plundered their famous cities of Babylon and Cteſiphon, and demoliſhed the magnificent palace of the Parthians. But theſe victorious achievements, in which Verus had little ſhare, being principally engaged in continued debaucheries, acquired him a triumph on his return to Rome. Yet is it to be lamented, that, after his forces had effectually conquered and defeated armies of 400,000 men, they ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of contending, on their return home, with ſickneſs and famine, which deſtroyed more than half their numbers. A more melancholy conſequence ſtill enſued; for his army carried the plague from the temple of Apollo, at Seleucia, which they plundered, into every province through which he paſſed; and the infection ſpread ſo generally through Italy and other parts of the Roman empire, that vaſt multitudes of people of all ranks and qualities were the victims of this dreadful malady. Other deplorable effects of earthquakes, famines, inundations, and inſects, alſo fell on the people of Italy and other provinces.

DURING the abſence of Verus in the Eaſt, Antoninus exerciſed himſelf aſſiduouſly in quieting the other parts of the empire, and applied himſelf to many regulations, particularly in his choice of wiſe governors and Magiſtrates. But the miſeries and calamities which have juſt been mentioned, required all the wiſdom and judgment of the emperor to prevent ſtill more alarming effects; as the barbarous nations took advantage from theſe misfortunes, to make irruptions and inroads even into Italy itſelf. Every ſuperſtition, which the Pagan religion afforded, was reſorted to with the utmoſt zeal, to put a ſtop to the threatened dangers; ſo that Pagan prieſts were ſent for from every part to diſpatch the vaſt number of ſacrifices, which were vowed and offered upon this occaſion.

HE then marched againſt the Marcomanni and Quadi, inhabitants of Germany, taking Verus with him to reſtrain, in ſome degree, his numerous irregularities; and having arrived at the ſcene of action, a battle enſued, in which the Marcomanni were driven from their trenches with prodigious ſlaughter. Victorinus, captain of the guards, was ſlain in this engagement, with a great number of his beſt troops; but the two emperors, notwithſtanding, eagerly purſued their advantage, and preſſed ſo forcibly upon the enemy, that at laſt they broke through their army. This induced the greateſt part of the allies to draw off their armies and to deſire a truce, after having ſlain the authors of the revolt.

THE emperors ſtill continued to purſue the enemy; and, after overcoming them in ſeveral conteſts, entirely defeated them, when they returned into Italy without any very conſiderable loſs. They had determined, indeed, to winter in Aquileia with ſome of their forces, in order to proceed againſt other nations of revolters; but the plague obliged them to remove from thence, and Verus, after being almoſt nine years joint emperor, was ſeized with an apoplexy, of which he ſoon after died, in the 38th year of his age. His death was generally attributed to poiſon, with which his wife Lucilla was charged, from revenge for his irregular paſſion for others.

ANTONINUS, whoſe peculiar goodneſs, as well as his zeal for Paganiſm, were on all occaſions manifeſt, together with a natural reſpect for his own family, cauſed him to be deified after his death; which his infamous life did not much warrant, nor were the ſenate and people much ſatisfied with it.

THE emperor thought adviſable again to marry his daughter Lucilla to Pompeianus; after which, being left to reign alone, the burden of his government being in this reſpect lightened, that he had no longer to govern an emperor as well as an empire, he departed from Rome to finiſh the war againſt

againſt the revolters. The Marcomanni had now united, not only with the Quadi, but the Sarmatians, Vandals, and other barbarous nations, and were become more formidable than ever; and to add to his comfortleſs ſituation and proſpect, his army was waſted by peſtilence and the loſſes of former encounters, his treaſury exhauſted by vaſt expences, and he was ſurrounded by difficulties which he had never before known. To recruit his army, he enliſted the gladiators, the banditti of Dalmatia and Dardania, and even the ſlaves, which had never been practiſed but in the ſecond Punic war; and he raiſed ſupplies by ſelling the moveables which belonged to the empire, after the example of Nerva and Trajan. In his firſt engagement he was routed with the loſs of 20,000 men, and purſued to the very walls of Aquileia, after hearkening ſuperſtitiouſly to the prophecy of an impoſtor, who had aſſured him of ſucceſs on certain conditions; which groſs affront ſo rouſed the Roman courage and fury, that they ſpeedily repulſed theſe formidable invaders, and, having driven them into Pannonia, ſo haraſſed them by continual ſkirmiſhes, that they were compelled to accept ſuch terms of peace as the emperor thought fit to impoſe upon them.

AFTER the emperor had celebrated his Decennalia in the following year, and continued for two or three years more to regulate the affairs of the empire, in deviſing the means of moderating public expences, and reſtraining various kinds of luxury, and in various reſpects endeavouring to reform the morals of the people, the Marcomanni again took up arms with greater fury than before. Their only deſign had been to lay aſleep the jealouſy of the emperor by ſubmiſſion; and, having now gained to their cauſe the alliance of the nations from Illyricum to the fartheſt part of Gaul, their appearance was formidable. The uſual preparations of Pagan ſacrifices being firſt attended to, as a neceſſary preliminary to ſucceſs, he marched to Carnutum, where he paſſed the river Danube by a bridge of boats, and ſoon gained conſiderable advantages over the enemy in ſeveral encounters; which induced ſeveral of the principal allies, from aſtoniſhment at his rapid victories, to ſubmit themſelves to his mercy. But his moſt conſiderable engagement was amongſt the Pannonian mountains; and this muſt have proved fatal to the Roman empire, if ſome miraculous interpoſitions of providence had not been manifeſted to deliver the army from the greateſt peril. The battle began by the enemy's ſlingers acroſs the river Granus, by which Antoninus was in perſonal danger; and the affront ſo rouſed the Romans, that they furiouſly paſ-

ſed the river, and, falling upon the enemy, made a terrible ſlaughter.

POLICY directing the enemy to retire, they rightly judged that they ſhould be purſued, and therefore left ſeveral companies of archers, ſupported by ſome horſe, to ſkirmiſh with the Romans, as if they deſigned or wiſhed to interrupt their progreſs; which induced the Romans briſkly to advance to attack theſe archers, who fled immediately according to orders, and being purſued by the Romans with more bravery than conduct, a thing not unuſual after ſucceſs, the whole army was cunningly drawn forward among ſcorched and barren mountains, and ſuddenly ſurrounded on all ſides. In this ſituation, though ſo extremely diſadvantageous, they continued fighting, depending upon their invincible courage; ſo that their loſs greatly exceeded that of the enemy, who acted merely upon the defenſive, and had determined not to riſque any hazard in effecting inſtantly what delay muſt ſoon accompliſh for them.

ASTONISHED as were the Romans by this change of conduct in their enemies, they ſoon found the effects of the exceſſive heats between the mountains, which produced great wearineſs with extreme thirſt; theſe evils, together with their wounds, quite diſheartened and confounded them. Perceiving, too late, that they could neither fight nor retreat, and that they muſt either ſuffer themſelves to be cut in pieces, or become a prey to their barbarous enemies, rage and deſpair took poſſeſſion of their minds. Antoninus himſelf, concerned for the miſeries of his ſoldiers, ran through all the ranks, and exerted his utmoſt eloquence to raiſe their hopes, but in vain, by profuſions of ſacrifices, in which they no longer confided. There was now nothing to be heard but groans and lamentations throughout the army; nothing to be ſeen but the moſt diſtreſſing marks of the moſt awful deſolation. The enemy, moreover, were now preparing to attack them, when the heat of the ſun, reflected from the ſides of the towering mountains, had exhauſted their ſtrength; and all expectation failed them, having no farther reſources in their courage, or fortune, or the gods.

AT this inſtant, when the enemy was advancing, an extraordinary ſupply of rain from heaven refreſhed their drooping ſpirits; even their parching mouths were raiſed to receive the comforting cordial, beſides what they could collect in their helmets and bucklers. In this ſituation the barbarians attacked them, and cauſed them to drink their own blood mingled with their water; but the ſame clouds which ſupplied the Romans with ſuch a ſeaſonable relief, and diſſipated their thirſt,

thirſt, diſcharged a terrible ſtorm of hail upon their enemies, accompanied with extreme lightning and thunder. Theſe tremendous flames from heaven particularly affected them, ſo as to ſcorch their bodies exceedingly, which was productive of the utmoſt confuſion; for they could neither be extinguiſhed by their water, nor their own deſigned wounds. Many of them now ſurrendered themſelves to the Roman arms, with their wives and children, unable to bear the effects of theſe terrible viſitations; and haſtened to receive and partake of the ſignal benefit which was now conferred upon the Romans. All ſuch perſons were accepted by the emperor with great clemency; but the ſoldiers, who were more enraged at the affront they had received, than affected with the danger they had juſt eſcaped, deſtroyed all who continued their reſiſtance, diſperſed the reſt, and took great numbers of priſoners.

SCARCELY had this wonderful victory been obtained, and an entire ſubmiſſion of theſe barbarous people effected, than the news arrived that Caſſius, who paſſed for a deſcendant of the ancient Caſſius, and probably one of the lieutenants of Verus in his Eaſtern expeditions, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in Syria. He was a hardy general, and at firſt was very ſucceſsful; but he ſoon came into diſrepute with his own ſoldiers, and was ſlain at the end of three months and ſix days after his revolt, when his head was ſent to the emperor, which, inſtead of treating with ignominy, he cauſed to be honourably interred. But the emperor continued his deſigned journey into the Eaſt, to ſettle the armies and people in their duty; firſt going to Antioch, then into Egypt, and from thence to Peluſium, and, returning by Smyrna, where he made ſome ſtay, he afterwards returned to Athens. Here he was initiated in the grand myſteries of the Pagan religion; and, after conferring many honours on the inhabitants, and eſtabliſhing profeſſors of all ſciences with magnificent penſions, he returned to Rome, where he held a triumph for his victories in Pannonia. In this he joined his ſon Commodus, now about 15 years of age, and declared him Auguſtus, by which he inveſted him with all the honours of a compleat partnerſhip.

ONCE more did the northern barbarians diſturb the peace of the empire by taking up arms during this reign. Antoninus had now been about two years at Rome ſince his return from the Eaſt; and he prepared to march againſt them in perſon, but firſt went to the ſenate and requeſted money from the public treaſury for the purpoſe, though in his own power, a proceeding till then unknown in the hiſtory of any emperor. He alſo married his ſon Commodus to Criſpina, the daughter of Valens, a man of conſular dignity; he went likewiſe to the

temple of Bellona, and performed the ancient ceremony of the Javelin. At the requeſt of the people, he alſo ſpent three days in explaining difficulties in morality, and giving them ſhort maxims and rules of conduct; after which he marched his army towards the enemy, with his ſon Commodus, in which war he gained as great advantages as he had before done, though attended with as many difficulties. Many bloody battles were fought, in which the victories were always the effect of his management, frequently and boldly expoſing his perſon to encourage his ſoldiers; he alſo built many ſtrong forts, and performed ſuch other things as were adapted to keep the country in ſubjection.

THE calamities of the Chriſtians during this reign, it has been already intimated, were great. Tertullian and Lactantius ſpeak favourably of the emperor in this reſpect, as having iſſued no laws againſt them; but his extreme indulgence to the Pagan philoſophers, who were their declared oppoſers, his ſuperſtitious zeal for Paganiſm, and his conſidering the ſufferings of the Chriſtians as meer obſtinacy, lead us naturally to conclude that he ſuperſeded the reſtraints of his predeceſſor, and encouraged the execution of the ancient laws againſt them which prohibited all religions not approved by the ſenate.

THOUGH we meet with but few martyrdoms in the beginning, the ſtorm became heavy in the fifth year, when Juſtin Martyr made a vigorous effort in favour of the Chriſtians, in oppoſition to an ill-natured Cynic philoſopher, called Creſcens, a notorious ſlave to all vice and wickedneſs. His diſciple Tatian alſo gave this philoſopher many harſh epithets. About this time ſeveral perſons periſhed by martyrdom at Smyrna, but the heroic conduct of the famous Polycarp is proverbial, over whoſe body the flames had no power, reſembling in this reſpect his maſter St. John, who eſcaped unhurt from a caldron of oil; and when the executioner was commanded to terminate his life with the ſword, ſo great was the quantity of blood which iſſued from his body as to put out the fire, which had been prepared to burn him alive.

MANY perſons periſhed at Rome on the ſame account; which excited Juſtin to prepare an apology in their favour, who was ſoon after, with ſix others, called to ſuffer martyrdom, after a reſpectful, but undaunted teſtimony to the truth of his religion. The Chriſtians at this time had ſeveral diſtinguiſhed writers, among whom Dionyſius and Tatian, who ſucceeded his maſter in his ſchool for Chriſtians, are particularly to be noted. About the 17th year of this emperor, the renowned Pauſanias purſued his Hiſtory of Greece.

IT

IT has generally been ſuppoſed, that the deplorable diſaſters of the Roman empire, which accompanied the perſecution in the beginning of this reign, were ſo many inſtances of the diſpleaſure of heaven at their infidelity; and, what may ſeem extraordinary, it is aſſerted, on ſtill ſtronger authority, that the prayers of the Chriſtians, though at that time ſo heavily perſecuted, effectually prevailed to ſave the whole Roman army by a miracle, as we have related, among the Pannonian mountains. It is added, that from this time the perſecution abated, in conſequence of the emperor's letter to Rome in their favour.

AFTER two or three years, the governors of provinces took occaſion, from the emperor's known zeal for Paganiſm, to revive the perſecution, with great fury, in various parts. Many apologies were written in behalf of the Chriſtians, and particularly by Athenagoras, a famous philoſopher of Athens; notwithſtanding which, it raged dreadfully at Lyons in Gaul, where many renowned perſons were martyred. About the latter part of this emperor's reign, many other eminent martyrs are mentioned in various other places alſo; and though he is ſaid to have relieved the Chriſtians ſoon after, yet he preſently fell ſick at Vienna, when upon a third expedition againſt the northern nations, which ſpeedily occaſioned his death. It has been ſaid, that the phyſicians, to ingratiate themſelves with his ſon, who could not bear reſtraint, as ſoon as he began to be indiſpoſed, gave him poiſon; for he loſt his voice almoſt immediately, and his life on the following day, which was on the 17th of March, in the 59th year of his age; after a reign of 19 years and 10 days.

WHETHER the emperor was induced to relax the laws againſt the Chriſtians, on account of the conduct of Lucius, king of Britain, is not material. It is certain, however, that this king ſent to the head of the Chriſtian church at Rome, to deſire the aſſiſtance of ſome of the Chriſtians, to inſtruct him and his people in that religion by whoſe means, having received two eminent men, it ſhortly ſpread over all his dominions. What is no leſs certain is, that the emperor ſoon after gave ſome eaſe to this oppreſſed people; many of whoſe champions had grievouſly ſuffered during his reign.

As an Heathen prince, he was a man of profound wiſdom and underſtanding; nor were his virtues of a leſs ſplendid nature, though tinctured with ſome vices. For he has not only been accuſed of too much affectation and reſervedneſs, which might reſult from his profeſſion of the Stoical philoſophy, but of arrogance and diſſimulation; he is alſo blamed for incontinency,

nency, and a moſt unreaſonable partiality to his own family and relations. His wiſdom and underſtanding were alſo allayed with ſuch an exceſs of Paganiſh ſuperſtition, as was productive of innumerable hardſhips and oppreſſions to many of his ſubjects; thoſe more eſpecially who in any reſpect favoured the doctrines of Chriſtianity, which far exceeded the moſt ſublime philoſophy. His excellent meditations, which he left behind him, may be conſidered as moſt noble patterns of morality, from which Chriſtians need not be aſhamed to copy.

ONE of the greateſt misfortunes of this partiality was, his giving the title of Auguſtus to his ſon Commodus, when he was only 15 years of age; by which injudicious act he raiſed him above the controul of his father, and afforded himſelf ſufficient cauſe to dread the conſequence. Though he had endeavoured to improve the mind of his ſon with the moſt uſeful inſtructions, and the aid of the beſt maſters, his growing vices, which he ſeemed to inherit from his mother, were daily more conſpicuous. When Antoninus fell ſick, he had the diſtracting reflections, which were but ill ſuited to the temper of a Stoic philoſopher, to know that his conqueſts were unſettled, and that his enemies had their ſwords in their hands; that the people alſo were inclined to revolt, and that the irregularities of his ſon and ſucceſſor, ſcarce 19 years of age, were ſuch as preſented him a very gloomy and melancholy proſpect. He recommended him to the care of his principal friends and officers, with many ſtrong expreſſions of the conſequences which he ſeemed to forebode; and particularly cautioned him againſt the pernicious effects of flattery.

THE death of Antoninus was univerſally regretted, as if the whole glory and proſperity of the Roman empire had departed with him. The ſenate and people did not wait, as was uſual, to deify him after his funeral, but determined on that honour immediately; and, not content with the uſual mode of doing this, in the erection of a golden ſtatue, and a public decree, they declared all thoſe perſons to be ſacrilegious, who had not in their houſes ſome picture or ſtatue of this emperor.

THE name of Lucian, the Roman philologiſt, occurs in the writings during this emperor's reign; to which we may add that of Athenagoras, philoſopher of Athens, the date of whoſe works is fixed by chronologiſts in the ſame æra.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

From the DEATH *of the* ANTONINES *to the* DEATH *of* SEVERUS.

[ANN. ROM. 932. A. D. 180.]

HAVING now completed the reigns of the "five good emperors," ſcenes of a very different nature ſpeedily ſucceeded. Commodus, however, was acknowledged as emperor without oppoſition by the army and ſenate, and ſpeedily after by the provinces. He was, at this time, with the army; and, in order to engage their favourable opinion, he made great promiſes of a juſt and regular government, and continued for ſome time to ſubmit to the directions of his father's friends. Flattery he had ever been diſpoſed to encourage; and ſome deſigning perſons, taking advantage of his youth, induced him to leave the wars, and return to the pleaſures of Rome, contrary to the ſentiments of thoſe counſellors, who adviſed him unanimouſly to ſee an end of this war himſelf. But he made a very haſty peace with the enemy, which his father had almoſt reduced to an entire obedience; and then adviſed the ſenate of his approach to Rome, where he arrived in a little more than ſix months from the death of his father.

As he paſſed through the various cities in his way, he was received with incredible joy and ſolemnity; to whom the memory of his father was dear, and from the hopes they conceived of his happy reign. His entrance into Rome was peculiarly flattering; every demonſtration of joy being manifeſted, from the favourable hopes they entertained that the ſon and grandſon of the two great Antonines muſt conduct the government of affairs worthily. For about two years he behaved with great decency and moderation, ſo long as he hearkened to his father's friends; but when, through ſimplicity and timidity, he ſuffered himſelf to be the ſlave of his attendants, who gradually corrupted his mind, that cruelty which at firſt was dictated by others degenerated into habit, and became a ruling principle. The honour of his family, and the dignity

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of his office, were equally diſregarded; and his lewdneſs and incontinence were notorious and diſgraceful.

HIS unworthy behaviour, together with his cruelties and oppreſſions, occaſioned a dangerous conſpiracy; which was the more dangerous, from its formation within the walls of the palace. Lucilla, the emperor's ſiſter, who had been the empreſs of Lucius Verus, could not patiently view Criſpina in a ſuperior condition to herſelf; ſhe, therefore, engaged one of her lovers, though married a ſecond time to Pompeianus, a ſenator of diſtinguiſhed merit and unſhaken loyalty, (exactly purſuing the conduct of the empreſs Fauſtina) to act the part of an aſſaſſin. It was determined that he ſhould deal the firſt blow, and that the conſpirators ſhould be ready at hand to ſupport it. By an haughty menace, which preceded the ſtroke, the effect was in a great meaſure prevented, which by a ſilent proceeding he might have ſecured; and he was thereupon inſtantly ſeized by the guards, when he diſcovered at once the authors of the conſpiracy, who were ſpeedily executed, with many innocent perſons alſo who ſhared the ſame fate. The empreſs Criſpina, too, was accuſed of adultery, for which ſhe ſuffered, with Fauſtina, his father's couſin german, and great numbers of the moſt illuſtrious of the Roman nobility.

IN theſe executions many innocent perſons ſuffered, inſtead of others who were guilty; he permitted criminals and offenders to eſcape for money, and for a certain ſum granted privilege to many, to inflict death, or other puniſhments on their enemies. His enormities, indeed, were ſo bold, and his tyranny ſo daring, that ſcarce any thing could equal his furious reſentment of the moſt trifling oppoſition. Yet to his favourite Perennis, a captain of his guards, was much of this odious and deteſtable conduct attributed; under whoſe influence the emperor's avarice and cruelty were not leſs notorious than his valour and hardineſs. Under the ſame influence, too, were many governments and places ſold, many unjuſt confiſcations and ſeizures made, and the moſt dreadful barbarities committed.

WE ſhould not omit, in this place, thoſe two innocent victims of tyranny, Maximus and Condianus, two brothers of the Quintilian family, whom Commodus cauſed to periſh together; whoſe diſpoſition was ſo exactly the ſame in every thing, that they appeared to poſſeſs but one ſoul. They had been raiſed to the conſulſhip under the Antonines in the ſame year; and the latter of theſe emperors had conferred upon them jointly the adminiſtration of government in Greece, with a great

a great military command, when they obtained a ſignal victory over the Germans.

AFTER the ſenate had condemned the ſenator Apollonius, who was eminent for his philoſophy and learning, for ſupporting and maintaining the Chriſtian religion, they were themſelves ſeverely puniſhed, by the unjuſt death of many of their members; partly through the cruelties of the emperor, but more, perhaps, by the wicked deſigns of Perennis. Having accumulated an immenſe treaſure, by acts of extortion and the forfeited eſtates of the nobles who had been ſacrificed to his avarice, with the Prætorian guards entirely at his command, he began to think of obtaining the empire; but the licentious monarch was rouſed from his lethargy by a multitude of accuſations, and particularly by a deputation of 1500 ſelect Britons, whoſe determined and reſolute behaviour obtained the miniſter's death as the redreſs of their grievances.

THIS danger occaſioned a momentary change; when he undertook to repeal many obnoxious acts. But he ſoon returned to his uſual pleaſures; and, under the management of Cleander, another favourite, who for cruelties, rapines, and briberies, even exceeded the former, the people of Rome were ſo dreadfully oppreſſed that they marched in a body, with arms in their hands, and inſiſted that Commodus ſhould deliver up his miniſter and his two ſons to their juſt demands. He now ſuſpected every one; and the moſt malicious informers were moſt welcome to him, by which means many innocent perſons periſhed. The revolt of Maternus, too, had ſoured his temper ſtill more; whoſe ſtratagems would have ſucceeded, if he had not been deceived by his own party, from a hope of advantage.

WALLOWING in all kinds of groſs impieties and ſenſeleſs fooleries, Commodus now fell into the moſt unheard-of extravagances; commanding that he would be called Hercules, the ſon of Jupiter, appearing with a lion's ſkin round his body, and a great club in his hand, which, in addition to his executions, gave him more the appearance of a monſter than a man.

THE misfortune of having ſuch a governor, was increaſed by the calamities which overtook the empire. About two years before he had arrived to ſo dreadful a pitch of profligacy, the capitol, with the adjacent buildings, and particularly the famous libraries, which the ancients had ſo very carefully collected, were burnt down by lightning. Another fire at this time broke out, which conſumed the famous temple of peace, in which Veſpaſian had depoſited the rich

rich ſpoils of Jeruſalem; with that of Veſta, by which the ancient image of Pallas was publicly expoſed. It raged for ſeveral days before it could be ſtopped. What added to this calamity was, that many rich men had lodged their riches there, as a place of ſecurity, which involved many perſons, beſides thoſe whoſe houſes were conſumed, in the greateſt diſtreſs.

INFAMOUS as the conduct of this emperor was, it was productive of much comfort to the Chriſtians, who lived peaceably during this reign; to which, as we are told, the emperor's favourite concubine Marcia, who ſucceeded the empreſs Criſpina in every thing but the title, much contributed from her extraordinary influence over him. We read only of the ſenator already mentioned, who ſuffered death, on the accuſation of his own ſervant; and his puniſhment, by the authority of an edict of Marcus Antoninus, preceded that of his maſter, which was ſufficient to deter others from a ſimilar conduct. About four or five years after Pantænus, the governor of the catechetical ſchool at Alexandria, was ſelected to accompany ſome Indian emiſſaries to preach Chriſtianity in thoſe countries; in which journey he met with ſeveral Indians who retained the faith, though very imperfectly, that had been declared to them by the apoſtle St. Bartholomew.

WE now come to the period when the deſpicable and odious conduct of the emperor became inſupportable to all. His propenſity for the exerciſe of gladiators had long been known; but he now reſolved, on the night before the feaſt of Janus, to lodge in a fencing ſchool, from whence he determined to iſſue forth the next day, as a common gladiator, to fence naked before the people. From this deſign, the perſuaſions of his beloved Marcia, his general Lætus, and his chamberlain Electus in vain were urged to diſſuade him; he was, on the contrary, ſo provoked as to command their departure, and, on retiring into his chamber to repoſe himſelf, after his uſual cuſtom, he wrote in a book the names of thoſe three perſons, with a great number of ſenators and wealthy perſons, whom he determined that night to deſtroy. Marcia accidentally came into poſſeſſion of this account; and conſulted the means of ſafety by reſolving to prevent the tyrant's deſigns. Poiſon was preſented to him in a glaſs of wine; and, throwing him into a ſlumber, he was afterwards ſtrangled by one of the deſtined victims of his reſentment, when nature was ſtruggling to throw off the oppreſſion. This happened on the 30th day of December, in the 31ſt year of his age, after a miſchievous aud ſhameful reign of 12 years, 9 months, and 14 days.

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His body was now, without delay, conveyed ſecretly out of the palace, before the citizens, or even the courtiers, had the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of the emperor's death. It paſſed through the guards, moſt of whom, according to cuſtom, were drunk or aſleep, packed up as a bale of uſeleſs furniture. The meaſures of the conſpirators had alſo been taken beforehand, in providing for a ſucceſſor.

In a reign of ſuch diſſoluteneſs and corruption, it would be ſtrange if the ſciences of letters and philoſophy were countenanced and encouraged; however we find the names of Laertius, who flouriſhed in the beginning of it, and Andronicus, who was living towards the end of it, beſides ſome Chriſtian writers of note and eminence, eſpecially the noted Clemens Alexandrinus.

It was neceſſary to fill the vacant throne without delay. Accordingly they repaired, by night, at a late hour, to the houſe of Helvius Pertinax, the præfect of the city, and an ancient ſenator of conſular dignity; who had ſucceſſively governed moſt of the provinces of the empire, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a firm and prudent conduct, as well as integrity. Inſtead of death, which he at firſt expected, as the conſequence of this viſit, he is prevailed on to accept the government; and he is led to the camp of the Prætorian cohorts, who readily conſent to his being emperor, after being impoſed on with reſpect to their patron's death. He was then conducted into the city, to be confirmed by the ſenate; which being done, the ſenate vented the utmoſt maledictions againſt the memory of Commodus.

The birth of Pertinax was obſcure; but he had broke through it, and had been particularly noticed by the ſecond Antoninus. He was now about 68 years of age. His government commenced with reſtraining the licentious conduct of the Prætorian ſoldiers, and curbing their accuſtomed inſolence to the people. His honourable and courteous demeanour ſecured to him the confidence and eſteem of all good men; and the proſpect of their happineſs filled their hearts with univerſal joy.

But the Prætorian ſoldiers, far from reliſhing theſe reformations, which threatened them with a revival of the ancient diſcipline, reſolved to counteract him, by raiſing up ſome powerful opponent. They ſtrongly ſuſpected, to ſay the leaſt, that Commodus, for whom they had a profound veneration, had been murdered; and they now determined, after many unſucceſsful attempts to accompliſh this buſineſs, to attack him openly in his palace. Two or three hundred of the moſt deſperate ſoldiers marched at noon-day, with their drawn ſwords,

ſwords, and with the countenance of furies, to effect this dreadful ſcene; and as they had engaged the guards in the conſpiracy, the gates were inſtantly thrown open, and they entered the palace without oppoſition. The boldneſs of the emperor deſerved a better fate. He firmly advanced to meet them, and recalled to their minds his own innocence, and the obligation of their recent oath of fidelity; at which, as if aſhamed of their horrible deſign, and ſtaggered by the majeſtic firmneſs of the emperor, they were inſtantly confounded. But deſpair of pardon for ſuch heinous attempt rekindled the flame of their fury; and he was ſpeedily diſpatched with a multitude of wounds, after a ſhort reign of 12 weeks and three days, univerſally lamented by the people. The manner and occaſion of his death gave the utmoſt cauſe of apprehenſion of approaching misfortunes to the empire.

WHEN the Prætorian ſoldiers had thus violated the ſanctity of the throne, by the daring and impious murder of Pertinax, no wonder that they ſhould proceed, by their ſubſequent conduct, to diſhonour its majeſty. It is ſcarce credible, what was nevertheleſs true, that Sulpicianus, who was governor of the city and father-in-law to the emperor, ſhould actually be treating for the empire, by the offer of a large ſum of money to the ſoldiers, when the head of Pertinax was borne triumphantly on a lance to the camp. Fluſhed with their ſucceſs, ſome of them had the daringneſs, heretofore unheard of, to run out upon the ramparts, and there publicly to proclaim that the empire was to be diſpoſed of to the higheſt bidder; which created an univerſal grief and ſhame throughout the city.

THOUGH Sulpicianus had offered a donative of 5000 drachms (above 160 pounds ſterling) to every ſoldier, no ſooner did the news reach the ears of Julianus, a wealthy ſenator, than he immediately ſtruck the bargain at 6250 drachms (upwards of 200 pounds ſterling); on which the city gates were inſtantly thrown open to the purchaſer, and he was declared emperor, contrary to the wiſh both of the ſenate and people. But ſince they could not reſiſt the tumult, they were conſtrained to ſubmit to the innovation.

JULIANUS was grandſon to the famous lawyer, who compoſed the perpetual edict in the reign of Adrian, and about 57 years of age. In vain did he ſtruggle to render himſelf popular; for his ſcandalous election he was deteſted by the ſenate and people, and for his parſimony and avarice the ſoldiers, who had thus corruptly raiſed him, were not leſs diſſatisfied. The commanders of the armies abroad were hereupon induced to aſpire to the ſame dignity; of theſe were

Peſcenius

Pescenius Niger in the East, and Clodius Albinus in Britain. But Septimus Severus, who was neareſt to Italy, from Niger's delay at Antioch, firſt arrived there, to revenge, as he pretended, the death of Pertinax; and in vain did Julianus attempt to oppoſe him, having neither courage or knowledge for the buſineſs. The ſenate, immediately on the near approach of Severus to the city, declared Julianus a public enemy, and ordered him to be ſlain; having only reigned 9 weeks and two days.

No ſooner had the ſenate and people acknowledged Severus for their emperor, than he ſet himſelf to revenge the murder of Pertinax, and to do honour to his memory. He had given orders to the Prætorian ſoldiers to receive him unarmed; and they conſented readily, as a token of ſubmiſſion, advancing towards him with laurel branches. A ſelect part of the army of Illyricum now ſurrounded them; and Severus, reproaching them for their barbarity and infamy, ſtripped them of all their military ornaments, and baniſhed them to the diſtance of 100 miles from Rome.

HAVING paid the reſpect to the memory of Pertinax, which was ſo pleaſing to the ſenate and people, and regulated ſome abuſes which he found in the empire, he marched againſt Niger, whoſe reputation and power were moſt to be dreaded; to which preference, probably, he was more excited, as being more deſired at Rome than himſelf, but pretending only by this march to regulate the eaſtern provinces. In two engagements near the Helleſpont, and in the narrow defiles of Cilicia, the fate of Niger and his ſons, which were then at Rome, and had fallen into his hands among the children of the provincial governors, was decided; for they were ſoon involved in the ruin of their father, being firſt baniſhed, and afterwards put to death.

THE city of Antioch, to which Niger had fled, was demoliſhed; and great ſeverities were exerciſed againſt thoſe who had taken part with him. Byzantium ſtill held out, even after his death, but was at length reduced.

HIS object now was againſt Albinus. Though he had not aſſumed the imperial title, he accepted that of Cæſar, which was offered him by Severus; who continued his artful and concealed animoſity till he had effected the ruin of Niger, of which event he ſends meſſengers with a letter to inform him, full of pretended affection and eſteem, but with inſtructions to obtain a private audience and to plunge their daggers in his heart.

ALBINUS, roufed with this treatment, paſſed over to Gaul, and prepared to revenge this treacherous conduct; but unable

unable to withſtand a veteran and victorious army, after diſplaying much valour and intrepid courage, his fate alſo was decided. We learn that 150,000 Romans were engaged in this battle; and that, for a ſhort time, ſo doubtful was the iſſue of this conteſt, both the fame and perſon of Severus appeared to be loſt irrecoverably. Had he ſeconded the wiſhes of the ſenate and people of Rome, during the conteſt with Niger, he muſt have ſucceeded to the empire; but he fell a martyr to his unſuſpecting temper and goodneſs.

WHEN Severus returned to Rome, he upbraided the ſenate with their affection for Albinus, and ingratitude to himſelf; many of whom, and of the nobility, he condemned to death, for being friends to him, as he did alſo thoſe of Niger's party. Where proofs were not full enough for his purpoſe, he is ſuppoſed to have forged many letters, which he produced againſt them. Avarice, as well as revenge, had alſo a conſiderable ſhare in theſe condemnations; and therefore many ladies ſuffered, becauſe they were opulent. The wives and children and even the clients of the ſenators attended them in death; and the ſame ruin extended to the nobleſt provincials both of Spain and Gaul. He now reſolved to revive the memory of Commodus, and, in defiance of the ſenate, cauſed him to be canonized and adored as a god.

CARACALLA, his ſon, had been declared Cæſar, after his return from the Eaſt; whither, after he had revenged himſelf of the adherents of both parties, he ſoon repeated his viſit, to puniſh ſome kings who had favoured Niger. Peace was purchaſed in Armenia by preſents and hoſtages; and, after viſiting Arabia Felix, where he plundered ſeveral cities, then ſailed along the Euphrates to Parthia and Perſia, whoſe princes had invaded the empire, where he took and plundered all before him. Caracalla had now the title of Auguſtus given him, and his younger ſon Geta, that of Cæſar; and the former was now admitted a partner in the empire.

SEVERUS, being returned to Rome, triumphed with great magnificence over the nations he had ſo lately ſubdued. He alſo celebrated his Decennalia; his ſon Caracalla alſo about this time married the daughter of his favourite Plautianus, who not long after received the juſt reward of all his wickedneſs. The emperor beſtowed on the ſoldiers a donative of a million and a half of our money; and two years after he alſo celebrated the grand ſecular games, which was 57 years after the laſt under Antoninus Pius, and juſt 100 after thoſe under Claudius. The following year the Africans had no corn, as a puniſhment of their crime, for deſiring their governor to prohibit

prohibit to the Chriſtians the uſe of threſhing-floors and burying places.

ALL writers agree that the emperor Severus applied himſelf diligently to public affairs; and vigorouſly diſtributed juſtice with an impartial hand. He diligently attended to the wants of his empire, for which he made ſuitable proviſion; improved the public reſources, increaſed the public granaries, and filled the treaſury. But his indulgence to the legions, whilſt it ſecured obedience to himſelf, ſapped the very vitals of ſubordination; and occaſioned the moſt grievous calamities in the empire for near eighty years after. He alſo renewed, though not exactly in the ſame manner, a body of guards, in the room of the Prætorian cohorts whom he had baniſhed.

HE now gave to Geta the title of Auguſtus, with the ſame power as Caracalla, and declared them joint ſucceſſors to the empire; but was much diſſatisfied with the conduct of the latter. Soon afterwards advice arrived that the northern inhabitants of Britain were in arms, in ſuch force as to endanger the ſtationed legions there; and though old and infirm, he reſolved to go againſt them perſonally, taking his ſons with him to reſtrain their irregularities. Peace was offered on the news of his approach; but he refuſed it, from the ambition of adding another title to his honours, and, after encountering numerous difficulties and miſeries with becoming fortitude, he compelled his enemies to deliver up a conſiderable part of their country, with all their arms.

AFTER this victory, Severus cauſed the famous wall of Adrian to be rebuilt, whence he retired to York; where, through age and travel, augmented by his grief for the diſtreſſing conduct of his ſon Caracalla, he fell into a diſorder, of which he lingered for ſome time, but at laſt expired after a reign of 17 years, 8 months, and three days, from the time of his being declared emperor by the ſenate, at the age of 65 years.

UNIVERSALLY commended for his wit and learning, his prudence and policy, we have noticed his cruelty and diſſimulation; and his temper was fitted for performing the nobleſt acts and the bloodieſt ſeverities. In his reign, the Chriſtians were ſubject to a heavy perſecution, through the fury of the people, by the ſtanding laws of the empire; but this was neither by the order nor encouragement of Severus, though many of them ſuffered, particularly upon all public misfortunes, as all calamities were attributed to them. In this perſecution many perſons ſuffered in Africa, Egypt, and Lyons; particularly the famous Irenæus, and many others. The emperor's edict, which forbad all perſons, under the ſevereſt penalties,

penalties, to turn either Jews or Chriſtians, had the effect of reviving and increaſing it; and the father of the renowned Origen was a martyr therein, and his eſtate confiſcated, leaving a wife and children totally without ſupport, which Origen, after being an object of compaſſion to a rich lady of the city, ſoon obviated by opening a ſchool for the profeſſion of the liberal arts. Some time after, on the retreat of St. Clement from the perſecution, he was called to the chair of the great ſchool of Alexandria, though only 18 years of age; a charge which he ſucceſsfully executed with infinite diligence, and with a behaviour which produced great numbers of diſciples. Though Tertullian, about this time, began to waver in his opinions, he ſtill defended the Chriſtians, as he had done formerly in his famous apology to the magiſtrates and governors of the Roman empire, and many other works.

THE accuſations againſt Narciſſus, biſhop of Jeruſalem, whoſe piety and miracles rendered him an eminent example to the Chriſtians, were puniſhed in a very ſingular manner. Though they induced him to retire into obſcurity, the imprecations of his accuſers upon themſelves, in calling for fire, leproſy, and blindneſs, were fully manifeſted; the firſt being burnt in his houſe, with the whole family, the ſecond was entirely covered with the diſeaſe he had invoked, and the third was ſo terrified at the judgment of theſe, that he publicly confeſſed their baſe conduct, and fearing the juſt puniſhment of Heaven, lamented and wept till he loſt his eye-ſight.

NOT long before the death of this emperor, it is generally ſuppoſed that Philoſtratus, the Athenian orator, wrote the famous legend of Apollonius Tyanæus, who died in the firſt year of the reign of Nerva, about 113 years before. Albinus, the noted anatomiſt, died in the time of this emperor; as did the famous Galen, at the age of 70, the moſt eminent phyſician which had appeared, if we except Paracelſus, among the ancients. Clemens Alexandrinus wrote alſo in this reign as well as that of Commodus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

From the DEATH *of* SEVERUS *to the* DIOCLESIAN ÆRA.

[ANN. ROM. 964. A. D. 211.]

THE two ſons of Severus, who had accompanied him into Britain, ſpeedily determined to return to Rome with the aſhes of their father; where they deified him according to the ancient cuſtom, being acknowledged emperors without oppoſition. Caracalla was now about 23 years of age; had formerly been of a very compaſſionate and tender diſpoſition, but was much altered for the worſe. His brother, Publius Septimus Geta, was naturally of a milder turn, and a favourite with the people; ſo that the other endeavoured to deſtroy him by poiſon, and corrupted the Prætorian ſoldiers by preſents to favour his proceedings.

Two ſuch oppoſite tempers, poſſeſſing equal powers, and thwarting each other in all matters of public adminiſtration, were productive of numerous diſorders and factions. It was productive, however, of one good effect, and procured a reſpite from the perſecution of the Chriſtians, after it had continued for 14 years; but the attention of Caracalla was only diverted to other cruelties. After a ſhort reign of one year and 23 days, Caracalla, unable to bear a rival, which was a living and perpetual reproach upon his conduct, murdered his own brother, even in the arms of his mother, to whom he had fled for ſhelter; and, not content with this, he ruſhed immediately out of the palace, haſtened to the camp, and repaired to the images of their gods, before which he proſtrated himſelf to thank them for his deliverance.

STAGGERED as were the ſoldiers at this extraordinary conduct, at laſt, as if recovering from the moſt dreadful panic, he diſcovered the cauſe of his perturbation; on which he declared that he would live and die with them, and inſtantly aſſured them, that they ſhould have the whole of that incredible maſs of money, which Severus had collected during his reign. Hereupon they engaged to force the ſenate to juſtify the murder of Geta, as a neceſſary act of policy; which being effected, he exerciſed ſome acts of mercy and alſo deified his

brother, as if to quiet his manes, and to huſh the public opinion.

THIS appearance of remorſe, and a deſire of doing honour to his brother's memory, was of ſhort duration. The friends of Geta, with all his ſervants and guards, their wives and children, were ſoon put to death without mercy, amounting to 20,000; ſo wantonly did the blood of her beſt citizens overflow the ſtreets, by order of one of the greateſt monſters in the univerſe.

PROPOSING to viſit the empire, he firſt goes to Gallia Narbonenſis, where the greateſt cruelties were committed, and then returned to Rome; but he ſoon proceeded to Germany and the Danube, where he committed many cruelties, notwithſtanding his conformity to the German habit and other acts of obſequiouſneſs to gain popularity. Paſſing through Thrace, he came into the leſſer Aſia, where the conſciouſneſs of his enormous crimes began to diſturb his mind, and preſent his imagination with the moſt frightful ſpectres. In this reſtleſs condition, he viſited Troy and Alexandria, and from thence paſſed into Syria; where, under pretence of marrying the daughter of Artabanus, king of Parthia, he treacherouſly fell upon his army, with a terrible ſlaughter, ſo that the king, who was come to meet him, with a ſplendid concourſe of nobility, with difficulty eſcaped.

SUCH treachery and cruelty ſoon met their deſerved puniſhment; for one of his own commanders, Macrinus, contrived to procure his aſſaſſination, which was effected by the hands of Martialis, a centurion of the guards, who plunged a dagger into his back, ſo that he died inſtantly, when he was withdrawn upon a natural occaſion.

TERTULLIAN had, early in this ſhort reign of ſix years, two months, and four days, from the death of Severus, wrote a ſeaſonable defence of the Chriſtians; ſoon after which the perſecution ceaſed. When the emperor was at Alexandria, the noted Origen prudently fled to Cæſarea; and before his return from thence, he had the good fortune to diſcover at Jericho, amongſt ſome other Greek and Hebrew books, a new verſion of the Old Teſtament into Greek.

OPILIUS MACRINUS, on the ſuppoſition of his innocence, was choſen emperor by the army, and acknowledged by the Roman ſenate; being about 53 years of age, a native of Morocco, who with favour had obtained the office of Prætorian Prefect, and by treaſon had arrived to the empire. The king of Parthia, to revenge the injuries of Caracalla, invaded the Roman empire. It was in vain that Macrinus returned the priſoners, and charged the whole blame on his predeceſſor,

deceſſor, as the Parthians demanded a more ample reparation; which, after ſeveral engagements in which the Romans were beaten, was, at laſt, made by the diſtribution of more than a million and a half of our money amongſt the Parthians, and peace was concluded. He then gained ſome ſmall advantages over the Armenians, and repaired to Antioch to enjoy the pleaſures of the city, without regarding the government of the empire.

BY his ill-timed ſeverities to his ſoldiers, and this delay of his return to Rome, though ſolicited by letters and his own army, he loſt the eſteem of wiſe and good men. The artifices of Mœſa, who was ſiſter of the late empreſs Julia, had a fine opportunity of diſplay. She cauſed to be reported that her Grandſon, Heliogabalus, who was much admired by the ſoldiers for his fine ſhape and beauty, was really the ſon of Caracalla, not ſcrupling to proſtitute her daughter's honour, whoſe infamy, indeed, could ſcarcely be augmented by ſuch a declaration; and by the promiſe of large ſums of money, and producing him in the Roman camp, ſhe procured his being declared emperor under the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus. Macrinus ſent Julian, one of his commanders, to chaſtiſe theſe revolters; but his ſoldiers were ſoon corrupted, and, killing their general, joined Heliogabalus. The whole power of Macrinus was now requiſite; but he wanted courage, and his army an inclination, and he was, therefore, defeated, and purſued as far as Chalcedon, where both he and his ſon were put to death, on the ſeventh of June, after a ſhort reign of one year and two months, wanting three days.

HELIOGABALUS now wrote to Rome, to inform the ſenate of this event, at the inſtigation of Mœſa, in the moſt obliging terms. Though extremely diſapproving the change, they had no means of reſiſting ſo powerful a party, and therefore ſubmitted; of whom, indeed, they cheriſhed ſome hope, from his elegant ſhape, and his name of Antoninus.

AFTER ſettling the affairs of the eaſt, his grandmother and her favourites haſtened towards Rome with the emperor, then but fourteen years of age; but the winter compelling them to ſtop at Nicomedia, his profligacy and effeminacy became equally manifeſt. He alſo affected much ſuperſtition; and, though he lived like a brute, was deſirous of preſerving a ſhew of religion.

ARRIVING at Rome, he made large diſtributions and every ſpecies of noble ſpectacles; he alſo erected a magnificent temple to his Syrian idols, by which he repreſented the ſun. In his ſacrifices he was moſt extravagant; and the obligation of the ſenators and knights to attend their celebration rendered

brother, as if to quiet his manes, and to hush the public opinion.

THIS appearance of remorse, and a desire of doing honour to his brother's memory, was of short duration. The friends of Geta, with all his servants and guards, their wives and children, were soon put to death without mercy, amounting to 20,000; so wantonly did the blood of her best citizens overflow the streets, by order of one of the greatest monsters in the universe.

PROPOSING to visit the empire, he first goes to Gallia Narbonensis, where the greatest cruelties were committed, and then returned to Rome; but he soon proceeded to Germany and the Danube, where he committed many cruelties, notwithstanding his conformity to the German habit and other acts of obsequiousness to gain popularity. Passing through Thrace, he came into the lesser Asia, where the consciousness of his enormous crimes began to disturb his mind, and present his imagination with the most frightful spectres. In this restless condition, he visited Troy and Alexandria, and from thence passed into Syria; where, under pretence of marrying the daughter of Artabanus, king of Parthia, he treacherously fell upon his army, with a terrible slaughter, so that the king, who was come to meet him, with a splendid concourse of nobility, with difficulty escaped.

SUCH treachery and cruelty soon met their deserved punishment; for one of his own commanders, Macrinus, contrived to procure his assassination, which was effected by the hands of Martialis, a centurion of the guards, who plunged a dagger into his back, so that he died instantly, when he was withdrawn upon a natural occasion.

TERTULLIAN had, early in this short reign of six years, two months, and four days, from the death of Severus, wrote a seasonable defence of the Christians; soon after which the persecution ceased. When the emperor was at Alexandria, the noted Origen prudently fled to Cæsarea; and before his return from thence, he had the good fortune to discover at Jericho, amongst some other Greek and Hebrew books, a new version of the Old Testament into Greek.

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them inſupportable. To this new image all the other gods of the Pagans were only to be conſiderered as attendants; though ſome of them had the favour to be admitted as its companions.

ODIOUS and deſpicable as he was now to the people, his grandmother prevailed upon him to adopt his couſin german Alexander, two years younger than himſelf, as Cæſar and ſucceſſor; which was readily confirmed by the ſenate, though very ſoon extremely diſpleaſing to Heliogabalus, who entertained the fear of loſing his own importance in the virtuous conduct of young Alexander. Attempting, on that account, by various means to deſtroy him, and fearing that the ſenate might chuſe another emperor, he baniſhed them all inſtantly out of the city, without allowing them time for the leaſt preparation. After an unſucceſsful endeavour to poiſon Alexander, he reported that he was dead, on which the ſoldiers immediately raiſed a mutiny, which was not to be appeaſed by preſenting him perſonally, or by his threatening to puniſh the mutineers; for they ſoon reſolved to rid the world of ſuch a monſter, and to deſtroy him wherever they could find him. This was effected in a ſink, or drain, whither he had fled with his mother, in attempting ſecretly to eſcape; where both their heads were cut off, and their bodies treated with the utmoſt ignominy. His death was thus prematurely accompliſhed on the 11th day of March, in the 18th year of his age, after a reign of three years, nine months, and four days.

IN this reign Julius Africanus, of Paleſtine, obtained leave from the emperor to repair the city of Emmaus, near Jeruſalem, which was afterwards called Nicopolis; when he alſo compoſed an exact chronicle of the moſt remarkable incidents from the beginning of the world to the third year of this emperor. We meet with the names of Minutius Felix and Hippolitus, as noted writers about this time.

ALEXANDER ſucceeded to the ſole imperial dignity by univerſal conſent, being now about 16 years of age. His mother, Mammæa, was a woman of admirable virtues, and had particularly requeſted an interview with Origen, who inſtructed her in the great principals of Chriſtianity; and by her advice he ſelected the wiſeſt counſellors, who, by his direction, ſet about a general reformation in the empire, and aboliſhed many of the infamous cuſtoms which had been revived by his predeceſſor, though ſtrictly forbidden by many of thoſe who preceded them. In the choice of good magiſtrates he was peculiarly happy: the inſtruments of corruption were publicly branded, and the puniſhments of bribery and forgery were puniſhed in a moſt exemplary way. In his own more immediate

immediate conduct he was œconomical and generous; and, after the example of the good emperors, he ſuperintended the education of numbers of poor children.

WHEN he had reigned about ten years, he was informed of the alarming progreſs of Artaxerxes in the Eaſt, who had conquered Parthia and reſtored the Perſian empire, and now was proceeding to invade the Roman provinces. The good order with which Alexander perſonally oppoſed him, gave the moſt favourable preſages of ſucceſs; as it enſured him the approbation and eſteem both of his own ſoldiers and of the countries through which he paſſed. After many remarkable ſkirmiſhes, a general engagement enſued; when, by ſkilful management, the emperor obtained one of the completeſt victories which had ever been known, and it was with great difficulty that Artaxerxes eſcaped with life. In this battle were ſlain 10,000 horſemen, an amazing number of footmen, beſides 200 elephants; there were taken 300 elephants, 1000 armed chariots, with an infinite number of priſoners of every rank and quality. All the countries which Artaxerxes had conquered were inſtantly recovered; he alſo took the cities of Cteſiphon and Babylon, with part of Arabia, and enlarged the bounds of the empire. Having happily eſtabliſhed peace in the Eaſt, he had a ſolemn triumph on his return to Rome, where he was received with univerſal acclamations.

THE Germans and other nations on the North of the Danube ſoon after revolted. Againſt theſe alſo he reſolved to march in perſon; but his regular diſcipline was not leſs intolerable to the ſtanding legions encamped about Mentz, which had been abominably corrupted in the reign of Heliogabalus, than their inſolence and diſorderly conduct were to him. His mother's penuriouſneſs, who was with him in the camp, was ill ſuited to their licentious diſpoſitions. They were alſo excited to oppoſition and mutiny by Maximinus, a noted old ſoldier, who reſolved to accompliſh his death; which was ſoon after effected in his tent, together with that of his mother, to the great grief of the Roman people, after a reign of 13 years and 9 days. A magnificent funeral being beſtowed upon him, he was not only deified, but his birth-day ordered to be celebrated religiouſly, which it was for many years after.

THOUGH this emperor's religion was the national or Pagan one, yet he had a great eſteem for Chriſtianity, and reverenced its author as a moſt excellent law-giver; and it is generally believed, that Chriſtians now firſt began to build churches in public in the view of the people and magiſtrates. Hiſtory furniſhes a particular account of the life of Origen

in this reign, and of his hard treatment from the pride and jealouſy of Demetrius, biſhop of Alexandria. After the retirement of Origen, the Jeruſalem Talmud, that confuſed heap of extravagant notions, cuſtoms, and traditions of the Jews in thoſe times, was compoſed by Rabbi Jochanan; but the modern Jews uſually quote the Babylonian Talmud, of more than 300 years priority in date, unleſs where the Jeruſalem is expreſsly mentioned.

THAT the ſoldiers, who had been excited to the murder of their emperor, ſhould immediately declare for Maximinus, is a natural ſuppoſition; and they accordingly ſwore fidelity to him, who immediately joined his ſon Maximus with himſelf in equal power and authority in the empire. But the ſenate and people never could be perſuaded to confirm the election.

MAXIMINUS was now about 62 years of age, but of low and barbarous extraction. He had attained to ſeveral military poſts, on account of his monſtrous ſtature; being eight feet and a half high, and every way ſizeable in proportion. His ſtrength and fierceneſs were equally extraordinary; to which his voracious and wonderful appetite were proportionate.

ONE of his firſt acts was to deſtroy the intimate friends of Alexander, and to baniſh all others whom he ſuſpected of entertaining an affection for his memory. He diſplaced all the commanders and ſenators whom Alexander had appointed. All perſons who knew his family, of which he was aſhamed, were the victims of his fear; which occaſioned a conſpiracy to be formed againſt him, in which Magnus, a man of conſular dignity, united with many of the old ſoldiers of Alexander. In conſequence of the diſcovery, more than 4000 perſons were deſtroyed, under a pretence of being concerned in it; though ſome think it was merely a plea to juſtify his cruelty. A revolt broke out ſoon after, with no better effect; for the ſoldiers withdrew from the camp and declared one Quartianus emperor, contrary to his wiſhes, who was afterwards butchered by the chief promoter of it, to ingratiate himſelf with the emperor. Much time did not elapſe before he reaped the due reward of his treachery.

THE German wars ſoon after broke out, and prevented the progreſs of his cruelties at home; in which he waſted the whole country with fire and ſword, and threatened to ſubdue all the northern nations in like manner as far as the ocean. This emperor and his ſon ſoon after exhibited ſome magnificent ſports, with a donative to the ſoldiers; but the empire fell ſpeedily into great confuſion. Moſt of the provinces ſeverely felt the oppreſſion of this tyrant; but Africa was the

firſt

firſt which had reſolution ſufficient to make a grand ſtruggle to throw off the yoke, by ſetting up the proconſul of the province, named Gordian, an eminent old man of near 80 years of age. The ſenate immediately confirmed him and his ſon joint emperors, and declared Maximinus and his ſon enemies of the State; and many of the adherents of the latter ſuffered grievouſly. Moſt of his governors were alſo removed; but in ſome provinces they were ſlain, and in others the meſſengers, on the contrary, had a fatal reception. But the governor of Numidia joined with Maximinus, and marching againſt Gordian's ſon, overthrew and ſlew him; this alſo was fatal to the father, and Maximinus thought of nothing but to march rapidly to Rome.

RESOLVING to be beforehand with Maximinus, from whom they could expect little favour, the ſenate determined to proceed ſolemnly to a new election; wherein Maximus and Balbinus, two worthy commanders, were named joint emperors. Hereupon new troubles aroſe, at the inſtigation of ſome ſpies from Maximinus, who raiſed tumults and diſſenſions between the Prætorian ſoldiers and citizens; on which many cruelties and ſlaughters enſued, when the city itſelf was ſet on fire by the ſoldiers, and a great part of it deſtroyed.

MAXIMINUS met with his firſt repulſe at Aquileia, after croſſing the mountainous Alps; where his cruelty, excited by his diſappointments and obſtacles, rendered him ſo odious and deſpicable, that his own ſoldiers ſlew both him and his ſon in his tent, and ſent their heads to the ſenate at Rome, whilſt they left their bodies to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. This happened in the month of March following, after an uſurpation of three years and a few days, being then about 65 years of age.

IN this reſtleſs and turbulent reign, the Chriſtians were viſited with a heavy perſecution, out of a hatred partly to his predeceſſor who had favoured them. Many dreadful earthquakes alſo happened in various parts of the empire, by which whole cities and towns were ſwallowed up; which calamities were, as uſual, attributed by the Pagans to the Chriſtians, and ſerved as fuel to make the fire of perſecution burn more vigorouſly. Tertullian now publiſhed various writings relative to the conduct of Chriſtians in ſuch times. At this time Origen applied himſelf more ſucceſsfully, in oppoſition to ſome rigid ſentiments of Tertullian, in ſupporting the ſpirits of the Chriſtians; but concealed himſelf till the violence of the ſtorm was, in ſome meaſure, blown over, after which he reſumed the charge of his ſchool in Alexandria.

As the ſenate had ſelected Maximus and Balbus nine months before, they now continued in full power without oppoſition; under whom a peace was ſpeedily eſtabliſhed in the empire, and many good laws made, to the great ſatisfaction of the people. The Prætorian ſoldiers, who had been accuſtomed to make emperors, and to exact large bounties, were the only perſons who diſliked their election; ſo that their death was reſolved on as a terror to all ſucceeding perſons, not to accept the dignity without their concurrence. Unfortunately theſe two emperors were jealous of each other, which improved to ſuch a pitch that each of them kept diſtinct guards, inſtead of uniting their forces againſt the common enemy; ſo that at the time of the Capitoline games, in the month of July following, the Prætorians furiouſly entered the palace, diveſted them of their robes, and haled them through the city, as criminals, to the camp. Apprehenſive of a reſcue, they put an end to all conteſt by ſlaying them, and leaving their bodies in the ſtreets. This happened after the ſenate had declared them emperors one year and ſix days, but only three months and a few days from the death of Maximinus.

INDIFFERENT on whom they ſhould beſtow the empire, they met by chance the young Gordian, grandſon to the old proconſul of Africa, who had been declared emperor. Him they reſolve, though ſcarce 14 years of age, to ſalute with the title of Auguſtus and emperor, and to proclaim him their ſovereign; and the ſenate and people, unable to withſtand the choice, readily confirmed it. Yet was he generally beloved in the city, on account of the memory of his father and grandfather; and being moreover of a ſweet diſpoſition, they had reaſon to hope very favourably of him, eſpecially from his ſteady attachment to the counſels of the wiſeſt and moſt worthy perſons in the empire.

AFTER he had reigned quietly about two years, Sabinianus ſtirred up a revolt in Africa, where he was commander, and proclaimed himſelf emperor; but was ſoon delivered up by his own men, on the news that the governor of Mauritania, by the emperor's order, was marching againſt him. Gordian about this time married the daughter of the præfect; whoſe wiſdom and learning he greatly revered, and to whoſe good offices he was greatly indebted for his ſucceſs and proſperity.

AT the end of four years he underſtood that the Perſian king had invaded the Roman provinces in the eaſt; whither he marched perſonally; and, after ſeveral victories, obliged the Perſians to abandon all their conqueſts. On this occaſion he had marched to ſtop the progreſs of the Goths and other barbarous

barbarous nations, who had impetuouſly invaded Thrace, and left them in a peaceable condition.

BUT the death of his father in law, which ſoon after happened, as many ſuppoſe, from the effects of poiſon, changed the tranquillity of this reign. His ſucceſſor, as præfect of the prætorian ſoldiers, which was now become the firſt office of the empire, ſince their re-eſtabliſhment by Severus, was a native of Arabia, who no ſooner found himſelf in this powerful ſituation, than he reſolved to attempt a ſeizure of the empire; in which, having by artifices and treachery diſgraced the emperor among the ſoldiers, he too fully prevailed. At firſt he was compelled to accept Philip as his equal in the empire, and to give him the title of tutor and governor; but the latter ſoon acted independently, and, after a rapid ſeries of humiliating actions, at laſt he cauſed Gordian to be ſlain, after a reign of five years and near nine months.

GORDIAN's inclination to learning was diſtinguiſhed. His library, it is ſaid, contained 62,000 books. About the middle of his reign was an uncommon eclipſe of the ſun, a matter ominous, as ſuppoſed, to the Roman government, wherein the noon-day was as dark as midnight; and in the following year was a terrible earthquake, by which many cities and towns of the empire were ſwallowed up and deſtroyed.

BY the ſucceſsful wickedneſs of Philip, he was acknowledged emperor both by the army and ſenate. His ſon, though only ſix or ſeven years of age, he choſe alſo as his companion in the government. At this time he was about 40 years of age, and a native of Arabia, whoſe father was the captain of a notorious band of robbers there; but trained up in war in the Roman army. Soon after his election he made a diſhonourable peace with Perſia; but, after his return to Rome, he made many good laws for the reformation of vice.

IN the fourth year of his reign, which was juſt 1000 years from the building of the city, he cauſed the famous ſecular games to be celebrated, as if to ſolemnize its birth-day, with the moſt extraordinary ſplendor. Towards the latter end of his reign, the empire was viſited by famine, plague, and other calamities. The Goths alſo had invaded the provinces, and the army which Philip ſent againſt them had revolted, and proclaimed Marius, their general, emperor; though the ſame army ſoon after ſlew him. Decius was appointed to the command; and no ſooner had he arrived, than, to prevent puniſhment for their former crime, they conſtrained him to accept the title of emperor. Philip was now compelled to march in perſon againſt Decius; but the ſoldiers, who had a greater eſteem for the latter, immediately proclaimed him

emperor, and diſpatched the former, after a reign of five years and a few months, being then in the 46th year of his age.

DURING his ſtay in the eaſt, he is ſaid to have conformed to the Chriſtian worſhip, but this is much doubted, becauſe it had very little effect on his conduct. Yet that religion flouriſhed under him for ſome time. Tertullian died in the early part of this reign; and we meet with Origen, as ſtill indefatigable in defending the Chriſtians, againſt whom he perceived that a ſtorm was gathering, by the completeſt apology, which we find among the ancients.

WHEN Decius had been acknowledged emperor, both by the ſenate and people, he gave the title of Cæſar to his four ſons; leaving the army againſt the Goths to the command of Valerian, and returning to Rome. He was now in his 58th year, and of an honourable family in Pannonia. In his adminiſtration he was politic and ſagacious, and active and prudent in his regulations; and ſo much approved that, in imitation of Trajan, the ſenate decreed him the title of OPTIMUS.

THE Roman empire in this reign was miſerably afflicted; not only by the grievous wars and devaſtations of the Goths and other barbarous nations, but alſo by a dreadful peſtilence, which raged through all the provinces, and continued from its commencement in Ethiopia, for ten years. Leaving the government of Rome in the hands of the ſenate, the emperor, after nominating Decius and Etruſcus, two of his ſons, Auguſti and partners in the empire, marched againſt the Goths in Thrace and Mæſia, where their ravages had been moſt ſucceſsful. Soon had the emperor a flattering proſpect of deſtroying theſe free-booters, having obtained a compleat victory over them with the loſs of 30,000 of their men, and had blocked them up effectually. But the treachery of his chief commander, Gallus, enabled them to attack Decius, and actually to ſurround him, and cut off a great part of his army; ſo that he rode in deſperation to his fate, and was drowned in a lake.

FROM his enmity to Philip, who had been indulgent to the Chriſtians, he commenced a moſt dreadful perſecution againſt them; to which indeed they had themſelves greatly contributed by the numerous vices whereinto they had fallen, and thereby provoked the divine diſpleaſure. Contention, pride, and faction, had broke in among them; and ſchiſms and diviſions were ſo much perſiſted in, that even the fire of perſecution could not reſtrain them. At this time great numbers were

ſwept

ſwept away by the moſt cruel tortures; and though it was not equally violent in all places, it only experienced eaſe by the death of Decius. A great number of eminent champions are met with in this reign, many of whom were amongſt the catalogue of martyrs.

EVERY diſaſter now befel the Roman army, from the purſuing and victorious Goths. Thoſe who eſcaped fled to the legions commanded by Gallus, who, being confederate with them, was in perfect ſafety. By artful and popular actions, and a promiſe of ſucceſs againſt the enemy, he prevailed on the ſoldiers to declare him emperor; at all which news the ſenate and people were aſtoniſhed, but confirmed him in the empire. He was now about 45 years of age, and of an ancient Roman family.

HIS firſt ſtep, after his advancement to this dignity, was to make a diſhonourable peace with the Goths, by engaging to pay them an annual tribute; nor were they ſatisfied with this, but renewed their hoſtilities, with dreadful maſſacres, ſpreading deſolation, not only in Thrace, Mæſia, Theſſaly, and Macedonia, but in ſome parts of Aſia. The Perſians, who were never thoroughly reconciled to their ſubjection to the Romans, encouraged by the ſucceſsful irruptions of the northern nations, entered Meſopotamia and Syria, and from thence paſſing into Armenia, ſubdued it and drove out the king of that country.

THESE troubles and calamities were ſcarcely regarded by Gallus, who minded nothing but the pleaſures of Rome. He took his ſon Voluſian, who was but a child, for his companion in the empire; but at laſt Æmilian marched againſt the Goths in Mæſia, where he gained a conſiderable victory over them, in which many thouſands were ſlain, and a purſuit of ſeveral days ſucceeded. This ſerved to exalt the character of Æmilian, and to debaſe that of Gallus; and the ſoldiers, excited by the promiſes and preſents of Æmilian, proclaimed him emperor, which at laſt rouſed Gallus to provoke his fate, by marching againſt him with the utmoſt expedition. An engagement ſoon happened, wherein Gallus and his ſon were ſlain, and the whole body of ſoldiers thereupon joined the conqueror, in the month of May, in the year of Rome 1006. This was in the 47th year of his age, after a ſhort reign of one year and ſix months; by which he received an early reward for his treachery.

AT this time the Novatian Schiſm divided the Chriſtians into powerful parties; and their violence againſt Cyprian, whoſe moderation and judgment were highly laudable, was

particularly manifeſted. But he wrote ſeveral treatiſes, adapted peculiarly to the ſtate of the times; and had the ſatisfaction, ſoon after, to perceive that the perſecution declined, and ſoon came to a fortunate period, with the death of Gallus.

THOUGH Æmilian formed the moſt certain concluſion of being emperor, and wrote actually to the ſenate an account of his election and ſucceſs, they did not attend to it. The army of the Alps alſo diſputed his election, and choſe their own commander, Valerian, who was approved by the ſenate; and Æmilian's ſoldiers ſlew their general, from their high opinion of Valerian, and to prevent a civil war, at the end of three months from his uſurpation.

VALERIAN being now confirmed in the empire, and about 70 years of age, choſe his ſon Gallienus, as his equal in the government. One of his firſt objects was to revenge the death of Gallus. The moſt conſiderable offices had been performed by him, with admirable ſucceſs; and he now began his reign with many prudent regulations, and the choice of wiſe and able governors and experienced commanders.

FOR the firſt years of this emperor the Chriſtians were patroniſed; but after he had been prevailed on by Macrianus, a magician of Egypt, to perſecute the Chriſtians, exerciſe the moſt abominable enchantments, and offer up the moſt inhuman ſacrifices, the ſcourge of heaven ſpeedily overtook him. The northern barbarians brought on the calamity of war in thoſe parts; and the king of Perſia overrun Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, and all the eaſtern provinces of the empire. Speedily preparing to march to Byzantium with a powerful army, he for ſome time, on his arrival there, reſiſted the Goths and Scythians; but was now obliged to turn all his attention to the king of Perſia. On approaching nearer to his furious army, he became diſheartened; and, offering to effect a peace by money, was deceived into the poſſeſſion of that king, who treated him with every indignity, and carried him into Perſia to endure a miſerable ſervitude. In this he continued ſeven years, and his eyes being put out, he was flead alive, and his ſkin ſuſpended in one of the temples of the Perſian gods, as a perpetual memorial of their victorious arms.

WHILST the emperor openly favoured the Chriſtians, they ſet about the regulation of their internal diſputes; during which time many councils were held, and matters determined on, reſpecting their doctrines; but more eſpecially regarding their diſcipline. In this ſeaſon died Origen, a man of the moſt extraordinary character and perſevering induſtry, in favour of the Chriſtians; though, from his great knowledge in philoſophy,

loſophy, not untinctured with many errors. The renowned Cyprian was greatly concerned in theſe regulations. But in the fifth year of this emperor, the perſecution broke out; and, after ſome continuance of it, in which many eminent perſons had ſuffered martyrdom, Cyprian was brought before the civil tribunal, arraigned, and condemned to be beheaded, a fate which he met with the moſt exemplary courage and reſolution.

GALLIENUS, who now remained ſole emperor of Rome, paid no regard to his father's condition. He was now about 41 years of age; of conſiderable learning but moſt vicious life. His reign was confuſed and calamitous. The ſun, for many days in the beginning, was clouded and darkened; beſides which, many cities and ſtately edifices were overthrown by earthquakes, ſo that the very ſea flowed through the ſtupendous caverns which were laid open. More than 5000 perſons died alſo in a day of the peſtilence, which then raged; and the whole empire was convulſed in every part by inſurrections and revolts. The ſoldiers every where ſet up their own generals for emperors; ſo that this period has been generally diſtinguiſhed as the age of the "thirty tyrants," each of them oppoſed to one another, and all of them to Gallienus. But they at leaſt tended to ſecure the empire from the invaſions of barbarous nations.

AGAINST Ingenuus in Pannonia, Gallienus was ſoon ſucceſsful, whom he ſlew in the firſt place, and afterwards overthrew the Goths; but Regillianus, who ſucceeded him, preſerved the power of empire for three years, and then was ſlain. Poſthumus maintained his authority in Gaul for ſeven years; whilſt the emperor attended more to his pleaſures at Rome, than either to his father's or even his own concerns. But he had diſcernment enough to ſee that his father proſpered, ſo long as he favoured the Chriſtians; and that the tide of fortune was immediately on the ebb, when once he began to oppreſs them. Differing in his reaſoning from all his predeceſſors, he allowed them a full enjoyment of their religion.

BUT theſe favourable edicts did not operate immediately in all places; and Macrianus, who was a great enemy to them, ſet up for emperor in the eaſt, with his two ſons, and poſſeſſed Egypt and many other parts. At this time Alexandria was filled with factions and ſeditions; a dreadful famine, and afterwards a plague ſucceeded to theſe, which overrun both the city and country, and whilſt the Pagans in theſe terrible calamities abandoned their dying friends, the Chriſtians every where ventured their lives to afford aſſiſtance to their infected brethren.

ABOUT

ABOUT this time Valens ſet up for emperor in Achaia, as Piſo did in Theſſaly; but the former ſoon ruined the latter, and he alſo periſhed by his own ſoldiers. Upon this Macrianus extended his uſurpations, Odenathus of Palmyra being then engaged againſt the Perſians; which encouraged him to march towards Rome, but was met by Aureolus, commander of the legions in Illyricum and Dalmatia, who in one battle terminated his ambitious deſigns by the death of himſelf and his ſon of the ſame name. After 30,000 of his ſoldiers had joined Aureolus, this acceſſion of ſtrength induced him to take the title of emperor; and ſo great was his power, that Gallienus entered into articles of peace with him.

NEW diſturbances ſprung up in the eaſt, on the death of Macrianus, where his general, Baliſta, uſurped ſovereign authority for two or three years, as Æmilian alſo did in Egypt; but being afterwards cloſely beſieged in Alexandria, in which the citizens and Chriſtians endured many hardſhips, he was taken priſoner and ſoon after ſlain. Odenathus was at this time victorious againſt the Perſians, for whom he made a ſolemn triumph, but never demanded from the defeated monarch a reſtoration of his aged father. The Goths and Scythians alſo made irruptions into Greece and leſſer Aſia; and ſhortly after, Saturninus, a valiant commander on the borders of Scythia, aſſumed the title of emperor, which he retained for three years. After Odenathus had ſubdued the Perſians, he alſo defeated Baliſta; upon which Gallienus formally made him Auguſtus, and his equal in the empire.

THOUGH this was the period of the "thirty tyrants," as they have been called; yet a modern hiſtorian, who gives us their names, ſays that they never exceeded nineteen.

SOME time after, the Iſauri, in the leſſer Aſia, ſet up Trebellian, who was ſoon defeated and ſlain; but the country, which was inacceſſible, was never wholly ſubdued. In Africa the tribune Celſus was proclaimed emperor, but ſlain at the end of ſeven days. The Goths alſo terribly ravaged the leſſer Aſia, Galatia, and Cappadocia, and carried away great numbers, including many Chriſtians; theſe were highly inſtrumental in poliſhing and refining them, for which they were treated with ſo much humanity, that they declined the liberty of returning to their own countries, when it was granted them.

FOUR years after Odenathus became emperor, he was ſlain by Mæonius, a kinſman, who cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed his ſucceſſor; he ſoon after met the ſame fate. The widow of Odenathus, with her three ſons, aſſumed the command, and ruled well; defending herſelf on one hand for ſix years againſt

againſt the whole Roman power, and warring on the other againſt the Perſians. In the weſt, Poſthumus about this time was ſlain in Gaul, after reigning ſeven years, by Lollianus; his colleague Victorinus, with his ſons, and Marius, ſoon ſhared the ſame fate, all of them poſſeſſing the title of emperor. Tetricus afterwards proclaimed himſelf emperor, and ſupported his uſurpation ſix years. At this time Mæſia was haraſſed by the Goths, and Aſia and Greece by the Heruli; and in every part of the empire infinite barbarities, with murders and deſolation, were committed. The vices and cruelties of Gallienus himſelf, which rendered him incapable of governing the empire, were the principal cauſe; ſo that the chief governors reſolved upon his death, which was effected at the ſiege of Milan, at this time poſſeſſed by the uſurper Aureolus, in the month of March, after a reign of near eight years from his father's captivity, and about fifteen from his being firſt declared Auguſtus, being now about 49 years of age.

THE Chriſtians in the early part of this reign were much divided among themſelves; and their troubles were greatly increaſed by the oppreſſion of the uſurper Macrianus in the eaſt, who was a violent enemy to them. After his death, the emperor again iſſued edicts in their favour, though they were greatly diſturbed by the uſurper Æmilian in Alexandria. We have already noted that the captivity of theſe people by the Goths had a very agreeable effect; but their internal diſputes ſtill unhappily ſubſiſted among them.

BY general conſent was Flavius Claudius brought forward to fill the vacant throne. At this time the whole country of the eaſt was ſubject to Zenobia, the widow of Odenathus, Gaul and the weſt to Tetricus, Illyricum to Aureolus; and Thrace, with Macedonia and a part of the leſſer Aſia, to the Goths and Scythians. But he ſpeedily terminated the life and uſurpation of Aureolus; and, when he had reduced all his dominions, returned triumphantly to Rome.

THOUGH of an obſcure birth, he ſhewed himſelf worthy of a longer reign; for he made many excellent laws, and in a ſhort time much reformed the commonwealth. He was deſirous of reſtoring the empire to its former glory, and feared no danger in the endeavour. It has been ſaid, that the moderation of Auguſtus, the valour of Trajan, and the piety of Antoninus, were all centered and united in him. The Goths who, like an overpowering torrent, invaded the empire with above 320,000 fighting men, were repulſed with the loſs of 300,000 in killed and priſoners. Many of the barbarian kings and perſons of the higheſt rank were among the captives, and more than 2000 ſhips were laden with the ammunition;

tion; ſo that many houſes were filled with habiliments of war, and whole cities with ſlaves and priſoners. He afterwards recovered all their poſſeſſions in Macedonia, Theſſaly, and other provinces; and in Germany he defeated an army of 200,000 of the inhabitants of that country. But as he was marching againſt his remaining rivals, a peſtilential fever ſeized him in Pannonia, which in a few days, after a ſhort reign of about two years and one month, put an end to his great deſigns; being about 56 years of age, and in the midſt of conqueſt and glory. Statues of gold and ſilver were decreed to his memory by the Romans.

PORPHYRY, the Jew, afterwards a Chriſtian, and then a Pagan philoſopher, flouriſhed in this reign.

AURELIAN was now unanimouſly declared emperor; though at Rome they had an eye upon Claudius's brother, Quintillus, and had actually declared him emperor, in honour of his brother's memory. This was contrary to Claudius's laſt recommendation of Aurelian. But they found it in vain to maintain this choice; and Quintillus, at the end of 17 days, opened a vein which put an end to his life, on which Aurelian quietly poſſeſſed the empire.

HE was now about 57 years of age, and of approved valour; but he was naturally very ſevere and cruel, eſpecially to his ſoldiers. Haughtineſs and pride had alſo ſome ſhare in his diſpoſition; but he did many ſignal acts of juſtice, and was very aſſiduous in the ſuppreſſion of faction.

MANY of the barbarous nations of Germany at this time ravaged Italy; againſt whom Aurelian, after many ſuperſtitious rites of Paganiſm, marched in perſon, and overcame them in three battles, which put an end to the war. He now made ſeveral examples in Rome, of perſons who had blamed his proceedings, when theſe freebooters were advancing in Italy, at which time alſo ſome conſpiracies were forming.

HIS next expedition was againſt Zenobia, ſuppreſſing on his route, after ſome conflicts, the revolt of Bithynia. Several ſkirmiſhes enſued, and a general engagement at laſt took place, which was obſtinately maintained on both ſides; but, though Aurelian had been ſeveral times driven to the greateſt extremities, victory at laſt declared in his favour, after infinite pains and difficulties. She fled to Palmyra, where he did not ſucceed in reducing her ſpirit, till all ſuccours were intercepted; when he put the philoſopher Longinus, who was her maſter, to death, but reſerved this maſculine queen to grace his triumph. He alſo ſeverely chaſtiſed the inhabitants of Palmyra for their revolt. Whilſt he was in the eaſt, at the requeſt of the prelates there, he diſgraced the heretic Paul who

who had been the occaſion of much diſſenſion, and had joined with Zenobia; and obliged him to leave Antioch, of which he kept forcible poſſeſſion, notwithſtanding the decrees of the council againſt him.

PROCEEDING afterwards into Egypt againſt Firmus, another uſurper, he recovered that important kingdom after much labour; and then came to Gaul in the weſt, to recover that province from the uſurper Tetricus. This being effected, and the empire once more in peace, he returned to Rome to triumph for his numerous victories; in which, beſides Tetricus and Zenobia, the victorious legions and an infinite number of priſoners from the various nations, were diſplayed.

HIS former cruelties, when he found himſelf in peace, ſeemed to forſake him; for he conferred rewards even upon his enemies. Tetricus was made governor of a great part of Italy; and on Zenobia he beſtowed lands ſufficient to maintain her quality, on which ſhe lived long after, highly eſteemed and applauded by all men, preſerving her ancient reputation and dignity. The emperor now proceeded in many other internal regulations; and repaired and enlarged the city of Rome.

WHILE Aurelian was peruſing an edict againſt the Chriſtians, which he was about to ſign, a flaſh of lightning fell ſo near him that every perſon about him thought him to be dead. Soon after he propoſed to proceed on a new expedition againſt the Perſians; when his principal ſecretary, who had doubts of his own ſecurity, after being threatened with death for ſome offence, ſince many had ſuffered upon ſlighter occaſions, forged a roll of names of perſons, whom, he pretended, the emperor had marked out for execution. Hence an aſſociation of common intereſt impelled them to prevent the deſign; and he was conſequently aſſaſſinated near Byzantium, with little reſiſtance, after a reign of near five years, being 62 years of age.

IN this reign the famous Anthony of Egypt, when about 20 years old, retired to the deſarts of Thebais; the patron of ſolitary and recluſe Chriſtians, and the firſt who preſcribed rules for a monaſtic life. The edicts which the emperor ſigned a ſhort time before his death, though they did not reach the diſtant provinces, were productive of ſome martyrdoms nearer home; but this perſecution was providentially cruſhed in the embryo.

THERE cannot be a ſtronger proof of the vigour of Aurelian's government, than the difficulty and manner of deciding upon his ſucceſſor. More than ſix months did the ſenate and army endeavour to compliment each other to make an appointment; a circumſtance without any precedent or parallel in the

the whole Roman hiſtory. The adminiſtration of affairs during this period was, indeed, in the hands of the ſenate; who were at laſt prevailed on to appoint Tacitus, a conſular man, about 75 years of age, which was productive of the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction.

HIS firſt ſtudy was to reform the corruptions and abuſes of the city; and he made ſeveral excellent laws, in which his moderation and goodneſs, as a man, were equally conſpicuous with his wiſdom and care as a governor. In an expedition againſt the Perſians and Scythians, he died at Tarſus in Cilicia; ſome ſaying, that his death was natural, and others that he was killed by the ſoldiers, little more than a year from the deceaſe of Aurelian.

BUT the army were more tenacious of ſupplying the preſent vacancy than the preceding one; and the ſeveral commanders, as if by conſent, though unpremeditated, expatiated on the virtues neceſſary for an emperor, in the cloſe of which they always mentioned probity. On this the ſoldiers exclaimed, "Let Probus be emperor;" who was immediately proclaimed with joyful acclamations. Florian, the brother of the late emperor, was alſo proclaimed by ſome other legions; but he ſoon found the powerful intereſt of Probus, and, after a reign of two or three months, when his ſoldiers were ready to forſake him, he followed the example of many diſtreſſed Pagans, and died by opening his veins.

AT this time Probus was about 44 years of age, of an ancient family in Pannonia, and habituated to arms; having ſignalized himſelf from the reign of Valerian to that of Aurelian, who had deſigned him for his ſucceſſor; which conſequently made this choice more acceptable.

IN the ſecond year of his reign he marched with a powerful army into Gaul, to check the haſty irruptions of the Germans; where ſeveral ſharp battles were fought, and one of them for two days, only with the interruption of the night. For a long time, ſuch was their obſtinacy, victory appeared to favour either ſide; but at laſt Probus, by his extraordinary ſkill, prevailed againſt and completely routed his opponent. In this and other conteſts, he is ſaid to have deſtroyed at leaſt 400,000 men; by which nine kings were reduced, and 66 principal cities recovered. After this he marched into Illyricum and Dalmatia to reſiſt the progreſs of the Sarmatians; whom he ſubdued entirely by his wonderful management, encountering many difficulties, and fighting ſeveral battles, whereby the Roman provinces were ſecured. From thence he proceeded to Thrace and farther North to chaſtiſe the inſults of the Goths; who ſubmitted to his power on hearing of his

his approach, and were thereupon admitted as allies of the Roman empire.

THE peace and tranquillity of Europe being now ſettled, he paſſed over into Aſia; where he ſubdued Iſauria, which he moſtly divided amongſt his old ſoldiers, and then marched into Syria and the Eaſt to attack a people called Blemii, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of part of Arabia and Paleſtine. The king of Perſia, on his advance towards that country, though one of the moſt powerful monarchs in the world, ſubmitted to reſtore all which had been taken from the empire, and to ſuch other articles as Probus required; which at preſent terminated all cauſe of hoſtilities.

PROBUS now returned to Rome, and had a moſt ſolemn triumph; and every mouth was filled with praiſes of his conduct and valour. But uſurpers nearer home ſoon diſturbed the public peace; for Saturninus was raiſed to the dignity of emperor in Egypt, who ſoon loſt both his empire and his life, after ſome difficulty experienced by Probus in this buſineſs. Bonoſus and Proculus alſo roſe in Gaul for the ſame purpoſe, whither Probus alſo haſtened from Egypt, and quickly reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs.

RETURNING again to Rome with great commendations, the ſoldiers and all the legions continued perfectly quiet; when he proceeded to make many new laws and regulations for the good of the empire. But being reſtleſs, he conceived the deſign of deſtroying entirely the kingdom of the Perſians, and accordingly marched as far as Sirmium in Pannonia, the place of his nativity. Here he employed ſeveral thouſands of his ſoldiers, from a regard for the city, in draining a fen, and making a large ditch or foſs to receive the waters, and thereby render the lands uſeful to the inhabitants. He had alſo, whilſt at Rome, and in the enjoyment of peace, employed them daily in planting vineyards, and in many public works and buildings. The fatigue of theſe employments, and his reſtraint of their licentiouſneſs, rouſed them into the deſperate remedy of conſpiring againſt his life; which they very ſoon after effected, as he marched towards Greece, after a reign of 6 years and 3 or 4 months, being about 50 years of age.

THIS reign affords little information on the ſubject of the Chriſtians, who continued in a tranquil poſſeſſion of their religion; but the Manichean heretics created much diſturbance amongſt themſelves, which was a great ſtigma on its profeſſors. Anatolius, biſhop of Laodicea in Syria, a man of great addreſs and prudence, flouriſhed at this time, and was admirable for his learning and ſkill in languages, and in all the

the human arts and ſciences. By his prudent counſels he preſerved Alexandria from entire deſtruction, when it was beſieged by Æmilian.

LAMENTATIONS for the premature death of Probus were general throughout the Roman empire; and every poſſible honour was beſtowed at his funeral. The ſoldiers choſe Carus for his ſucceſſor, whom Probus had made Prætorian preſect; who had filled worthily many ſtations of importance, and had great experience in government. The ſenate very ſoon confirmed this election.

HIS firſt care was to puniſh the murderers of Probus, which removed all ſuſpicion that he was acceſſory to his death. He appointed Carinus and Numerian, his two ſons, to the rank of Cæſar; the elder of whom was wicked, inſolent, and vicious, but the younger valiant, modeſt, and learned.

THE turbulent Sarmatians again revolted, as ſoon as they heard of the death of Probus; and ſuch was the fury of their irruption into Pannonia, that they alarmed the whole empire. But Carus, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, brought on a battle, in which he killed 16,000 and took 20,000 priſoners. He now, in purſuit of the deſign of Probus, turned all his forces againſt the Perſians; having firſt made his ſons Auguſti, and left Carinus to govern Gaul and Spain, whilſt he went, with Numerian, the younger, to the Eaſt. Not only Meſopotamia, but Cteſiphon and Seleucia ſoon fell into his hand, and ſuch was his pride, that he allowed himſelf the title of Lord and God; ſoon after which, as he lay ſick in his tent, he was deſtroyed in a dreadful ſtorm of lightning and thunder, with many others round him. This was about one year and a month, or a little more, after the death of Probus.

CARINUS, by his ſcandalous life, had rendered himſelf generally odious in Rome and the Weſt, ſo that Numerian was conſidered as ſucceſſor to his father. But ſuch was his ſorrow and grief for the loſs of his father, that his tears brought on a diſtemper in his eyes, which rendered them ſo weak that he could not behold the light. Being uſually carried in a cloſe litter, his father-in-law contrived to aſſaſſinate him privately; and, to prevent ſuſpicion, till he could ſecure an intereſt ſufficient in the army to ſucceed him, he was carried about as before, and report was given out that he could not now endure to ſee the ſmalleſt light. But before Aper could effect his buſineſs, the ſmell of the dead body led to the diſcovery; on which the ſoldiers choſe Dioclesian, one of the greateſt commanders of the age, who ſoon cauſed Numerian's murderers to be brought before him, when ſeated

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on his imperial tribunal, and to be condemned to death, and killed Aper with his own hand. This was on the 17th day of September, in the year of Chriſt, by the common account, 284, and in the year of the city of Rome 1036.

CHAP. XLII.

From the DIOCLESIAN ÆRA *to the Removal of the* SEAT *of* EMPIRE *to* CONSTANTINOPLE.

[ANN. ROM. 1036. A. D. 284.]

ON the death of Numerian, Diocleſian, notwithſtanding that Carinus was living and poſſeſſed a large part of the empire, was conſidered as emperor. He was born at Dioclea in the province of Dalmatia, and was now about 40 years of age; having paſſed through many civil and military offices, which he diſcharged in general with much reputation, though he has been charged with a politic cunning, and with obſtinate ſeverity. In about two months he adopted Maximianus, a bold and intrepid commander, to whom he gave the title of Cæſar; and, after aboliſhing the former Æra of the battle of Actium, which had been obſerved 315 years, he inſtituted a new date, called the Diocleſian Æra, reckoning from the time of his ſucceeding to the empire.

CARINUS, who ſtill continued in Gaul, though immerſed in luxury and ſenſuality, and an utter enemy to every thing good, was a little rouſed by theſe proceedings; which induced him, being naturally bold and raſh, to march againſt Diocleſian with a large army, in hopes of determining his fate ſpeedily. When both armies met in Mœſia, as the new emperor expeditiouſly removed his forces from the Eaſt, a bloody war commenced; but Carinus was ſoon routed, and afterwards ſlain by an officer of his own army, in revenge for a private injury of a tender nature.

NEW troubles, however, ſoon broke out by an inſurrection of the Gaulic peaſantry, of which Maximian ſlew prodigious numbers, and reſtored tranquillity. The noted Thebæan legion, of which ſo many accounts have been given, may, perhaps, be aſſigned to this period.

CARAUSIUS,

CARAUSIUS, in Britain, ſoon after revolted, and maintained his uſurpation for ſeven years; when he was ſlain by his companion, who held the iſland for three years more, who was then overthrown by the Roman army. Theſe and ſome other troubles of the empire induced the emperor to give Maximian the title of Auguſtus, whom he appointed to preſerve the weſtern parts of the empire, whilſt Diocleſian attended to the northern and eaſtern parts; who, by conſtructing extravagant fabrics, for which he oppreſſed many provinces, endeavoured to make Nicomedia equal to Rome.

THOUGH Maximian was addicted to vice and rapine, a moſt cordial friendſhip and ſimilarity of diſpoſition continued between them; and whilſt Diocleſian marched againſt the Perſian monarch, whom he compelled to accept an honourable peace, his colleague was equally ſucceſsful againſt the Germans.

THE next year Maximian had ſome ſolemn games at Rome, and the year after Diocleſian celebrated his Quinquennalia at Nicomedia. Achilleus in Egypt now ſeized and held that kingdom for ſix years, having uſurped the title of emperor; when the Perſians, from theſe and other diſturbances of the empire, again took the opportunity of invading the Roman provinces. Hereupon the two emperors met at Milan, and agreed that each ſhould nominate a perſon to be Cæſar, capable of aſſiſting them in defending the empire both from internal and external miſchiefs; when Diocleſian named Galerius, a fierce and courageous ſoldier, but of a very churliſh diſpoſition, agreeable to his mean extraction, and Maximian choſe Conſtantius, ſurnamed Chlorus, deſcended from the family of the emperor Claudius.

To ſtrengthen their intereſt and friendſhip, Galerius married the daughter of Diocleſian, and Conſtantius, divorcing Helena, the mother of the famous Conſtantine, alſo married Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximian. Their departments in the empire alſo were apportioned; for while Diocleſian and Galerius, who poſſeſſed Illyricum, Aſia, and the Eaſt, were to march, the former againſt Achilleus in Egypt, and the latter againſt the Perſians and Sarmatians, Maximinian, who had Italy and Africa, was to ſuppreſs the Quingentiani, conſiſting of the legions in the latter country united with many robbers, and were revolted. Conſtantius had Gaul and Britain aſſigned him; which he was to defend againſt the northern nations, and to ſubdue Carauſius.

MAXIMIAN ſoon reduced the Quingentiani in Africa, and obliged them to a peace; and afterwards deſtroyed the robbers and uſurpers in thoſe countries, for which he aſſumed the

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ſurname of Herculius. But Diocleſian challenged divine honours, at the ſolemnizing his Decennalia. In this year it was that Carauſius was ſlain; and in the next Maximinian ſolemnized his Decennalia at Rome, at which time Galerius was exerciſed againſt the Sarmatians and other nations, as barbarous as his own, with much advantage.

IN about three years more, Conſtantius gave a compleat overthrow to Alectus in Britain, and recovered the iſland after ten years revolt; as did Diocleſian that of Egypt, by the defeat of Achilleus, after ſix years uſurpation, when he had beſieged him eight months in Alexandria. Galerius, on the contrary, went into Perſia with too ſmall an army where he was routed, and loſt moſt of his men; for which Diocleſian treated him with great contempt, but at laſt diſmiſſed him to retrieve his loſt honour, which he did in Armenia, where the Perſians had entered, in the following ſpring. For having marched again with a powerful army, he was victorious; and, in purſuing his victory, entered the Perſian camp, where he took the king's wives, children, and ſiſters, with many nobles of Perſia, and great booty.

GALERIUS was ſo much puffed up with his victory, that his pride was intolerable; his inſolence greatly excited the apprehenſions of Diocleſian, and he thought himſelf injured that he was not ſaluted with the title of Auguſtus. Conſtantius, on the contrary, was mild and generous, though equally ſucceſsful; for he this year conquered the Lingones, and ſlew 60,000 of their men. By a little anticipation, the two emperors ſolemnized their Quindecennalia, at Rome and Nicomedia, in conſequence of theſe happy events.

THE young Conſtantine, ſon of Conſtantius, was in the war againſt the Sarmatians; wherein he conducted himſelf gallantly, and took alive the Sarmatian general a priſoner, whom he brought to Galerius. After an interval of ſome years, which was chiefly remarkable for the perſecutions of the Chriſtians, Diocleſian reſolved to leave Nicomedia, and to celebrate his Vicennalia at Rome, and at the ſame time to triumph for all his victories. His colleague, Maximinian, with the two Cæſars, Conſtantius and Galerius, were at this time aſſembled; but ſuch was the haughty ſpirit of Diocleſian, that he would not remain there till the beginning of the year, which was not ſix weeks, when he was to enter on his ninth conſulſhip, but proceeded eaſtward at that unfavourable ſeaſon. The winter, which was extremely cold and rainy, greatly affected his health; and a lingering ſickneſs, which he contracted at Ravenna, and brought him into a low and uncomfortable condition

dition, detained him in Italy the enſuing ſummer, ſo that he did not arrive at Nicomedia till the latter part of that year.

IN the month of December, a lethargic diſpoſition ſeized him, and many perſons thought him to be dead; from which he never perfectly recovered. Early in the following year he was viſited by Galerius, who firſt endeavoured to perſuade him to reſign the government, and afterwards more pointedly threatened him, as he had ineffectually done to Maximian; to which the old man was compelled to ſubmit, when he heard that Galerius was augmenting his army. He was alſo forced to nominate Severus and Maximinus, two creatures of Galerius, as wicked and barbarous as himſelf, to be Cæſars; after which he retired to lead a private life in Dalmatia, being now about 60 years of age, and having reigned 20 years, 7 months, and 14 days. On the ſame day Maximinian, by conſent, reſigned his authority at Milan, when he had reigned with the title of Auguſtus near 19 years.

IT was now agreed between Conſtantius and Galerius, that the former ſhould enjoy the weſtern parts of the empire, and the latter the eaſtern; but Conſtantius was of too pacific a diſpoſition to graſp at power, and rather choſe to govern well than much. He contented himſelf with Gaul, Spain, Britain, and his part of Germany, and gave up the provinces of Africa and Italy, which appertained to his ſhare in the diviſion; over which Galerius placed Severus, and beſtowed the government of Egypt, Paleſtine, and the eaſt to Maximin. He reſerved Illyricum, Greece, and Aſia minor to himſelf.

AT this time Conſtantius, the ſenior emperor, was about 54 years of age. He was univerſally beloved in Gaul; and governed with univerſal ſatisfaction, after he was emperor. By his affability and courteſy he truly reigned in the hearts of his ſubjects; and being determined on an expedition into Britain, though his health declined, he was anxious for the ſafety of his ſon Conſtantine, who had many years been kept at the court of Diocleſian, as an honourable pledge of his father's fidelity, and, ſince his reſignation, was with Galerius in the eaſt.

FREQUENTLY as Conſtantius had ſent for his ſon, it had always been evaded; and the preſſing reaſons now aſſigned, though he was aſhamed of refuſing ſo reaſonable a requeſt, he deſigned by treachery and artifice to diſappoint. But Conſtantine, having received a paſſport, and being apprehenſive of the emperor's intriguing policy, ſet off as ſoon as Galerius had retired; and when he demanded, the next day at noon, an interview with him, he was ſtung with the utmoſt remorſe and vexation on finding his departure. By this ſeaſonable manœuvre,

nœuvre, he effected his eſcape, and arrived in time to obtain a conference with his father before his death; from whom he received many uſeful inſtructions, and by whom he was formally declared his ſucceſſor.

WHILST Conſtantius was thus happily employed, the provinces under the power of Galerius ſuffered every miſery and hardſhip. Oppreſſed and haraſſed with taxes and impoſitions, nothing but grief and diſmay were to be ſeen. The moſt barbarous cruelties were exerciſed on the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of concealing effects or property; from which none were exempt but beggars, whom he thoroughly extirpated by ordering them all to be thrown into the ſea, as uſeleſs, and incumbrances to the ſtate.

IT was not till the 19th year of Diocleſian that the heavy perſecution began, which made ſuch havock in the Chriſtian church. During the firſt years of this joint reign the emperors favoured the Chriſtians, though they manifeſted their diſlike to the Manichean and other heretics. The middle of this reign was noted for four famous eccleſiaſtics, Phileas and Heſychius, who were biſhops, and Pamphilus and Lucian, who were preſbyters; but ſome ſuppoſe that the laſt favoured the Arians, a ſect which was then ſpreading in the church.

THOUGH the Chriſtians were leſs kindly treated after the peace of the empire was ſettled by repeated victories over the revolters, after the emperors had ſolemnized their Quindecennalia, when the perſecution may be ſaid to have commenced; yet for four or five years after it did not break out with its violence and rage. Diocleſian's ſuperſtition firſt gave reaſon for this change; for by the preſence of ſome Chriſtians, when he was ſacrificing, the entrails failed of diſcovering the uſual indications, to whom the attendants immediately attributed it. Maximinian alſo ſhewed much enmity to the Chriſtian ſoldiers, and condemned them to the moſt ſervile offices. It was they who built the Baths of Diocleſian at Rome, thoſe of the ſame name at Carthage and Milan, with many other extraordinary fabrics. Arnobius, an eminent Pagan, was ſoon after converted to Chriſtianity.

MANY of the Chriſtian ſoldiers were at firſt diſcharged, when they refuſed to do ſacrifice to the Pagan deities, and vacancies in many honourable and profitable poſts were thereby occaſioned; for at firſt they began only with them, as fearing to declare againſt the whole body at once, on account of their numbers. This was indeed a fair warning to the Chriſtians to be more attentive to their conduct; who, through their pride and other vices, gave too much cauſe to their enemies to diſturb them.

BUT it was reſerved for Galerius effectually to puniſh them for their immoralities; who repaired purpoſely to Nicomedia, to concert meaſures with Diocleſian to perſecute them. Hierocles, the philoſopher, was a violent promoter of the deſigns of Galerius. The old man was deſirous of living at eaſe, and tried every means to divert the bloody counſels of Galerius; but being at laſt overcome, a day was fixed for its commencement, which was the 23d day of February, in the 19th year of Diocleſian.

AND now the moſt ſanguinary and deſtructive edicts were iſſued, of the moſt diſtreſſing nature to the Chriſtians. Not only their churches were ordered to be demoliſhed, but their very ſcriptures to be burnt; and they were declared incapable of all honours and dignities, nor was any rank to exempt them from the moſt cruel tortures. The prelates of the church were all ordered to be fettered, and every means tried to compel them to ſacrifice. Yet all theſe edicts were inſufficient to ſatisfy the barbarous Galerius; who, the more violently to puſh Diocleſian to revenge, ſecretly cauſed the palace to be fired, and afterwards repeated it to bring diſgrace upon the Chriſtians, whom he charged with it. This drove the emperor to the moſt unbounded fury; when neither ſex, or age, or character were regarded, but whole houſes were burnt at once, and whole herds of Chriſtians were at once puſhed headlong into the ſea.

FOR ten years did this perſecution continue in the eaſtern parts of the empire, under the blood-thirſty Galerius, which ended but a little before his death; Arabia, Phænicia, Cappadocia, Meſopotomia, and Syria, beſides Bithynia, were the provinces where diſtinct kinds of puniſhments were moſt prevalent. In Pontus, Egypt, Thebais, and Phrygia, the variety and cruelty of the torments were ſuch as to ſurpaſs all relation; particularly in the laſt province, where a populous city was ſurrounded by the Pagan ſoldiers, and every ſoul, men, women, and children, conſumed in it, whilſt they were employed in the exerciſes of devotion.

THE province of Gaul, where Conſtantius governed, was the only place which eſcaped the perſecution; and he was obliged, as preſſed to it by his ſuperiors, to make a pretence of pulling down ſome Chriſtian churches. Having once, as a maſterly ſtroke of policy, made a ſhew of perſecuting them, and commanded all the officers of his houſhold to join in the Pagan ſacrifices, or immediately to baniſh themſelves; he diſmiſſed all who conſented to ſacrifice, with great diſgrace, and declared, that "thoſe who would forſake their God, could never be faithful to their prince." But the perſecution continued in Italy,

Africa,

Africa, and thoſe parts, which were more immediately governed by Maximian, not longer than two years; as it ended with his reſignation.

WE now reſume the thread of the civil hiſtory, where we left Conſtantius delivering his laſt leſſons of government to his ſon and ſucceſſor; by whoſe death, after a ſhort reign of one year, one month, and 25 days from the reſignation of Diocleſian, but above 13 years from the time of his being honoured with the title of Cæſar, and in his 56th year, the government devolved upon Conſtantine.

GREAT were the expectations of all men on his acceſſion to the weſtern empire. After honourably and ſplendidly celebrating his father's obſequies, he ſent to Galerius an account of what had happened, and therewith his own image, wreathed with the imperial laurel, as a ſuitable compliment to the ſenior emperor. Fired with rage, and ſtimulated probably by the remembrance of Conſtantine's eſcape, he condemned both the image and the meſſenger to the fire; but his friends diſſuaded him from executing his threats, which would enrage the army, already too much diſpleaſed. He thereupon ſent the purple to Conſtantine, but contrived to create his minion Severus both emperor and Auguſtus, who was an elder man, and Conſtantine only Cæſar in partnerſhip with Maximin.

BUT Conſtantine's title to the empire depended not on Galerius. His father had declared him his ſucceſſor, and the whole people and army of the weſt were determined to ſupport his title. When his image was expoſed in Rome, according to the cuſtom of new emperors, the ambition of Maxentius, ſon of Maximian, was thereby excited; who cauſed himſelf, in the abſence of Severus, whom the Prætorian ſoldiers deteſted, to be proclaimed emperor. In this uſurpation he maintained himſelf ſix years, wherein the greateſt acts of cruelty and tyranny were exerciſed; though he ſoon loſt Africa to another uſurper, whoſe name was Alexander, who poſſeſſed the title of emperor for four years. Though Conſtantine was ſurpriſed at his raſhneſs, Galerius was enraged, and immediately diſpatched Severus to puniſh him for his temerity; but he foreſaw his danger, and now ſent the purple again to his father in Campania, whom he declared the ſecond time emperor, which he gladly accepted, having been forced to reſign contrary to his inclination. As moſt of Severus's army had ſerved formerly under Maximinian, when they approached the walls of Rome, they refuſed to fight againſt the old emperor; and by their abandoning him, he was compelled to flee to Ravenna, where he firſt reſigned his im-

perial robes, and then put an end to his life by opening his veins.

GALERIUS, whoſe furious temper was well known to Maximinian, prepared to march his forces into Italy, to revenge himſelf of Maxentius and all the people; but his ſoldiers followed the example ſet them by the troops of Severus, and ſoon abandoned him, ſo that he was compelled to ſupplicate them not to deliver him up to his enemies, and to retire with the utmoſt conſternation. At this time Maximinian, to ſtrengthen his forces, fortified Rome, and married his youngeſt daughter to Conſtantine; but was ſoon diſſatisfied, when his ſon Maxentius returned to Rome, in having only a ſhare of the empire, which was productive of his ignominious expulſion from the city. He then repaired to Galerius, the inveterate enemy of his ſon, who was preparing to create Licinius an emperor in the room of Severus, which was effected in November; on which occaſion, to render it more ſolemn, Diocleſian alſo was requeſted to concur. But Maximin, in the eaſt, reſented this proceeding highly; nor could all the meſſages of Galerius prevail upon him to accede to it. This induced Galerius to extinguiſh the title of Cæſar, and to declare himſelf and Licinius the proper emperors, and Maxentius and Conſtantine ſons of the emperors, thereby excluding Maximin wholly, who ſoon aſſumed the title of Auguſtus. Hence was Galerius induced to give the ſame title to Maxentius and Conſtantine.

MAXIMIN now began to diſplay his diſpoſition, which was very ſimilar to that of Maxentius at Rome; but more exceſſive in his impieties and ſuperſtitions, in which he deſcended to the minuteſt matters. But of him we ſhall preſently ſpeak more fully; as we muſt now return to Conſtantine, who had married the daughter of Maximian. This old man, finding his projects diſappointed in the eaſt, withdrew into Gaul, at a time when Conſtantine was preparing to march againſt the Franks. He ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, by Maximian, that part of his army would be ſufficient; who had the ſelfiſh view of retaining the greater part in his own power, and the wicked hope of his falling a ſacrifice to this treacherous advice.

IN Conſtantine's abſence, he aſſumed the character of emperor, pillaged the treaſury, bribed the ſoldiers, and reported that Conſtantine was ſlain, and his army routed; which he no ſooner heard of, than he returned with incredible expedition, ſo that Maximian, on receiving the account of his march, was abandoned by the ſoldiers, and compelled to flee to Marſeilles. He was ſoon given up by his own people to Conſtantine;

tine: who, upbraiding him with his crimes, ſtripped him of his imperial purple, but gave him the liberty of a private individual. Inſtead of being grateful for this merciful treatment, he attempted to corrupt his own daughter to murder her huſband; which ſhe diſcovered to Conſtantine, who now gave him permiſſion to chuſe his own death, though he had deſerved the greateſt tortures.

ANOTHER inſtance of merited puniſhment is met with in Galerius, who was viſited with an ulcerous diſorder, which baffled all the arts of phyſicians; and, after lingering out a full year, by which his body was become a general maſs of putrefaction, abounding with noxious vermin, and his pains intolerable, beſides the very noiſome ſtench it emitted, not only over the whole palace, but even into the city, he was conſtrained, from a compunction of mind, to iſſue out an edict to ſtop the perſecutions of the Chriſtians. In this, he conſulted Conſtantine and Licinius, whoſe names he joined with his own; and it is remarkable, that though he had endeavoured frequently to kill himſelf, and had cauſed many of his phyſicians to be ſlain for the inefficacy of their medicines, in a few days after he expired, having reigned a little more than ſix years from the reſignation of Diocleſian.

THE miſerable end of Galerius had no other effect on Maximin, than to afford him an opportunity of enlarging his dominions; for he now added Aſia and Bithynia, which belonged to Licinius, and, though he had always been a ſevere perſecutor, he was more and more violent againſt the Chriſtians, and increaſed in acts of Pagan ſuperſtition. Maxentius alſo reduced Africa, whoſe inſolencies and outrages were continually conveyed to Conſtantine in Gaul; who reſolved, on being ſolicited by the ſenate and people of Rome, to check his uſurped tyranny, and deliver the city from his numerous oppreſſions.

ABOUT this time the empire, to add to theſe calamities, was afflicted with moſt dreadful peſtilences and famines. In the following year Conſtantine marched almoſt to the walls of Rome, with an army of 90,000 foot and 8,000 horſe; on which occaſion it is related, that he addreſſed his prayers to heaven, and implored the aſſiſtance of the only ſupreme God, in oppoſition to the falſe gods of Paganiſm, who hearkened to his ſupplication, and inſtructed him how to obtain the victory. "ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, In this overcome," was the motto inſcribed on the pillar which appeared to him in the ſhape of a croſs, in the face of his army, about three o'clock in the afternoon; and, being afterwards fully explained to him by a Night Viſion, he made it the ſtandard of his army, which was to be the enſign of victory and ſafety. In the nature of ſome

other celeſtial appearances he was alſo inſtructed by ſome Chriſtian biſhops; to all which Conſtantine paid the moſt ready and chearful obedience.

WHILST Conſtantine was thus commendably employed, Maxentius was wallowing in the city of Rome, in luxury, licentiouſneſs, and ſuperſtition. But he was now conſtrained to march out againſt his enemy; when 170,000 foot and 18,000 horſe, moſt of which were Romans and Italians who had ſeverely felt his tyranny, accompanied him into the field, though their hearty wiſhes were for his downfal. For ſome time, however, the engagement was fierce; but at laſt the troops of Maxentius retreated, when they were forced to betake themſelves to a bridge of boats built over the Tiber, contrived with ſecret ſprings and engines to drown the army of Conſtantine, if they paſſed that way. This was ſo much overpreſſed by the weight of the flying army, that it ſeparated, and they all ſunk to the bottom; amongſt which was Maxentius, after an uſurpation of about ſix years.

CONSTANTINE now entered the city of Rome in triumph amidſt the acclamations of all ranks and degrees of the citizens; and ſet up a croſs as a ſtanding monument of gratitude to that God, by whoſe direction and aſſiſtance he had been victorious, with the ſame inſcription as that contained in his enſigns, and another deſcriptive of the iſſue and ſucceſs of it. Many others were erected for him, with a triumphal arch at the foot of Mount Paleſtine; and from this year the noted Æra of "The ROMAN INDICTION" commenced, when Conſtantine forbid, by a public edict, that any criminal hereafter ſhould be crucified.

FROM this time he gradually and more openly favoured the Chriſtians; and in this year, in conjunction with Licinius, he made a law in their favour, a copy of which was ſent to Maximin for his concurrence. But he wickedly ſuppreſſed it, and iſſued a reſcript of his own, which, though it exempted them from perſecution, gave them no encouragement to build churches, or even to hold public aſſemblies; whereas Conſtantine proceeded ſo aſſiduouſly to favour them, that the Pagans began to manifeſt an envious and malignant diſpoſition. This greatly affected Maximin, and even old Diocleſian, who had ſet his heart upon the extirpation of Chriſtianity; and, which was a decided blow, all the pictures and ſtatues of Maximian were ordered to be pulled down. Soon afterwards Diocleſian died, in the utmoſt agony of mind, after governing the empire more than twenty years, in the 68th year of his age, and more than ſeven years from his reſignation of the empire.

LICINIUS married Conſtantia, the ſiſter of his colleague; and

and new edicts were iſſued in favour of the Chriſtians, granting them alſo many privileges. The grand ſecular games were now alſo neglected. Maximin now marched an army out of Syria in the winter to Bithynia; and, croſſing the ſtraits at Thrace, he ſubdued Byzantium by famine, after uſing every endeavour to corrupt the ſoldiers of Licinius. But as he was advancing, he heard that Licinius was coming to oppoſe his progreſs; and the latter, who had haſtily collected about 30,000 men, while Maximin had 70,000, without any deſign of fighting, was encouraged in a viſion to attack them, after an addreſs to the ſame God who had performed ſuch wonders for Conſtantine. With ſo much vigour did the forces of Licinius attack thoſe of Maximin, that they were diſordered and confounded by the very firſt onſet, notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of their leader; who was ſoon obliged to retire, after throwing away his purple robe, in the habit of a ſlave, one half of his army being deſtroyed, and the other half ſurrendered.

RETURNING with diſgrace into his own provinces, he began to diſcard his favourite Pagan gods, as the betrayers of his intereſt; and now iſſued an edict more favourable to the Chriſtians, allowing them to rebuild their churches, and ordering the reſtoration of their eſtates. He ſtill fled before a victorious army, till he was compelled to take refuge in Tarſus; where the danger of being ſhut up both by ſea and land, pointed out that death was his only reſource. After eating and drinking to exceſs, he took poiſon; which did not immediately operate, through the overcharge of his ſtomach, but threw him into a lingering and miſerable diſorder, and occaſioned for ſome time before his death, all the actions of phrenzy and madneſs, with the moſt intolerable pains of body and dreadful agonies of mind. Senſible of his horrid cruelties, he acknowledged his puniſhment was deſervedly inflicted; and, after he had reigned in the Eaſt more than eight years, this bloody tyrant and moſt barbarous perſecutor breathed out his ſoul in the moſt dreadful manner, calling upon that Divine Being for mercy, whoſe cauſe he had ſo heavily oppreſſed, and whoſe advocates ſo grievouſly had been tormented.

THIS account of the difficulties with which the great Conſtantine was ſurrounded, and his ſucceſs in conquering them, muſt be peculiarly ſatisfactory to the readers, for whoſe information this work has been more peculiarly adapted. When he is conſidered as a native of Britain, according to the received opinion of Engliſh hiſtorians, though others make him a Dacian by birth, to whom it was reſerved to overcome the prejudices of Paganiſm againſt ſuch a formidable oppoſition;

it greatly augments its importance to the Engliſh reader. Of the numerous martyrs which fell in this perſecution we cannot poſſibly take notice; which was moſt violent, both in effect and duration, under Galerius and Maximin in the eaſt, but of much leſs continuance at Rome and the middle parts of the empire, and, as we have already remarked, very little or none in Gaul and Britain. And though the Chriſtians, as we have heretofore obſerved, were divided amongſt themſelves, which ſometimes rendered chaſtiſement neceſſary; yet the dreadful fate of the authors of theſe laſt perſecutions, and the flouriſhing proſperity of Conſtantine who favoured their doctrines, amply affords a moſt encouraging example. We ſhall ſee hereafter that the ſame ſucceſs continued to await him.

HOWEVER amicably the two emperors accorded to favour the Chriſtians, on the part of Licinius it was not very ſincere; and when he found himſelf entirely free from the outrages of Maximin, by the total extirpation of his family, his diſpoſition was ſoon manifeſt. They parted as friends, the latter to oppoſe the incurſions of Maximin, and the former to ſuppreſs the inroads of the Franks, and independent people of Germany; but they afterwards met as enemies, from the factious temper of Licinius, who envied the authority of his colleague, notwithſtanding their family alliance, and allured Baſſianus, who had married another ſiſter of Conſtantine, and had been named Cæſar, into the conſpiracy.

BASSIANUS, on being diſcovered, naturally fled to Licinius, who refuſed to deliver up the criminals to the meſſengers of Conſtantine; on the contrary, the utmoſt indignities had been manifeſted to the ſtatues of Conſtantine, after he had deprived Baſſianus of his honours. A civil war immediately enſued, without allowing him time for preparation; and in the firſt battle, 20,000 forces under Conſtantine, routed 35,000 under Licinius, with the loſs of his camp. In a ſecond combat he was equally unſucceſsful; and a treaty of peace ſoon after enſued, by which Licinius was compelled to deprive his general Valens of the title of Cæſar, which he had conferred upon him. It was ſtipulated that Criſpus and the younger Conſtantine ſhould be confirmed in the dignity of Cæſar in the weſt, and that the younger Licinius only ſhould have the ſame title in the eaſt.

FOR the ſpace of eight years, the tranquillity of the empire was thereby ſecured; in which Conſtantine made many excellent laws, though ſome have been remarked as defective. In this interval, however, his eldeſt ſon Criſpus was employed ſucceſsfully againſt the Franks and Allemanni, a mixed people of different provinces, who had united under this title; whilſt

whilſt the emperor himſelf was exerciſed againſt the Goths with equal effect.

AND now the time approached when the fate of the empire was to be decided by force of arms; which a modern hiſtorian, who has been accuſed of too frequently favouring the Pagan writers, aſcribes to the ambition of Conſtantine, whilſt, with the Chriſtian authors, others attribute it to the zeal of Licinius for his former Paganiſm. It is highly probable that Licinius was the aggreſſor, from his great preparations; as he brought an army of 150,000 foot and 15,000 horſe, with a fleet of 350 gallies of three ranks of oars, whilſt Conſtantine's amounted to about 120,000 of horſe and foot, with ſcarce 200 ſmall veſſels, which had been haſtily collected to the harbour of Piræus.

LICINIUS alſo had had time to fortify his camp near Adrianople, in a very advantageous ſituation on the oppoſite ſide of the river Hebrus; nor could Conſtantine accompliſh a general engagement, till, by marching 5000 archers to poſſeſs a thick wood in the rear of the enemy, whilſt their attention was occupied by the conſtruction of a bridge in their front, he attacked them on all ſides at once, and thereby compelled them to leave their ſuperior poſition to combat in the plain. The conteſt was now ſoon decided; and his camp the ſame evening was aſſaulted after the battle, by the victorious army of Conſtantine. Licinius now fled to Byzantium; where his ſuperior fleet remained inactive, and was ſoon after defeated by the active valour of Criſpus, and a plentiful ſupply of proviſions was the immediate conſequence to the army.

THE ſiege of Byzantium proceeded rapidly, and Licinius thought it prudent to eſcape into Bithynia; where he once more collected a new army of about 60,000 men, which were ſoon attacked and vanquiſhed; with the ſlaughter of 25,000. Shortly after, by the interceſſion of his wife Conſtantia, his life was ſpared, on condition of reſigning the imperial dignity, and being baniſhed to Theſſalonica, where he ſoon died; but whether it was effected by a ſedition of the ſoldiers, a decree of the ſenate, or from anxiety of remorſe, though he has been accuſed of conſpiracy, cannot be determined.

THIS happened in the year preceding the famous council of Nice; and the fruits of this re-united empire were, the foundation of Conſtantinople, whither the ſeat of government was from henceforth transferred, and the full eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion.

CHAP. XLIII.

From the FOUNDATION *of* CONSTANTINOPLE *to the* FALL *of the* WESTERN EMPIRE.

[ANN. ROM. 1076. A. D. 324.]

CONSIDERING the extent of the Roman empire, the ſituation of the new city muſt be allowed to be admirably adapted for the capital of a large dominion; and its public buildings and other elegant ſtructures which were projected, ſuch as entitled it to the character of the firſt city in the world. Anxious for its execution, the emperor puſhed on the work with rapidity, ſo that it was completed in about ſix years; at which time it was called NEW ROME, but has retained the memory of the founder in preference, for almoſt 1500 years.

CONSTANTINE, when he was free from all competitors, began to look nearer home, and to caſt an unfavourable eye towards his eldeſt ſon Criſpus, who began to obtain a large degree of popularity. Whether he diſcovered any improper ſteps in his conduct is not altogether certain, but he was ſoon after baniſhed and privately executed, on the accuſation of ſome malicious informers, though principally, it has been ſaid, through the artifices of Fauſta, whoſe enmity to her ſon-in-law was unbounded. She might be influenced by accompliſhing the ruin of Criſpus, to make way for her own ſons to ſucceed to the throne; all of whom were declared Cæſars, though at different periods. But ſome ſay that ſhe ſoon after met her deſerved fate; whilſt others ſuppoſe that ſhe eſcaped.

THE emperor alſo raiſed one of his two nephews to the dignity of Cæſar; for the other he deviſed the new title of "Moſt Noble." When the Sarmatians and Goths were contending for power, the former deſired the aſſiſtance of Conſtantine, who declared in their favour; on which the Goths paſſed the Danube into Mæſia, where they every where ſpread terror and deſolation. Againſt theſe invaders the emperor advanced in perſon, whoſe forces were compelled to retreat; but in a ſecond action, in which his eldeſt ſon Conſtantine ſupplied

plied his father's place, the Roman arms were completely victorious. Unmindful of this ſignal ſervice, the Sarmatians, on ſome ſlender pretence, haraſſed the Roman provinces in about two years after; when the emperor left them to the mercy of the Goths, by whom they were entirely vanquiſhed.

AT peace with every part of the world, and enjoying the congratulations of a peaceable and proſperous government from the courts of Perſia and the remoteſt corners of India, he died at the age of 64, after a reign of 30 years and 10 months; and his remains were conveyed to the new city, which was to render his name immortal.

HIS two nephews, whom he had impoliticly dignified, were ſpeedily marked as objects of deſtruction by the diſſatiſfied courtiers; and Conſtantius, the ſecond ſon, when he came to Conſtantinople from his eaſtern ſtation, pledged their ſafety, though they were ſoon afterwards murdered by the ſoldiers. Many others of his relations alſo ſuffered in this maſſacre.

WHEN the three ſons were aſſembled, the eldeſt then about twenty-one, was allowed to ſucceed his father at his new city; Conſtantius, who was about twenty, had Thrace and the countries of the Eaſt; and Conſtans, aged ſeventeen, held Italy, Africa, and the weſtern Illyricum. But the confuſions at Conſtantinople had encouraged the Perſians to invade the eaſtern provinces, and a ſpirit of diſſaffection was ſpreading amongſt the eaſtern legions; but Conſtantius haſtened from the interview with his brothers, and ſoon reſtrained the latter, yet the war with Perſia continued to the end of his reign, when he had been ſole emperor for ten years after the death of Conſtans, and twenty from the deſtruction of Conſtantine.

AT the end of three years from the diviſion of the empire, the three emperors were diſſatisfied with their reſpective ſhares; when Conſtantine, who demanded the ceſſion of Africa from Conſtans, and prepared to maintain it by arms, was decoyed into an ambuſcade, under a pretence of flight, and ſlain. The haughtineſs of Conſtans, which was increaſed by his ſucceſs, rendered him inſupportable to his people; and after ten years more, in which he had kept the diviſion of Conſtantine, together with his own, Magnentius was ſet up as emperor in the abſence of Conſtans, who was thereupon ſhortly after murdered. Vetranio, an aged general, was alſo declared emperor of Illyricum, from the Danube to the extremity of Greece; whom, in a ſhort time, Conſtantius found means to lull into a falſe ſecurity, and then to depoſe him. After turning his arms againſt Magnentius, and ſuffering ſome loſſes, and being much haraſſed, his troops were victorious in an obſtinate

and ſevere engagement, which terminated, in a great meaſure, the fate of the uſurper; for, though he appeared to make a ſhew of farther reſiſtance, his affairs became more and more deſperate, and at laſt, when he apprehended that he ſhould be given up by the Romans, met a voluntary death by falling on his ſword.

OF the two nephews of Conſtantine, who had been ſpared from the fury of the ſoldiers, Gallus, the eldeſt, then about twenty five years of age, though treated hitherto with great indignity, was declared Cæſar; to whom alſo the Princeſs Conſtantia was given in marriage. But her inſatiate thirſt for human blood occaſioned her own ruin, together with that of her huſband; ſo that he was beheaded in priſon like a common malefactor.

JULIAN, the younger of the two ſons of Conſtantius, had long been in extreme danger of life; but, after being ſent to Athens as an exile, he was recalled to Milan, through the favour of the empreſs Euſebia, and declared Cæſar. From thence he was ſent to govern the dominions of the Weſt, and ſome time afterwards the emperor viſited the ancient capital before his return to Conſtantinople. A pretended conſpiracy of the general Sylvanus, as related by an informer, had before this time coſt him his life; and Julian's fears had been greatly excited by the melancholy event, of which moſt people thought him innocent.

THE Quadi and Sarmatians, who had invaded Illyricum, occaſioned the emperor to leave Rome; againſt whom he marched in perſon, and was ſingularly ſucceſsful. But the Perſian war ſtill continued, by which the Romans were much haraſſed; which was at length terminated, though not very glorioufly on the part of the empire. At this time Julian was more fortunately employed in Gaul againſt the Franks, whom he ſubdued; who at all times was occupied in adjuſting the affairs of his civil adminiſtration.

SUCCESS excited the envy of Conſtantius, and led him to command the legions of Gaul to march towards the Eaſt. At this the ſoldiers were diſſatisfied; and when Julian, on parting with them, thanked them for their valour and fidelity to him, they immediately proclaimed him emperor, notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it. He then, when nothing ſhort of his being emperor would ſatisfy them, diſpatched an embaſſy to Conſtantius to acquaint him with what had paſſed; but pointed out the neceſſity of his confirming the title of Auguſtus. The reſult of this was, that Julian found himſelf compelled, when his moderate and reſpectful conduct had only irritated, to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war;

war; and his ſoldiers unanimouſly reſolve to ſupport him without delay as their emperor, when he marched rapidly towards the Eaſt to attack Conſtantius, before he could aſſemble the large army for which he had formed the moſt aſtoniſhing magazines. But Conſtantius died, after a ſhort illneſs, as he was advancing to oppoſe Julian, probably haſtened by an extreme agitation of ſpirits; after having reigned more than 24 years, and in the 45th year of his age.

JULIAN had, by this fortunate event, no competitor; and in a few weeks after he triumphantly entered the new city of Conſtantinople amidſt the acclamations of the ſoldiers, the people, and the ſenate; where he ſoon paid the laſt reſpect to the remains of Conſtantius. The city of Aquileia, where ſome diſſaffected legions had made a ſtand, on being diſmiſſed by Julian as ſuſpicious, and erected the banners of Conſtantius on its walls, now opened its gates, and ſacrificed the leaders of the oppoſition; and obtained the pardon of the emperor, who had now, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, acquired the undiſputed poſſeſſion of the whole empire.

HIS firſt object was to conſider the duties of a governor, and to regulate his own empire accordingly; for which the courſe of his ſtudies at Athens had been admirably adapted. In the various departments of a ſupreme magiſtrate, his regulations were well-deſigned; and particularly in the reformation of abuſes he was zealouſly aſſiduous.

HAVING employed himſelf in theſe important ſervices about ſixteen months, he prepared to march againſt the Perſians, and refuſed all mediation of ambaſſadors. He ſtopped at Antioch for the winter, where a great ſcarcity of grain was apprehended. He proceeded to Carrhæ, a very ancient city of Meſopotamia, from whence he meditated the attack of the Perſian empire, which in a very ſhort time he completely overran. He next proceeded to Aſſyria, in which he was for a time equally victorious; but as he purſued a ſcheme which depended on the like ſucceſs of his generals, and of the aſſiſtance of the king of Armenia, the diſſaffection of that prince, and the miſunderſtanding of the generals, prevented the propoſed junction before the walls of Cteſiphon. By this diſappointment he was induced to retreat; and having firſt burnt his fleet, he reſolved to march againſt the king of Perſia, whoſe armies fled before him, but with the deſtruction of the whole country.

WHEN they reſolved to return towards the Tigris, as ſupplies of forage were thus rendered impoſſible, the army of the Perſians came forward to attack them. Every thing had contributed to defeat the object of the enterprize; and the emperor's

emperor's imprudence, which he now plainly ſaw, threatened the deſtruction of the whole army, and occaſioned the greateſt anguiſh of mind. Continual ſkirmiſhes were the conſequence of this retreat, in which both armies ſuffered conſiderably; till at laſt, in a moment of danger, when he was boldy animating his troops to repel the Perſians, he received a mortal wound, which alone prevented the Romans from reaping the effects of a complete victory. On the news of this fatal accident, the Perſian king, diſpirited by the late defeat, recovered from his panic, and determined to renew his attack on the retiring Romans, now without a leader, and ſtill in a perilous ſituation; but, after much ſlaughter on both ſides, the Roman arms were again victorious, and a peace, which to both ſides was adviſable, was ſoon after concluded.

JOVIAN, who had been elected on the death of Julian, though only a principal domeſtic, was extremely incapable of extricating the Romans from their embaraſments; and therefore conſented to give up five provinces beyond the Tigris, the invincible city of Niſibis, Singara, and the caſtle of the Moors, the ſtrongeſt places of Meſopotamia. Againſt ſo diſgraceful a peace, the public clamour was inceſſant; but he diſregarded the voice of the people, under the pretence of religiouſly and ſacredly adhering to the treaty, and bid adieu to the luxurious provinces of the Eaſt, by marching to Antioch. From hence, after a ſhort refreſhment of ſix weeks from the greateſt fatigues and moſt dangerous perils, he proceeded towards Conſtantinople, though the winter was faſt approaching; and in about four months after, when he had been acknowledged every where as emperor, he was one morning found dead in his bed.

A VACANCY now ſucceeded in the empire for ten days, when Valentinian, a native of Pannonia, who had been advanced to ſeveral conſiderable ſtations, was elected; he aſſociated his brother Valens with him in the empire, to whom ſoon after he divided the eaſtern parts of the empire from Greece to the confines of Perſia, which were never after united. This was in the year of Chriſt 364.

BUT Procopius, the general of Meſopotamia, revolted the year following againſt Valens; in leſs than one year, after ſeveral engagements, his forces and generals forſook him, and he was at laſt betrayed into the hands of Valens, and ignominiouſly executed. About this time were ſome dreadful earthquakes at Alexandria and in various other places of the Roman empire, by which vaſt numbers loſt their lives, and the greateſt alarms were occaſioned.

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THE Allemanni, on the acceſſion of Valentinian, had been deprived of their cuſtomary preſents, and therefore invaded Gaul, whilſt Procopius had revolted in the Eaſt, and committed many depredations; and before Valentinian could reach them, they had removed the ſpoils and captives into the foreſts of Germany. In the beginning of the next year, in the middle of winter, they collected their whole force, and ſucceſsfully attacked the Roman army; but this diſgrace was expunged by their future good conduct and valour under Jovinus, who ſurprized them in their camp, and, after a whole day's obſtinate conteſt, defeated them with the loſs of 6000 ſlain and 4000 wounded, with the capture of their king.

FROM the time of Conſtantine, little more than occaſional viſits had been paid by the Roman generals to the iſland of Britain; and the Picts and Scots had in a great meaſure overrun the whole country. After this ſucceſs of Jovinus, the diſtreſſing accounts which arrived from thence determined the emperor, after mature conſultation, to diſpatch Theodoſius for the purpoſe of reducing the invading barbarians. The prudence of the general was the means of his ſucceſs; for the citizens of London, after he had diſperſed the ſeveral parties in the preſent county of Kent, opened their gates to him. By his good conduct he ſettled in about two years the diſorders of the country, and returned with great reputation to check the continued inroads and invaſions of the Allemanni, with increaſed honour; he was afterwards commiſſioned to ſtop the depredations of the barbarians in Africa, and to puniſh the revolt of Firmus, which had been provoked by the tyranny and oppreſſion of Romanus, the military governor of that country. This was effected with his uſual judgment and intrepidity, and Firmus was ſeized to be delivered to the general; but ſtrangled himſelf to avoid the ſenſe of that diſgrace, which his repeated diſloyalty and treachery had merited.

WHILST Theodoſius was fortunately employed in Britain, the emperor Valentinian was compelled to march againſt the Allemanni, one of whoſe chiefs had ſurprized Mentz in Upper Germany, at the time of a Chriſtian feſtival; but they dearly paid for this infraction of the public peace, though the emperor's life was in extreme danger. Upon this occaſion, he planted the banks of the Rhine as a frontier barrier, from its ſource to the ocean, with ſtrong caſtles and convenient towers; and, to prevent future irruptions found means to foment the internal diſturbances of the different tribes of Germany. New fortifications were alſo erected on the frontier of the Rhætian and Illyrian provinces againſt the Quadi and Sarmatians; which were delayed by the repreſentation of the Quadi,

Quadi, whoſe king, through the infamy of a worthleſs miniſter, was treacherouſly aſſaſſinated.

ENRAGED at this perfidy, the Goths, with the ſtipulated ſuccours of Sarmatian cavalry, invaded Pannonia, in which country great ravages were committed; and Sirmium, the capital of Illyricum, was attacked by theſe barbarians, where they firſt met with an effectual reſiſtance. But their ſucceſs againſt the frontier forces was not leſs than in their other marches; and the bordering tribes were thereby encouraged to the ſame ſteps. The valour of the young Theodoſius alone ſecured the ſubordination of the province of Mœſia. Valentinian, in the enſuing ſpring, left the city of Treves, from whence he had defeated the Allemanni, and being arrived on the banks of the Danube, the Quadi there ſupplicated his mildneſs; on which occaſion, ſuch was the violence of his ungoverned fury, that his whole frame was agitated with convulſive paſſion, and, by the burſting of a blood-veſſel, he fell ſpeechleſs into the arms of his attendants, and in a few minutes expired.

VALENTINIAN and Valens were both of them tinctured with cruelty. The emperors who had ſucceeded Conſtantine had favoured the doctrines of Arius in religious matters, except Julian, who adhered to Paganiſm; occaſioned, probably, through the prejudice and hatred he might naturally conceive againſt the murderers of his family. The renowned Athanaſius died about two years, and not quite ſeven months, before Valentinian, after combating with the advocates for the doctrines of Arius more than 46 years, from the time that he had been firſt ſeated on the archiepiſcopal throne of Egypt; to which he was elected ſhortly after the council of Nice. In this time he had paſſed as an exile or fugitive 20 years, and had been five times expelled by the more powerful party, being always a particular object of their enmity; but ſuch was the veneration for his character in the latter part of his life, that the Præfect of Alexandria was deterred from a perſecution which he had meditated, by the people who inſtantly appeared in arms to defend him.

GRATIAN, his ſon, by the granddaughter of Conſtantine, had an hereditary claim to ſucceed; but two of the generals in Illyricum and Italy contrived to induce Juſtina, his ſecond empreſs, to appear in the camp with her infant ſon, about four years old, whom they ſolemnly inveſted with the enſigns of ſupreme power. Their deſign was to make themſelves maſters of the empire, by reigning in his name; and, to prevent the horrors of a civil war, he admitted the young Valentinian to reign with him.

ABOUT

ABOUT this time the warlike Huns, who had been expelled from China, and had wandered weſtward in ſearch of a ſettlement, after conquering the Alani, proceeded ſtill weſtward againſt the Goths. Here they committed ſuch dreadful ravages, as till then were unknown even to that hardy people; and their king, who had ſeverely oppreſſed his people, found their unwillingneſs to repel this invaſion, many of his ſubjects now embracing the means of revenging his barbarities. His death, which was the conſequence, was ſucceeded by numerous misfortunes, and theſe barbarians were every where victorious; ſo that the Goths were compelled to ſupplicate Valens, who ſtill commanded in the eaſt, to grant them a peaceable aſylum in Thrace, where they might cultivate the waſte lands, and defend, as his ſubjects, the limits of the empire.

THE timid policy of Valens and his counſellors accepted this offer, the moſt ruinous and fatal which the Roman empire had yet experienced. Soon after did theſe reſtleſs people treacherouſly and cruelly revenge the effects of former wars upon the Romans; ſo that Valens, who, too late, diſcovered his error, was now compelled to march againſt them, and alſo to ſolicit the aid of Gratian, his nephew, who governed the weſtern part of the empire. On this occaſion, the Goths formed an alliance with thoſe, from whoſe conquering arm they had ſo lately eſcaped; and Gratian, before he could march to the eaſt, was obliged to repel an invaſion of the Allemanni in Germany, which only was effected by a very bloody battle.

IN the mean time the Goths had penetrated as far as Adrianople, where, by a gallant manœuvre of a general of Valens, they were ſurpriſed in their camp, and their immenſe ſpoils fell into the hands of the Romans. But from a raſh and precipitate conduct, by which Valens unneceſſarily provoked a battle, and other inconſiderate proceedings, the Romans were totally defeated, and the emperor loſt his life; for the Roman cavalry were compelled to fly, and the infantry was ſurrounded by the barbarian horſe, and cut to pieces. After this ſignal ſucceſs, they advanced to beſiege Adrianople; but the vanquiſhed Romans, who had therein ſheltered themſelves, determined to defend it to the laſt extremity. Finding this attempt to be vain, they advanced towards Conſtantinople, where they met a repulſe from the Arabian horſe, which at once aſtoniſhed and compelled them to retreat.

BUT a horrid policy immediately ſucceeded this retreat, by the command of Julius, maſter-general of the troops; who had received a diſcretionary power from the ſenate of Conſtantinople, during the vacancy of the throne. By this ſtep, all the ſons of the Goths, which had been diſtributed in Aſia

twelve

twelve years before, were conſigned to a general maſſacre, at one and the ſame time, to prevent their adopting the example of their fathers in Europe, to the great danger of the public ſafety.

WHEN Gratian was informed, on his march towards Adrianople, of the fatal conſequence of his uncle's raſhneſs, and perceived himſelf too weak to revenge his death; he concluded that no time was to be loſt in the choice of a ſucceſſor, to check the various enemies of the empire. He wiſhed to beſtow it as the reward of virtue; and, paſſing over the miniſters and generals, of whoſe true characters he could form little judgment, he recalled from exile the ſon of Theodoſius, who but three years before had been ignominiouſly executed at Carthage, after having reſtored both Britain and Africa to the Roman government. Inſtructed in the arts of war by his father, and moſt liberally educated, he was well qualified for the arduous ſtation; which he entered upon in the thirty third year of his age, with univerſal approbation.

HIS firſt object was to check the ravages of the Goths. He fortified and ſtrengthened the cities, and revived a ſenſe of diſcipline among his troops; and, ſeating himſelf at Theſſalonica, he carefully watched the motions of the barbarians and directed their operations accordingly. As their ſallies from the garriſons were more and more ſucceſsful, detachments from them were gradually united into ſmall armies; ſo that the Roman arms daily increaſed in ſtrength and ſpirit, and the leader of the Viſigoths dying about this period, the ſeparate factions of barbarians diminiſhed their power, and, at the end of four campaigns, they were totally reduced, and compelled to ſubmit to the Roman government, on ſuch terms as Theodoſius thought proper to propoſe, and the new Gothic judge to accept. The final capitulation of the Viſigoths was juſt four years, one month, and 25 days, from the defeat and death of Valens.

ON this occaſion Athanaric, their leader, was received and hoſpitably entertained at Conſtantinople; where he ſoon contracted a mortal diſeaſe, through intemperance and indulgence at the imperial banquets. His funeral was celebrated with all poſſible ſolemnity in that city, and a ſtately monument erected to his memory; his whole army were ſo pleaſed with the liberality and conduct of Theodoſius, that they enliſted under the ſtandard of the Roman empire.

SOON after this period, the warlike Sapor, king of Perſia, after a reign of 70 years, in which he had greatly haraſſed the Roman princes, finiſhed the career of life. From that event, the court and councils of Perſia were immediately changed; and an embaſſy was ſent to Conſtantinople, with large preſents and

and the propoſal of a laſting friendſhip with Theodoſius. Peace was ſoon after concluded, in which Armenia and Iberia were, on both ſides, confirmed to be neutral and independent nations.

THE Oſtrogoths, another nation of Goths, had retreated to explore new ſcenes of rapine and glory; but in about four years they haſtily returned to the banks of the Danube, and, by the perſuaſions of pretended deſerters, which the Roman general had ſent as ſpies, they were encouraged ſpeedily to attempt their camp, (which, probably, they deſigned to poſtpone to the enſuing winter) and for that purpoſe embarked in 3000 canoes. The Roman gallies were chained in a triple line on their own ſhore for two miles and a half to prevent them from landing; at which time a fleet of gallies was poured in upon them, and the whole body of the invaders was routed, and their king, with his braveſt troops, was ſlain or buried in the waves. Thoſe who eſcaped had no alternative, but to implore the clemency of the victorious enemy.

To judge from ſubſequent accounts in hiſtory, it was, perhaps impolitic to ſuffer the Viſigoths, who had ſurrendered, to inhabit together in Thrace, or for the Oſtrogoths to be united in Phrygia and Lydia. A diſtinct army, though maintained for the perpetual ſervice of the empire, amounting to 40,000 men, ſerved rather to preſerve than eradicate their ferocious and hoſtile ſpirit. This was an obſtacle to the habits of induſtry and obedience, and an interruption to agriculture and civil improvements, which the Roman emperor ſo much wiſhed to encourage; and many Gothic deſerters, who retired into the moraſſes of Macedonia, waſted the adjoining provinces by committing many depredations. They alſo expreſſed the greateſt contempt for the Roman citizens and provincials; and their tumults appeared to be the effect of premeditated deſign, as it was generally believed, that their inſidious ſpirit was no way ſubdued, though neceſſity had obliged them to ſign a treaty of peace. It was ſuppoſed that the greater part of their chiefs had bound themſelves previouſly, by a ſolemn and ſecret oath, never to keep faith with the Romans; but whilſt they maintained the faireſt ſhew of loyalty and friendſhip, that every favourable moment ſhould be embraced of rapine, conqueſt, and revenge.

SEVERAL of their leaders were, notwithſtanding, devoted to the ſervice of the emperor, from motives of gratitude; and two parties were inſenſibly formed, of which the moderate one were the leaſt numerous. Theodoſius diſcovered this at a ſolemn feſtival, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to his table; who, being indiſcreetly heated by wine, betrayed this

this fatal ſecret. The inſolence of the fierce and faithleſs Priulf, who headed the more powerful faction, ſo exaſperated the honourable and valiant Fravitta that influenced the other, as to follow him immediately from the palace, and to lay the other dead at his feet. The adherents of both parties flew to arms; but Fravitta was ſeaſonably preſerved and protected from the oppreſſion of numbers, by the imperial guards. From this time the firm and temperate character of the emperor alone reſtrained the impatient Goths, and the public ſafety depended ſolely on his life and abilities.

IN the mean time Gratian, who addicted himſelf to the pleaſures of the chace, forgot his rank and dignity; and the army was ſo much diſſatisfied with his conduct, that Maximus was proclaimed emperor in Britain, though he long affected to decline the honour, which was afterwards accepted. He now invaded Gaul with 30,000 ſoldiers and 100,000 plebeians,, who ſettled themſelves in Bretagne; and the armies in that province joyfully received inſtead of repelling his march, ſo that Gratian, deſerted by his troops, was compelled to flee to Lyons, where he was treacherouſly betrayed into the power of an officer of Maximus, who baſely murdered him and the king of the Franks.

THESE events did not reach the ears of Theodoſius, till the fatal blow was ſtruck; and an ambaſſador was deputed to him by Maximus, to ſoften the cataſtrophe, at the ſame time ſoliciting his friendſhip and alliance, but declaring equally his readineſs to conteſt the empire of the world. At laſt he conſented, after much deliberation, that Maximus ſhould retain the countries Weſt of the Alps, whilſt the brother of Gratian ſhould poſſeſs Italy, Africa, and the weſtern Illyricum; and proviſion was made in the treaty for preſerving the equitable laws of his predeceſſor.

BUT Maximus, poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of ambition, not long after invaded Italy; when he gained the paſſes of the Alps by ſtratagem, and arrived before the city of Milan without any intelligence being obtained of his march, where the young ſon of Juſtina continued with his mother, and the half-brother of Gratian, reſided. She had juſt time to flee to Aquileia for ſafety, from whence ſhe applied to Theodoſius for aſſiſtance; and the Imperial family were ſeated at Theſſalonica, while Maximus had overrun all Italy except the little city of Æmona. At peace with Perſia, and ſecure of the Gothic barbarians who followed his ſtandard, preparations for war, which had been approved by his council, were every where diſplayed; by which the fears of Maximus were alarmed, nor could he be certain that by the paſſage of the Danube they

they might penetrate into the very centre of Gaul. The army of Theodoſius conſiſted of the Huns, the Alani, and Goths, formed into ſquadrons of archers; who, fighting on horſeback, put the Gauls and Germans into the utmoſt confuſion, by charging them in their camp. Theodoſius purſued the uſurper who fled to Aquileia, and had but juſt time to ſhut the city gates; but he was ſoon delivered up to the emperor, whoſe regard for public juſtice induced him to abandon Maximus to the zeal of the ſoldiers.

THE general of Theodoſius, who had been appointed maſter-general of the armies of Gaul, now began to have an eye upon the empire, and uſurped the power of appointing or diſplacing officers at pleaſure; at which the young Valentinian was alarmed, and ſecretly informed Theodoſius, that his ſituation was that of a captive, and again implored his aſſiſtance. He was ſoon after found, ſtrangled in his apartment; when the general, fearful of the conſequences, raiſed Eugenius to the throne, deſigning himſelf to reign under his name. At this Theodoſius, when the ambaſſador to announce the election arrived, was enraged, and engaged Iberians, Arabs, and Goths, to revenge the death of Valentinian; amongſt whom was the noted Alaric, who ſo fatally exerted himſelf afterwards for the deſtruction of Rome. The forces of the uſurper being very advantageouſly poſted, the attack of Theodoſius was followed by a prodigious ſlaughter, and the combat only ceaſing with the night, he was obliged to withdraw his troops from the ſcene of action, in a very uncomfortable and hopeleſs condition. But a favourable tempeſt aroſe the next day from the eaſt, of which the forces of the emperor availed themſelves; and the iſſue was, that the uſurper proſtrated himſelf at the feet of Theodoſius, and his general, having wandered ſeveral days among the mountains, put an end to hs melancholy ſituation by falling on his own ſword.

ALL hopes of proſperity were obſcured by the death of Theodoſius, but a few months after this ſignal victory. His ſucceſſors Arcadius and Honorius, wanted talents and judgment to ſecure the advantages it afforded. Rufinus too, who had deſigns upon the throne, contributed by his artifices to the downfal of the empire; and Alaric, inſtructed by his late campaigns under the Roman ſtandard, now declared war againſt it at the head of a numerous body of forces.

THE inactivity and groſs neglect of the court of Rome, whither the emperor had now removed, had induced Britain and Gaul to revolt from their allegiance, and to provide means of protection and defence for themſelves. A private ſoldier, of the name of Conſtantine, had been ſaluted emperor, on ac-

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count of that name; and ſuch was their diſtreſs, that they might hope for better fortune from almoſt any change of circumſtances. In reſcuing the unhappy country of Gaul from the barbarous rage of the German invaders, he was tolerably ſucceſsful; but this news excited Honorius to diſpatch a Goth of the name of Sarus, to ſubdue the rebel, with orders to bring his head to the emperor. Upon this Conſtantine was compelled to march againſt him, and the beſt troops of Britain and Italy were unhappily engaged in this civil commotion; but the uſurper, after loſing one of his braveſt generals in the field, and another by treachery at an interview to eſtabliſh peace, defended himſelf in Vienna, where for ſeven days the Imperial army ineffectually beſieged him, and then was obliged precipitately to retreat, and to purchaſe a paſſage from the Freebooters of the Alps. Theſe now ſerved as a barrier to the dominions of the two monarchs.

APPREHENSIVE of danger from Spain, he turned his arms to that country, which ſoon ſubmitted; but the ſurviving relatives of Theodoſius, who had powerful influence, reſiſted this progreſs, and he found himſelf obliged to hire about 5000 barbarian auxiliaries, to ſubdue this oppoſition, ſo ſmall was the force ſufficient to effect the ruin of theſe unfortunate men.

ABOUT this time, ſuch was the weak and languid ſtate of government at Rome, that 4000 pounds of gold was actually voted, as a ſubſidy to ſecure the peace of Italy, and to conciliate the friendſhip of the king of the Goths; to which the Roman ſenate reluctantly ſubmitted, after various attempts to demonſtrate the ſervile and baſe tenor of ſuch a compact. His brother Arcadius, who ſucceeded at Conſtantinople, being dead, Honorius was deſirous of acting as a guardian for the young Theodoſius; but was prevented from it by the difficulty and expence of the journey.

WHILST this was meditating, Alaric the Gothic king invaded Italy, partly to enforce payment of the gold which had been voted as the recompence of his ſervices to Rome, and partly to enquire, as he ſpeciouſly pretended, for what cauſe the principal miniſter of Honorius, who had been diſgraced, had ſuffered death. He pretended to be the friend and ally of that miniſter, whoſe deſtruction had been accompliſhed by a faction, the progreſs of which Alaric had duly attended to; but the firmneſs of his demand of the ſubſidy was aſſociated with a moderation, which deceived the miniſters of the Roman emperor, who attributed to fear and weakneſs this politic and deſigning conduct. For he refuſed to put confidence in the Roman faith, unleſs the ſons of two principal officers of ſtate

ſhould

ſhould firſt be ſent to his camp as hoſtages, which prevented all negociation; and thinking themſelves too ſecure, they diſdained to aſſemble any army.

LULLED with theſe conſiderations, Alaric was enabled to paſs the Alps and the Po without oppoſition; on which he pillaged the city of Aquileia and many others, which yielded to his arms. He now obtained 30,000 auxiliaries, and without facing a ſingle enemy ravaged every where, except the impregnable city of Ravenna, on the ſhore of the Adriatic. By a circuitous march, he ſpeedily arrived at, and pitched his camp under the very walls of Rome.

So judiciouſly did Alaric inveſt the city, that he ſoon commanded the avenues of its twelve gates, and prevented all ſupplies from approaching them by the Tiber; and famine and plague were ſpeedy conſequences of the ſiege. The haughty nobility, who had ſo lately deſpiſed this Gothic leader, and were filled with indignation at the daring intrepidity of attempting to ſurround the capital of the world, now found that negotiations for peace were neceſſary; and the ſiege was at length raiſed on an immediate payment of 5000 pounds of gold, 30,000 pounds of ſilver, 4000 robes of ſilk, 3000 pieces of fine ſcarlet cloth, and 3000 pounds weight of pepper.

THE Gothic king wintered in Tuſcany, where numerous bodies of barbarians flocked to his ſtandard. Aſpiring to the rank of maſter-general of the weſtern armies, he propoſed that Dalmatia, Noricum, and Venetia, ſhould be the ſeat of his new kingdom, and ſtipulated an annual ſubſidy of corn and money, but intimated that Noricum at leaſt ſhould be aſſigned him; which the emperor's new miniſter prevented, and the court of Rome repaired to Ravenna, leaving the ancient city, almoſt without defence, to the reſentment of Alaric. His moderation only, and not the wiſdom of Honorius, ſaved the city from hoſtile fire, by attacking the port of Oſtia, where were the public granaries which ſupplied it; when he ſummoned the city to ſurrender, which it did, on threatening inſtantly, if they delayed, to deſtroy the magazines.

ALARIC now appointed Attalus, præfect of the city, emperor inſtead of the unworthy Honorius; who, in return, acknowledged the Gothic king maſter-general of the armies of the Weſt. The two hoſtile nations now ſeemed to be united in the cloſeſt bands of friendſhip and alliance; and the miniſter and general of Honorius, ſuch was his deplorable condition, both betrayed their truſt, and paid their court to Attalus.

BUT his elevation was of very ſhort duration. The failure of an ill-ſupported expedition into Africa, contrary to his

his boaſting declarations, with a ſeaſonable ſupply of troops to Honorius, changed the public opinion; and Alaric ſoon after deprived him of the Imperial dignity, and favoured Honorius, hoping by this ſtep to ſecure a peace. It had not this effect; for the court of Ravenna repeated its former haughty language, and Alaric determined to revenge this perfidy by a third viſit to Rome, the gates of which were opened to him in the ſilence of night, and the city delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia. Plunder and deſolation immediately ſucceeded; and the zeal of the Goths only reſtrained them from pillaging the churches and other appendages of Chriſtianity, for which they retained the moſt profound veneration. But fire, that all-deſtroying element, conſumed much of what would otherwiſe have been ſpared; and the redemption of captives was a large harveſt to theſe needy barbarians.

AFTER the city had for ſeveral days been expoſed to the ravages of the Goths, their leader thought proper to retreat, at the head of an army, encumbered with rich and weighty ſpoils. Paſſing along the Appian way into the ſouthern parts of Italy, he caſt his eye upon Sicily; but the firſt diviſion of theſe people was diſperſed by a tempeſt, which overtook them, immediately after their embarkation to croſs the ſtrait of Meſſina, about half an Engliſh league in breadth. This damped their ſpirits, and the death of Alaric put a total ſtop to the deſign.

ADOLPHUS, his brother-in-law, was now unanimouſly elected to ſucceed him; whoſe pacific diſpoſition induced him to ſuſpend the operations of war, and ſeriouſly to negociate with the Imperial court a treaty of friendſhip and alliance. He now aſſumed the character of a Roman general; and with the approbation of Honorius, marched againſt thoſe tyrants and barbarians, who at this time infeſted the countries beyond the Alps. Narbonne, Thouloufe, and Bourdeaux were ſoon occupied by them; and the intereſt of the republic was proſecuted with vigour, which has been attributed to the influence of Placidia the daughter of Theodoſius, and ſiſter of Honorius, whom he married. A ſhort peace ſucceeded to this happy accommodation; and meaſures were taken to reſtore the culture of the provinces of Italy.

BUT Heraclian, who had hitherto ſupported the cauſe of Honorius, now aſſumed the ſovereign authority in Africa; and, to enforce his preſumption, determined to invade Italy. His ſimple conduct, and ſubſequent return, were ſpeedily followed by death; which he received from the hands of thoſe, who, diſdaining his conduct, had returned to their rightful duty.

About

About this time alſo Conſtantine, who had been proclaimed emperor of the Britons and Gauls, experienced a defeat, and met with his deſerved fate. Others of the uſurpers were ſoon after alſo vanquiſhed, by means of the activity of Adolphus. After this, the remainder of the reign of Honorius was free from uſurpation and rebellion.

HE afterwards marched into Spain, when he had thus ſucceſsfully ſettled affairs in Gaul; which had been much haraſſed by the Suevi, Vandals, and Alani, who had frequently invaded it. By an unexpected march, he paſſed the mountainous Pyrennees, and ſeized upon Barcelona; where he was ſoon after aſſaſſinated by a barbarian, whom he had taken into his ſervice, whoſe brother immediately uſurped the Gothic throne. Singeric's firſt act was to murder the ſix children of Adolphus, by a former marriage; and Placidia was treated as a common captive, and made to ſuffer the moſt cruel indignities, which were ſoon repaid by his own murder on the ſeventh day of his uſurpation.

WALLIA was now unanimouſly declared king; who, after ſome deſigns of conqueſt, concluded and faithfully obſerved a treaty made with the Romans: by which Placidia was reſtored to her brother, and 600,000 meaſures of wheat were delivered to the hungry Goths. On theſe conditions, the new Gothic king engaged to draw his ſword in the ſervice of the Roman government.

THE Goths having entered Spain, which was divided into parties and factions, diſplayed the moſt brilliant achievements. In three campaigns they deſtroyed the Silingi and Alani, and repulſed the Vandals and Suevi, who had poured down, during the confuſions of the empire, upon this country; all which the Gothic king faithfully reſtored to Honorius. They now ſeated themſelves in the fertile province of Aquitain; and ſoon after the royal reſidence was fixed at Thouloufe. The Burgundians about the ſame time obtained a ſettlement in Gaul or Germany, with whom the uſurper Jovinus had formed an alliance; and the Franks, who had been the faithful allies of the Roman empire, now followed the example of theſe invaders, and they progreſſively became poſſeſſed of all lower Germany. From this time is to be dated the ruin of the opulent provinces of Gaul.

ON the death of Arcadius, it has been intimated already, Honorius wiſhed to aſſume the government or guardianſhip of his nephew Theodoſius, who was then but ſeven years of age. Pulcheria, the ſiſter of Theodoſius, and but two years older, when ſhe had arrived to the age of ſixteen, aſſumed the command of the Eaſtern empire; which, after his

death, in her own name as ſhe had before done in his, ſhe continued to hold near 40 years. But the two monarchies were now totally ſeparated; and, in the interval of about ſix years of the minority of Theodoſius, the merit and integrity of Anthemius, the præfect, were amply manifeſted in humbling the haughty ſpirit of Uldin, commander of the Huns, who were then ſettled in Thrace, whom he obliged, with prodigious ſlaughter, to repaſs the Danube.

PLACIDIA, on her arrival in Italy, was again married, at the command of Honorius, to the brave Conſtantius, who was now appointed partner in the empire; who died in about ſeven months, and a quarrel between her and Honorius was ſoon after fomented by the inſidious arts of ſome deſigning intrigues. But Placidia, to prevent the tumults occaſioned by the partiality of the Gothic ſoldiers for their former queen, voluntarily baniſhed herſelf to Conſtantinople, where ſhe was honourably received; and ſoon afterwards the news of the death of Honorius was diſpatched thither.

AN uſurper, of the name of John, who filled the office of principal ſecretary, now advanced to the vacant throne; and by the ſubmiſſion of Italy, and the hope of an alliance with the Huns, he was induced to inſult the majeſty of the Eaſtern empire, in a meſſage to that purpoſe. But a powerful fleet and army were ſent againſt the uſurper; the latter of which, conſiſting of the cavalry, was conducted ſo actively, that they ſurpriſed the important city of Aquileia. The fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm; yet two of the gallies, with the general of the infantry, who had embarked in the fleet, were taken and carried into Ravenna. His ſon, who was at the head of the cavalry, was invited by the father to ſecond a conſpiracy in the city; on whoſe approach, after little reſiſtance, the gates of the city were thrown open, and the uſurper ignominiouſly beheaded.

THEODOSIUS, who was now in his 21ſt year, when the news arrived of the death of Honorius, had perhaps the beſt claim to the weſtern empire. But he rather choſe to remain quietly in the eaſt, than to riſk any thing amongſt its barbarians and invaders; and therefore conſidered it as more adviſable to place his couſin Valentinian, then only ſix years of age, upon that throne. Amongſt other regulations, which finally ſettled the bounds of their dominions, the weſtern Illyricum was granted to Conſtantinople; and the emperor of the eaſt obtained the rich and maritime province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous ſovereignty of Pannonia and Noricum, which for above 20 years had been ravaged by Huns, Oſtrogoths, Vandals, and Bavarians. The laws of each empire were in future to be

be diſtinct from each other; and no ſtatutes of one were to bind the other, unleſs it was adopted voluntarily and by conſent.

DURING the long minority of the young emperor, his mother Placidia, who had herſelf a female claim to the empire, was entruſted with his guardianſhip. Deſirous of power, ſhe totally enervated the young emperor by a moſt diſſolute education, and thereby retained the ſovereignty 25 years. Through the quarrels of her two generals, Africa was loſt to the empire, over which Boniface, one of them, preſided, who had preſerved his fidelity to her in her exile and diſtreſs; whereas Ætius, the other, had ſupported the uſurper, and actually brought an army of 60,000 Huns from the Danube to the confines of Italy for his ſervice, but had accepted an advantageous treaty on his untimely death. By continuing in the ſervice of the young emperor, he had the means of correſponding with his barbarian allies, whoſe retreat had been purchaſed by large gifts and liberal promiſes. It was he who excited and fomented the rebellion of Boniface, and betrayed both him and their miſtreſs by the baſeſt duplicity; till Boniface was at laſt conſtrained to ſend to the camp of Gonderic, king of the Vandals, then in Spain, with propoſals of alliance and advantageous offers of ſettlement.

THE Suevi alſo were ſettled in Spain, and in oppoſition to the Vandals: but the latter prevailed, after much hoſtility, and ſoon after overrun the provinces of that country. On the death of Gonderic, his baſtard brother Genſeric ſucceeded; a name, as terrible in the hiſtory of Rome's decline and ruin as thoſe of Alaric and Attila. Hermanric, king of the Suevi, reſolved to ravage the territories which he was forced to abandon; which ſo enraged Genſeric that he haſtily purſued the Suevi, and drove the king and his army into the river Anas, the modern Guadiana, which falls into the Atlantic Ocean at Cadiz. He now returned calmly to the ſea-ſhore, to embark his victorious troops for Africa, whither they had been invited by Boniface, who had contributed equally with the Spaniards to furniſh the veſſels neceſſary for paſſing the Streights of Gibraltar. In this expedition, notwithſtanding the ſwarms of barbarians which have been related as iſſuing from the North, it is not probable that more than 50,000 effective men were contained.

GENSERIC's active ſpirit, with the diſcontents of the Moors in Africa, ſoon procured him numerous and intrepid allies; and in favouring the factious Donatiſts of that province againſt the Romans, he increaſed his forces to ſuch a degree as to effect his conqueſt. By means of friends the villainy of Ætius was brought to light; and Boniface obtained

the forgiveneſs of Placidia for an injury, into which he had been ſo wickedly deluded, but too late to repair the misfortune produced by inviting the Vandals into Africa. In vain did he oppoſe himſelf to the furious Vandals and the enraged Moors, who had united with them; but he defended himſelf, after being defeated in a pitched battle, in the city of Hippo, where the famous St. Auguſtine was biſhop, for 14 months, till the beſiegers were obliged, from famine, to relinquiſh their deſign. During this ſiege this biſhop died in the city at the age of 76.

THOUGH Boniface, after receiving a reinforcement from Conſtantinople, at the interceſſion of Placidia, was again defeated by the irreſiſtible Vandals, his reception at Ravenna was favourable; and he was appointed maſter-general of the Roman armies, with the rank of Patrician. At this time the perfidious Ætius was in Gaul; who, ſtung with pride at the diſcovery of his villany, and the favours granted to Boniface, haſtily marched into Italy with an army of barbarian followers, where their quarrel was decided by the ſucceſsful force of the latter. But Boniface unhappily received a mortal wound, which terminated his life in a few days; and Ætius was declared a rebel, and, after attempting to defend ſome ſtrong fortreſſes on his own patrimonial eſtate, compelled to retire into Pannonia to the tents of his faithful Huns.

IT was full eight years from the laſt defeat of Boniface in Africa, and the conſequent ſubmiſſion of the city of Hippo, before Genſeric could reduce Carthage to obedience; in which time he had been obliged to compromiſe the internal confuſions of the natives, who little reliſhed his continuance as a conqueror, by conſenting to leave the weſtern emperor in the quiet poſſeſſion of the three Mauritanias, and to deliver, as a pledge of his fidelity to obſerve the treaty, his ſon Hunneric for an hoſtage. Carthage was, therefore, taken by ſurprize, when by his proteſtations of friendſhip he had produced a relaxation of the vigilance of his enemies.

THE Vandals, by forming an alliance with Attila and Bleda, the two kings of the Huns, were enabled to maintain their ground in Africa. About this time they were meditating a freſh enterprize againſt ſome of their neighbours; but it was yet uncertain, whether the peace of the eaſtern or weſtern empire might be interrupted, or if they might not extend their views to Perſia, whither they had heretofore rapidly carried their arms. The eaſtern empire was tributary to them; they had ſtipulated for a ſafe and plentiful market on the banks of the Danube, and had doubled the annual contribution of 350 to 700 pounds of gold, beſides a ranſom of eight pieces of gold

gold for every Roman captive who had eſcaped from them. The emperor alſo agreed to renounce all treaties and engagements with the enemies of the Huns; and all fugitives, who had fled for refuge to the court or provinces of Theodoſius, were ordered to be given up to their fury.

THE courts of Ravenna and Conſtantinople meditated a deſign to recover Africa; but Genſeric excited Attila to invade the eaſtern empire, as a means of preventing it, and pretences were ſoon found to commence hoſtilities, and, partly by treachery and partly by valour, they ſoon ravaged the country as far as Conſtantinople, after defeating the Imperial forces in three ſeveral engagements. This city, with one or two others, they could not obtain; but to ſuch a pitch of humiliation did theſe barbarians reduce the eaſtern empire, that Theodoſius was conſtrained to grant a large extent of country on the South of the Danube, and to conſent to treble the laſt ſtipulation of the annual contribution to 2100 pounds of gold, each pound of gold being equivalent to 40 pounds ſterling, beſides an immediate payment of 6000 pounds of gold to defray the expences of the war. Beſides theſe degrading conditions, the Huns inſiſted upon the free reſtoration of all fugitives, yet at the ſame time received a ranſom of 12 pieces of gold for every Roman captive who eſcaped.

SUCH weakneſs only tended to invite a repetition of injuries; and the policy of the weſtern Romans, equally timid or ſelfiſh, abandoned the eaſtern empire to the mercy of the Huns. To ſuch an impoveriſhed ſtate was Theodoſius reduced, that the laſt ſtipulated bounty was but ſlowly executed, and ſeveral embaſſies, with repeated threats of the conſequences of delay, were ſent to Conſtantinople, to enforce the completion. During theſe tranſactions, an attempt was made to engage the miniſter of Attila into a conſpiracy againſt his life; which he diſſembled to countenance, but afterwards diſcloſed to his maſter. Additional exactions, and other oppreſſive proceedings, enſued upon this diſcovery; and Theodoſius, after a ſtinging reprimand for hearkening to ſuch counſel, was forgiven by Attila. He did not long ſurvive this mortifying humiliation; but being thrown from his horſe, he expired a few days afterwards from the effects of the fall, at the age of 50, after he had reigned 43 years.

HIS ſiſter Pulcheria, whoſe authority had hitherto been controuled by the miſchievous influence of the eunuchs, now ſucceeded; when ſhe married Marcian, a ſenator, aged about 60, who was ſolemnly inveſted with the imperial purple.

ATTILA now prepared to invade Gaul, but actually threatened both empires. Marcian, though deſirous of peace,

with becoming courage declared to the ambaſſadors of Attila, who preſſed the demand of the tribute, that the Roman majeſty muſt not be inſulted with the mention of a tribute, though he was diſpoſed to reward the friendſhip of his allies; that he had troops, if they preſumed to violate the public peace, and arms, and reſolution, to repel their attacks. His miniſter, in the camp of the Huns, held the ſame language.

After Ætius had retired, in conſequence of being proſcribed at Ravenna, to the Huns, he ſolicited pardon, through their friendſhip, from the empreſs Placidia, at the head of 60,000 men; which ſhe found herſelf obliged to grant, and to beſtow upon him the rank of Patrician, with the whole military power of the ſtate. He afterwards ſeaſonably arrrived in Gaul, to protect the city of Arles, the wealthy ſeat of government and commerce, from the attempts of Theodoric, ſon of the great Alaric, and ſucceſſor of Wallia who now ſwayed the Gothic ſceptre; where he vigorouſly defended the different parts of that province from the hoſtile attacks of the Goths and Burgundians, and fought many battles with great ſlaughter of the enemy. But when Ætius was called to Rome, on account of the more inteſtine diviſions of the ſtate, the general, who was next in command, ſoon fell into the hands of the barbarian; and this fatal war was terminated only by the ſpeedy return of Ætius, whoſe preſence alone gave importance to the Roman forces. This induced the two generals to ſheath their ſwords in the field, to prevent an iſſue of which both were doubtful; and a permanent reconciliation immediately ſucceeded.

UNDER a pretence of demanding the princeſs Honoria, the daughter of Placidia, he firſt invaded Gaul, and actually beſieged the city of Orleans; which was in danger of falling, when the united Roman and Gothic banners appeared to its relief. He was thereupon obliged to retire to the plains of Champagne, and to ſound a retreat to ſome of his troops who had juſt forced their way into the city. After the Romans had much haraſſed his retreat, he made a ſtand in the plain of Châlons, where was a ſharp conteſt to poſſeſs a ſmall eminence, that gave ſome advantages from its commanding ſituation; but at laſt, after an obſtinate and hard-fought battle, Attila was compelled to withdraw in the night, which alone ſaved them from total deſtruction. In this conflict Theodoric was ſlain.

FROM motives of impolitic jealouſy the Huns were permitted to withdraw from Gaul without farther moleſtation; which left Attila at liberty, early in the year enſuing, to paſs the Alps and to invade Italy. Three months were ſpent in beſieging

beſieging Aquileia without effect; when a ſcarcity of proviſions pointed out the neceſſity of retiring, and orders for that purpoſe had actually been given. But the ominous circumſtance of a ſtork's preparing to leave her neſt, induced him to return to the charge, and a breach was ſoon made in the wall, in the part whence the ſtork had taken her flight, through which his followers ſpeedily entered. He thence ravaged the other cities of Italy; and his progreſs was terminated by the only expedient, which then offered, of deprecating his wrath by a ſuppliant embaſſy, and of purchaſing the deliverance of Italy by the ranſom or dowry of the princeſs Honoria.

A time being limited, within which this princeſs was alſo to be delivered, he threatened, before he left Italy, to revenge the neglect with greater and more implacable cruelty, if it was not fulfilled. But he ſoon after fell a martyr to his indulgence; and, by the burſting of a blood-veſſel in the night, his life was terminated, ſoon after which the miſeries of his own followers were numerous, and their mutual quarrels decided their exiſtence as a people.

ÆTIUS, who was unequal to attempt the relief of Italy, without the aſſiſtance of the ſon of Theodoric, who refuſed to leave Gaul, was ſoon after this condemned to death by the feeble and diſſolute Valentinian; who had now attained to his thirty-fifth year, without poſſeſſing either reaſon or courage. He violated the wife of Maximus, a wealthy ſenator, whom he had betrayed into his power; but the ſenator's revenge was ſoon diſplayed, in procuring two of the domeſtics of Ætius, whom the emperor had admitted among his guards, to aſſaſſinate the worthleſs and deſpicable tyrant.

IT ſhould not be omitted, that the late emperor's widow had been forced into the arms of his ſucceſſor, contrary to all decency and propriety, and with the utmoſt reluctance. This uſurper, whom ſhe could ſcarcely conſider in any other light than that of the murderer of her huſband, was odious and hateful to her; and the ſpirit of revenge excited Eudoxia to ſolicit Genſeric, as ſhe could not have ſufficient aſſiſtance from the court of Conſtantinople, to eſpouſe her cauſe. Under the ſpecious pretence of vindicating her honour, he alleged that both compaſſion and common juſtice required him to demand a reparation for the injuries ſhe had ſuſtained. His indolence, though he could ſcarcely be ignorant of the hoſtile preparations making on the oppoſite ſhores of Africa, induced him to wait with indifference their approach, without embracing or practiſing any means of defence, negociation, or retreat; nor could he be rouſed from his lethargy, but by the

clamours of a fearful and enraged multitude, when the enemy actually diſembarked at the mouth of the Tiber. He then thought of nothing but a haſty flight, to which he likewiſe exhorted the ſenators; but he no ſooner appeared in the ſtreets than he was ſtoned to death by the inhabitants of the city, and his mangled body, after receiving every ignominious indignity, was caſt into the Tiber. The rejoicings of the people were inceſſant; and the domeſtics of Eudoxia were diſtinguiſhed for their zeal in the ſervice of their miſtreſs.

AFTER plundering the city of every thing valuable, the Vandal king prepared to return to Africa. Eudoxia, who advanced to Genſeric as her deliverer, now found the conſequences of her late imprudent conduct; for ſhe was herſelf rudely ſtripped of her jewels, and, with her two daughters, the only ſurviving remains of the great Theodoſius, carried away captive by the haughty Vandals. Several thouſand Romans of both ſexes were alſo tranſported in this fleet; and ſuch was the unfeeling barbarity of the plunderers, that wives were ſeparated from their huſbands, and children from their parents. By the humanity and exertions of the biſhop of Carthage, their diſconſolate condition was in ſome meaſure ſoftened.

DURING the ſhort reign of Maximus, Avitus, who was deſcended from an honourable family in the dioceſe of Auvergne, and had been employed for 30 years in a civil and military life, was called from his retirement to the important ſtation of "maſter-general of the cavalry and infantry of Gaul." From motives of intereſt, he viſited Theodoric, the king of the Viſigoths, at Thouloufe, who courteouſly received him; and the foundations of a ſolid alliance were forming, when intelligence arrived of the murder of Maximus. Hereupon, with the ſupport of Theodoric, Avitus was elected by the repreſentatives of Gaul, in the annual aſſembly of the ſeven provinces, which was then at hand, to fill the vacant throne; to which the provincials and barbarians conſented, and the conſent of Marcian, then emperor of the Eaſt, was obtained. Rome and Italy, with the ſenate, reluctantly, but unavoidably ſubmitted to this choice.

IN the following year, Theodoric, as the faithful ally of Avitus, by whoſe aſſiſtance he had been raiſed to the throne, gained a deciſive victory in Spain, over the Suevi; after the Roman emperor had in vain made them advantageous offers of peace and alliance, to divert them from their deſign of conquering that country. But Avitus, towards the latter end of this year, was depoſed by the Romans; which his indulgence in the pleaſures of Italian luxury and his indiſcreet amours,

with

with many other concurring cauſes, produced. By the influence of Ricimer, whoſe mother was the daughter of Wallia, king of the Viſigoths, heretofore mentioned, and at this time a principal commander of thoſe barbarian troops, who formed the military defence of Italy, Avitus was compelled to abdicate the Imperial throne. His death ſpeedily followed, as he was haſtening towards Auvergne, his native province; but whether from diſeaſe, occaſioned through fear and anxiety, or the ſword, in conſequence of the ſenatorial decree of death, is uncertain, yet were his remains decently tranſported to and depoſited in his native province.

OF his ſucceſſor Majorian, ſon of that Majorian, commander of the troops of the Illyrian frontier, to whom the great Theodoſius had given his daughter, an ancient hiſtorian has thus expreſſed himſelf; that he was gentle to his ſubjects, "terrible to his enemies, and excelled in every virtue all his "predeceſſors, who had reigned over the Romans." He was raiſed to the throne by his immediate connexion with Ricimer, who had governed Italy for ſome months with the title of Patrician; when the Romans became univerſally deſirous of an emperor, from which ſtation, his own birth, as a barbarian, excluded him: and Majorian, whom he had appointed maſter-general of the cavalry and infantry, having lately obtained a victory over the Alemanni, was inveſted with the purple of Ravenna.

MAJORIAN prepared and renewed many uſeful and excellent laws; and took ſome bold meaſures for reſtoring, in ſome degree, the beauty of Rome. Enraged at the conduct of Genſeric, he prepared to attack him; and he had entertained the judicious policy of carrying on war againſt the Vandals in their new ſettlement, to chaſtiſe them for their deſcent in a large fleet, at the mouth of the Liris, where they had been ſurprized by the Imperial troops, and great ſlaughter had enſued. The brother-in-law of Genſeric, their leader, was found amongſt the ſlain.

BUT the Italians were become effeminate and enervated. Unſkilled alſo as they were in military arts, they could not ſupport the heroic courage and virtue of their emperor; who was, therefore, compelled to employ a number of barbarian auxiliaries, that were induced from the fame of his liberality and valour to join the ſtandard, beſides the confederates who were already engaged in the Imperial ſervice. The emperor ſaw the neceſſity of a fleet to effect the conqueſt of Africa; and, under the moſt unfavourable circumſtances, he ſpeedily prepared and collected a navy of 300 large gallies, with the neceſſary proportion of tranſports and ſmaller veſſels, to the harbour

harbour of Carthagena in Spain. In the character of an ambaſſador to Carthage, but in diſguiſe, Majorian is ſaid to have viſited Genſeric, with propoſals to treat for peace; and the powerful Genſeric, ſufficiently acquainted with the character of his adverſary, in vain exerciſed his uſual artifice and delay, and was more and more ſubmiſſive to obtain it. Ruin and deſtruction muſt have enſued on this occaſion, if Genſeric had not found means to corrupt ſome powerful perſons among the Romans, probably envious of the emperor's ſucceſs; by whoſe means this large fleet was ſurprized, being unguarded, in the bay of Carthagena, and in a ſingle day deſtroyed.

GENSERIC renewed his ſolicitations for peace, notwithſtanding this victory, and a ſuſpenſion of arms was conſented to. But this diſaſter ſerved as the pretext of a conſpiracy among thoſe who diſliked his reformation of abuſes; and, in leſs than five years from the abdication of Avitus, he was obliged to follow the example of his predeceſſor.

THE powerful Ricimer now beſtowed, through the Roman ſenate, the title of emperor on Libius Severus, a man unnoticed in hiſtory on any other occaſion; reſolving no longer to promote ſuperior virtue and merit, even in a friend. Through him Severus reigned about ſix years, till his life became inconvenient to Ricimer; when, in conſequence of his death, Anthemius was raiſed to the vacant throne. In this interval, though this modeſt barbarian diſclaimed the title of king, he accumulated treaſures, formed a ſeparate army, negociated private alliances, and in fact ruled Italy with an independent and deſpotic authority. Marcellinus, a Roman general, who had reluctantly ſubmitted to Majorian, was, however, appointed governor of Sicily, with the command of an army, to reſiſt or attack the Vandals; but he afterwards, by means of his faithful followers, poſſeſſed himſelf of the province of Dalmatia, and aſſumed the title of Patrician of the Weſt. Having ſecured the love of his ſubjects by a mild and equitable reign, he raiſed a fleet which claimed the dominion of the Adriatic, and alternately alarmed the coaſt of Italy and Africa. At the ſame time Ægidius, maſter-general of Gaul, who declared a mortal reſentment againſt the aſſaſſins of his beloved maſter, maintained his independency beyond the Alps; and the Franks, who had baniſhed Childeric for his follies, elected him for their king. In about four years, he is ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned, with ſuſpicions of its being effected through the intrigues of Ricimer.

AFTER Eudoxia, with her two daughters, had been carried to Carthage, the elder of them became the reluctant wife of the eldeſt ſon of Genſeric. Upon this Hunneric demanded

manded a juſt proportion of the Imperial patrimony, and a valuable compenſation was offered by the Eaſtern emperor Leo, a Thracian who had ſucceeded Marcian, after a reign of ſeven years, to purchaſe a neceſſary peace; when Eudoxia and her younger daughter Placidia were honourably reſtored. The emperors of Conſtantinople, who are ſuppoſed by ſecret articles with Genſeric, to have engaged not to draw their ſword againſt the Vandals, were prevented from interfering in ſupport of the weſtern empire; which Leo at laſt reſolved to ſhake off, and to provide a new emperor of the Weſt, whom he ſolemnly inveſted with the diadem and purple.

ANTHEMIUS had already riſen to the ſtations of count, maſter-general, conſul, and patrician, in conſequence of his marriage with Euphemia, the daughter of the emperor Marcian; on which account he had reaſon to expect the ſucceſſion of the eaſtern empire. His appointment to the weſtern empire was about ten years after; and, with a large retinue, almoſt equal to an army, he came triumphantly to Rome, where his reception was moſt flattering, and his election confirmed. By his daughter's marriage with the patrician Ricimer, the happineſs of the ſtate was provided for; and the greateſt rejoicings were celebrated on ſo pleaſing a proſpect of future proſperity. Marcellinus alſo was at the ſame time reconciled to the two empires, in conſequence of acknowledging the title of Anthemius, and accompanying him in his journey to Rome.

Soon after his acceſſion, unfavourable appearances were exhibited of the emperor's deſigning to revive the Pagan mythology, which caſt a cloud over the deſirable ſerenity.

THE emperor Leo now exerted the full powers of the eaſtern empire to deliver Italy and the Mediterranean from the Vandals, though he declined his perſonal ſervices; and Anthemius, who had the greateſt reaſon to engage in this deſign, was equally forward, ſo that Genſeric was threatened from every ſide with a formidable invaſion. Heraclius, the præfect, embarked the troops of Egypt, Thebais, and Lybia, with the horſes and camels of the Arabs, deſigned to open the roads of the deſert, and landed on the coaſt of Tripoli, the province of which was ſoon ſubdued. He then haſtened, by a laborious march, to join the Imperial army under the walls of Carthage.

GENSERIC was alarmed at the news of this ſucceſs; and ſtill more the reconciliation of Marcellinus with the two emperors, who had already expelled the Vandals from the iſland of Sardinia. A fleet of 1113 ſhips, containing more than 100,000 men, including ſoldiers and mariners, was diſpatched from Conſtantinople to Carthage, under the command of Baſiliſcus,

liſcus, brother to the empreſs, on his ſiſter's repreſentation of his former meritorious exploits againſt the Scythians. He landed his troops at Cape Bona, about 40 miles from Carthage; the army of Heraclius, and the fleet of Marcellinus either joined or ſeconded Baſiliſcus, and the Vandals were ſucceſſively vanquiſhed, with the utmoſt conſternation.

THE Vandal king perceived his danger, and now offered to ſubmit both his perſon and dominions to the will of the emperor. But a truce of five days was requeſted to ſettle the terms of his ſubmiſſion; and by his ſecret liberality he obtained his requeſt. Baſiliſcus reſted on this tranſaction in an imprudent ſecurity, which the remembrance of the affair of Carthagena might have given cauſe at leaſt to doubt, by conſidering himſelf as the conqueror of Africa; but the wind, which ſhifted in favour of the deſigns of Genſeric, induced him to man his largeſt ſhips of war with the moſt intrepid Moors and Vandals, who towed after them large barks that had been filled with combuſtible materials. Theſe were impelled by the wind, in the dead of night, againſt the unſuſpecting fleet of the Romans, and the moſt dreadful confuſion enſued. They were awakened to the ſenſe of inſtant danger, or certain deſtruction; and the flames advanced rapidly from the cloſe order in which they were obliged to be crouded. Nothing but the moſt dreadful cries were heard; the noiſe of the wind, and the crackling of the flames, produced the moſt horrible tumult.

GREAT were the exertions of ſuch parts of this navy, to which the fire-ſhips had not yet communicated the deſtructive blaze, to detach them from the reſt; though the gallies aſſaulted them with the utmoſt valour to prevent the ſucceſs. Many of the Romans who eſcaped the fury of the flames, were thereby deſtroyed or taken by the victorious Vandals. Yet the commander Baſiliſcus, whoſe ſtation was fartheſt remote from danger, detached himſelf in the beginning of the engagement, and diſgracefully returned to Conſtantinople with the loſs of more than half of his fleet and army. When Heraclius found that the ill-judged lenity of the commander had been productive of ſuch fatal conſequences, and that if any of the fleet had eſcaped the conflagration they had retreated, and might, perhaps, be buried in the waves; there was no reſource but that of retiring through the deſert, by which he had arrived in the neighbourhood of Carthage, and Marcellinus conſequently returned to Sicily, where he was ſoon after murdered by one of his own captains.

BY this ſucceſs, Genſeric was left at liberty to renew his ravages on the coaſts of Italy, Greece, and Aſia, which were conſequently

conſequently expoſed to his avarice and revenge. Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience; and he alſo made a conqueſt of Sicily. Before his death, which was in the fulneſs of years and of glory, he beheld the final extinction of the empire of the Weſt.

ABOUT this time Arvandus, the Prætorian præfect in Gaul, was tried and condemned. The Roman ſenate recalled him from a ſituation, where he was become intolerable, to give an account of his conduct; the laſt act of juriſdiction which they exerciſed in that province before its final ſeparation from the empire. Exaſperated at the oppoſition of ſome, and deluded by the flattery of others, he loſt his popularity; his importunate creditors compelled him to impoveriſh the province to ſatisfy them, and his inſolence and caprice were productive of a general odium amongſt their nobles. The deputies of Gaul, which were ſent to make good their accuſations, purſued him cloſely to Rome; amongſt many other crimes which they laid to his charge, that of treaſon was one, which they had diſcovered in an intercepted letter, and on its being read in full ſenate, on his avowal of the contents, he was declared guilty of a capital offence againſt the empire. Whilſt he was in priſon, waiting for the deciſive ſentence, the emperor Anthemius relented; he ſpared his life, and declared the puniſhment of exile and confiſcation, but through the treachery and perſevering enmity of Seronatus, his condemnation and death ſoon after followed, through the means of Ricimer.

ANTHEMIUS, on diſcovering this baſeneſs of Ricimer, who had retired to Milan, was excited to prepare for a ſevere revenge; which for the preſent was appeaſed, and a civil war prevented, by the embaſſy of Epiphanius, biſhop of Pavia. But the ſincerity of ſuch a reconciliation might well be doubted; for whilſt this clemency of the emperor was procured only as an effect of his weakneſs, Ricimer only ſuſpended his ambitious deſigns, till he had more effectually prepared the means of overturning the throne of Anthemius, when the maſk was thrown off. Having greatly reinforced his army by the Burgundians and other neighbouring powers, he diſavowed all allegiance to the Greek emperor, and immediately marched from Milan to the gates of Rome.

THE ſenator Olybrius, by marrying Placidia, the younger daughter of Valentinian, after her return from Carthage, had the beſt title of inheritance to the weſtern empire. Genſeric ſupported his pretenſions, and he landed in Italy, where he was received as the ſovereign of the weſtern world, when Ricimer already poſſeſſed two parts of Rome. The ſenators, on this occaſion, were divided, and a dreadful conflict enſued

ſued, in which Anthemius ignominiouſly periſhed; rapine and murder were every were predominant, and the city was entirely demoliſhed by the fury of the contending factions. In about 40 days after Ricimer was taken off by diſeaſe, leaving the command of his army to his nephew Gundobald, a prince of Burgundy. Olybrius died in about ſeven months from his landing in Italy, and about two months after Ricimer, leaving only one daughter, from whom the family of the great Theodoſius continued at Conſtantinople in the female line to the eighth generation.

JULIUS NEPOS, who had married the Niece of Verina, the empreſs of Leo, was, after much delay, appointed emperor of the weſt. But an army was neceſſary to ſupport his authority; and before his arrival Glycerius, an obſcure ſoldier, had been patroniſed by Gundobald. The latter was, however, indiſpoſed to maintain his appointment by a civil war, and a compromiſe took place, which induced him to reſign his pretenſions; upon which Nepos was acknowledged emperor by the ſenate and Roman people and the provincials of Gaul. His reign was ſhort and inglorious; and a furious ſedition of barbarian confederates, conducted by Oreſtes, marched from Rome towards Ravenna, which he forſook immediately, and retired to Dalmatia, of which he was ſovereign, having ſucceeded his uncle Marcellinus in that principality. Here he continued about five years, when he was ſlain by the ungrateful Glycerius, ſoon after tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of Milan.

UNDER the name of the barbarian confederates, were included the Heruli, the Scyrri, the Alani, the Turcilingi, and Rugians; and Oreſtes, their general, was the ſon of Tatullus in Pannonia, who had fought under Attila, when that province was ſurrendered to the Huns, whoſe ambaſſador alſo he had after been to the Imperial court at Conſtantinople. On the death of Attila, he preferred the ſervice of the Italian princes, ſucceſſors of Valentinian, advancing in military dignity till he was made patrician and maſter-general of the troops by Nepos. But he declined to accept the Imperial throne, notwithſtanding their deſires to that purpoſe; yet conſented that his ſon Auguſtulus ſhould ſucceed to the title of emperor of the Weſt.

BUT the difficulties which had hitherto beſet the empire ſtill increaſed. Oreſtes ſoon found that the ſovereign of Italy muſt either be the ſlave or the victim of the barbarian mercenaries; by whoſe dangerous alliance, the laſt remains of Roman freedom and dignity had been oppreſſed and inſulted, whoſe pay had been augmented by every ſucceſſive revolution,

and

and whoſe inſolence had increaſed in proportion with their privileges. They ſaw the ſucceſs of their brethren in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, whoſe victorious arms had acquired them an independent inheritance; they looked forward to the ſame object, and now peremptorily demanded a third part of the lands of Italy, which Oreſtes determined reſolutely to reſiſt, rather than ſubſcribe to the certain and irrecoverable ruin of an innocent people.

THIS refuſal incited Odoacer, a bold barbarian, to ſtep forward; who aſſured them that, if they dared to aſſociate under his command, he would ſoon forcibly obtain what had been denied. All the confederate barbarians flocked to his ſtandard, which the unfortunate Patrician was unable to withſtand; and, fleeing to the ſtrong city of Pavia, he was there immediately beſieged, when the fortifications were ſtormed and the town pillaged, nor could the tumult be appeaſed but by the execution of Oreſtes. The helpleſs Auguſtulus, who could no longer command the reſpect, was hereupon reduced to implore the compaſſion of Odoacer.

HE was the youngeſt of the two ſons of Edecon, who had frequently been employed as ambaſſador by Attila, and had alſo been the colleague of Oreſtes. When their ſtate had been reduced by the failure of the Huns, in their unequal conteſt with the Oſtrogoths, and in which Edecon had loſt his life, Odoacer was admitted into the ſervice of the Roman empire, and ſoon obtained an honourable rank in the guards: and having thus eſtabliſhed his character among the confederates of Italy, they were eaſily induced to flock to his ſtandard as their general. He was ſaluted with the title of king, but would never accept the purple and diadem during his whole reign of fourteen years; ſo that royalty was now entirely aboliſhed, as Auguſtulus had been made the inſtrument of his own diſgrace, in ſignifying his reſignation to the ſenate, an aſſembly which ſtill affected, in their laſt act of obedience to a Roman prince, the ſpirit of freedom and the forms of the conſtitution.

NOTWITHSTANDING the prudence and ſucceſs of Odoacer, his kingdom manifeſted the ſad proſpect of miſery and deſolation. From the reign of Tiberius, the Italians had ſeen the decay of agriculture; and the very ſubſiſtence of the Roman people depended on the tributary harveſts of Africa and Egypt, which had been gradually withdrawn, by ſucceeding revolutions. A decreaſe of population was a natural conſequence; and the ſcourges of war, famine, and peſtilence, which had ſo repeatedly overtaken them, had deſolated the country. Pope Gelaſius, who lived about this time, has recorded

corded that the human ſpecies was almoſt extirpated in Æmilia, Tuſcany, and the adjoining provinces; and the plebeians of Rome depended on their maſters for food, and either periſhed or diſappeared when that liberality was withheld.

THUS in the perſon of Odoacer, the very name of emperor of the Weſt was extinct; the government of which he maintained about fourteen years. From this time we may date its final diſſolution, which was about 146 years after the removal of the Imperial reſidence to Conſtantinople, 476 after the common Æra of the nativity of Chriſt, and 1228, from its firſt foundation by Romulus.

FINIS.